

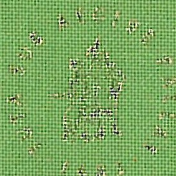
THE LEGACY OF MUSLIM SPAIN

EDITED BY

SALMA KHADKA JAYYUSI

CONTRIBUTOR AND THE EDITOR

MARIELA MARINI



HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ERSTE ABTEILUNG
DER NAHE UND MITTLERE OSTEN
THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

H. ALTENMÜLLER, E. GRUBE, B. HROUDA
R. KRUK, K. R. VEENHOF

ZWÖLFTER BAND
THE LEGACY OF MUSLIM SPAIN



THE LEGACY OF MUSLIM SPAIN

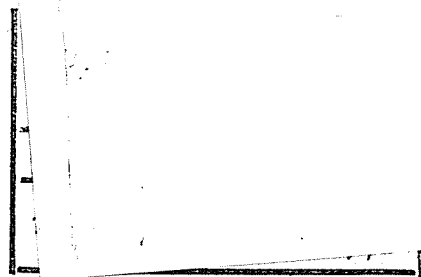
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*Tarand,
Erönsal*



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جَمْعُ مَا قَبْلَهَا وَافْضَا مَا بَعْدَهَا

It embodied what
It came before
Illuminated what
came after

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The production of a work such as this is a formidable venture, which cannot be achieved without help and cooperation from many sources, particularly when, as in this case, the work is designed to coincide with an important anniversary—the 500th anniversary of the end Islamic rule in al-Andalus.

My most fervent thanks are due, first of all, to His Highness the Aga Khan, whose Trust for Culture in Paris and Geneva funded the work. This volume, together with the seminar which the Trust and PROTA held in Granada on June 5-6, 1991, graced by His Highness and by His Majesty King Juan Carlos of Spain who, as guest of H. H., opened our seminar on June 5, represent some of H.H.'s world-wide endeavours to revive the heritage of the Islamic past and celebrate the great achievements of Islamic civilisation. When generosity has a purpose such as this, it immediately translates itself into a mission, put at the service of a great cause. And what greater cause can a Muslim intellectual have at the present time than to help put the history of the illustrious Islamic civilisation back in its rightful place on the map of the world? Such dedication cannot but evoke the deepest appreciation. Quite apart from his widely recognised endeavours in creating and developing new institutions geared to bettering the quality of life for so many, he supports, quietly, but with evident success, projects to revitalise the built environment of Islamic civilisation, affirming the high points of the Islamic past, and by so doing, simultaneously affirming the unity of human creativity and endeavour. This book is only one token of the great pioneering purpose that motivates him.

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House, a fourteenth-century Arab house in the Albaicín area of Granada, renovated by the Aga Khan Trust and dedicated as the Centre for Historical Studies of Granada. Mr. Khan was also responsible for the many details that accompanied the organisation of the seminar, carried out with so much precision and flair, and has facilitated the preparation of this volume in various practical ways, and I must thank him for his immense patience, and for his great courtesy and constant good will.

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guage, to much praise. But no previous work of PROTA's has imposed on him so much hard work and responsibility, which he shouldered not only with the dedicated enthusiasm of the stylist, but also with the meticulous application of the scholar. For, in a work such as this, where so many contributors are not native speakers of English (where many essays, indeed, had first to be translated into English), and where scholars apply different methods of scholarship and documentation, the work of the style editor is particularly crucial. His eagle-eyed observation spotted mistakes and deficiencies wherever they occurred, and it was with his help that the work was combed free as much as possible of the incongruities and oversights that any work of this size and kind will inevitably entail. In him I had the ideal person for this double task, for his combination of linguistic expertise and personal scholarly background made him a most valuable colleague throughout. I am indeed eternally indebted to him.

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Last but by no means least I want to acknowledge the great debt Andalusī studies owe to two major scholars in the field. First, there is the towering work of Ihsan 'Abbas, that paramount scholar, editor, critic and literary historian, whose lifelong services to this branch of scholarship have introduced such clarity, knowledge and exciting appeal, illuminating, as never before, an area of knowledge which time and indifference had left obscure. His criticism of the literature of Muslim Spain reflects a mind that combines the rigorous methods of the scholar with the original approach of the creative critic. Through his dedication, he has changed the course of Andalusī studies and brought modern Arabs into greater intimacy with their Andalusī cultural past. Circumstances beyond his control have prevented him from a direct participation in this book, but he is ever present in it, through the many studies and edited works he has so single-mindedly produced, in the context of al-Andalus and its cultural life. Second, there is the inspired work of Emilio García Gómez who for his part has brought greater knowledge of al-Andalus and its creative literature to the attention of modern Spaniards. What a firm link this great scholar has forged, through his collections and exquisite translations, between the medieval Arab and the modern Spanish poets in al-Andalus, creating new rapport and recognition, and an infectious appeal which showed itself, among others, in one of modern Spain's greatest poets, Federico García Lorca. I salute him with the deepest respect.

SALMA KHADRA JAYYUSI, EDITOR
DIRECTOR OF PROTA

STYLE NOTE

Certain standardised usages are in force throughout the following essays (except, where relevant, in quotations and titles of academic works), as follows:

When speaking of Islamic Spain and its inhabitants, the forms “al-Andalus”, “Andalusī” and “Andalusis” are normally preferred to “Andalusia”, “Andalusian” and “Andalusians” respectively. “Andalucía” refers to the territory (part of al-Andalus) corresponding to the present-day Spanish province of that name.

The patronymic form “b.” is normally preferred to “ibn” within a personal name, with “Ibn” used as the first element of names. It will be appreciated that this may cause a change from “b.” to “Ibn” if a name is given first in a fuller, then in a shorter form. Thus, for example, “Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ” will become “Ibn Waḍḍāḥ” in the shorter form.

Dates are normally given in both Hijri and Christian form with respect to events within Muslim al-Andalus, to events in the Christian part of the Iberian Peninsula where ruling Muslims are directly involved (for example, in the case of military campaigns conducted by Muslim forces within Christian territory), and to events occurring in other parts of the Islamic world. Otherwise Christian dates only are given. In accordance with normal practice, two alternative dates may occasionally be given where either the Hijri or Christian year (usually the latter) is not precisely known.

Anyone who has ever assisted in editing a work of this kind will know how apparently cut-and-dried systems tend to break down in the face of specific established usages. In certain areas (bearing in mind especially the need to combine scholarly accuracy with accessibility to the interested non-specialist reader) a frankly pragmatic approach has been preferred to a dogged global consistency liable to produce odd or even misleading effects:

- A limited number of terms regarded as so common that they have, for practical purposes, been assimilated into English are used without diacritics. Examples of such terms are “Abbasid”, “Sufi”, “sultan” and “Maghrib”.
- Iberian cities are normally given their modern Spanish or Portuguese form, but English forms (e. g., “Lisbon”, “Saragossa” and “Seville”) are exceptionally used throughout where these are felt to be so well established that use of the modern Iberian form would be perverse. Similar considerations of established usage underlie the use of non-Iberian forms in the case of such regional names as “Aragon” (without accent), “Castile” and “Navarre”. In the case of cities accents are used, where appropriate, for the names of the cities themselves (e.g., “Córdoba”, “Almería”), but not for English adjectives derived from these (e.g., “Cordoban”, “Almerian”).

CHRISTOPHER TINGLEY
STYLE EDITOR

NOTE ON TRANSLATED ESSAYS

A number of essays in this anthology were originally written in a language other than English. Details of relevant essays and translators are as follows:

Essays translated from Arabic:

Jamal al-Din al-'Alawi, "The Philosophy of Ibn Rushd" (translated by Hamid Haji and Faqirmohamed Hunzai, at the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London).

Mahmoud A. Makki, "The Political History of al-Andalus" (translated by Lorne Kenny).

Essays translated from French:

Claude Addas, "Andalusī Mysticism and the Rise of Ibn 'Arabī" (translated by Christopher Tingley).

Lucie Bolens, "The Use of Plants for Dyeing and Clothing" (translated by Christopher Tingley).

Pedro Chalmeta, "An Approximate Picture of the Economy of al-Andalus" (translated by Christopher Tingley).

Pierre Guichard, "The Social History of Muslim Spain" (translated by Glenda Fabré).

Dominique Urvoy, "The 'Ulamā' of al-Andalus" (translated by Christopher Tingley).

Essays translated from Spanish:

Miguel Cruz Hernández, "Islamic Thought in the Iberian Peninsula" (translated by Thomas F. Glick).

Miquel de Epalza, "Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic al-Andalus" (translated by Manuela Marín).

A. Fernández-Puertas, "Calligraphy in al-Andalus" (translated by James Dickie).

Expiración García Sánchez, "Agriculture in Muslim Spain" (translated by Madeleine Fletcher).

Luce López-Baralt, "The Legacy of Islam in Spanish Literature" (translated by Andrew Hurley).

Margarita López Gómez, "The Mozarabs: Worthy Bearers of Islamic Culture" (translated by Thomas F. Glick).

Margarita López Gómez, "Islamic Civilisation in al-Andalus: A Final Assessment" (translated by Betty Glick).

J. Vernet, "Natural and Technical Sciences in al-Andalus" (translated by Roger Boase).

María J. Viguera, "Aṣluḥu li 'l-ma'ālī. On the Social Status of Andalusī Women" (translated by Gonzalo Viguera).

FOREWORD

The idea of this book was vaguely born in my mind many years ago when, sitting on the slopes of Toledo, my friends and I listened, fascinated, to the late Aslam Malik, the then Pakistani chargé d'affaires to Spain, reading Muhammad Iqbal's great poem on the Mosque of Córdoba, translated into English. Iqbal's philosophy of *ishq* touched an inner chord in me, and was to become a guiding maxim, a principle to uphold and to take strength from whenever things seemed impossibly difficult. *Ishq*, actually '*ishq*', is an Arabic word which means erotic love that can reach to the point of adulation, but it was transformed by the great Pakistani master to denote religious and altruistic passion, the passion that inspires people to build and sustain great principles, the fervour that moves them to celebrate God's name, or art, or perfection. There is something deeply infectious in Muhammad Iqbal's poem. Written in memorial of a past glory, its abiding greatness lies, not in its capacity to jerk tears of regret, but to arouse the will to reassert life and to build again. To Iqbal, man, the believer, is indomitable, and when *ishq* takes hold of him, he can perform miracles.

Later, when I stood time after time, in awe, in the prayer hall of the great Mosque, and visited the Alhambra to gaze, over and over again, at the intricate designs of its walls and ceilings, Iqbal's words echoed sonorously in my ears. Then, when, some eight years ago, I realised the meaning of the oncoming 1992, with its multiple anniversaries, many of my colleagues in the Arab world, and also in the United States and Britain, agreed that at least a volume of studies on Islamic civilisation in medieval Spain should be prepared for this important anniversary, and we embarked on the task of seeking support for this Project. Further details of this endeavour may be found in the acknowledgements section.

It is said in the modern Arab world that no Arab or Muslim has ever visited al-Andalus and viewed its great Islamic monuments without experiencing a mixture of pride and regret. If memory is selective, and if nations are selective in their choice of memories, the Arabs and the Muslims have all silently and without conferring selected al-Andalus as an ever abiding memory in their hearts. Most of them will never see it, but all think of it as a living monument and an abiding witness to a great civilisation that filled, with Baghdad, the civilisational semi-vacuum of earlier medieval times. Many of them, too, think of it as a lost paradise, and the persistent sense of grief at its loss has been greatly augmented by the recent loss in Palestine. Numerous modern Arab poets have written on al-Andalus, always with regret, always with nostalgia. Aḥmad Shauqī, the most prominent Arab poet during the first three decades of the twentieth century, when exiled from

Egypt to Spain by the British during the First World War, wrote some of his best poetry on al-Andalus; and when one of the contemporary Arab world's greatest lyrical poets, the Syrian, Nizār Qabbānī, representing his country as a diplomat in Spain, sent his "Andalusī" poems, one after the other, to the Arab world, they were received with great enthusiasm and found their way into thousands of Arab homes. Other major poets, such as the Iraqi 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī, also made strong connections with the Andalusī past, while Palestine's foremost poet, Maḥmūd Darwīsh, connected the two memories in his imagination: "On the bridge, I saw the Andalus of love, over a wilted rose ... On the bridge, I saw the Andalus of love, through a desperate tear." The list of Arab poets who wrote on al-Andalus is very long.

Thus it is that the echoes of a glorious Andalusī past have lived vibrantly in the Arab psyche, and twentieth-century poets and writers have found in it a palpable subject through which to seek catharsis and affirmation in a world of denial and misunderstandings. It was, therefore, a great pleasure, having embarked on this book, to find how many scholars in Spain and the rest of the Western world share with me the enthusiasm and deep regard for Islamic civilisation which, in Iqbal's sensitive words has "civilised East and West." In a most original essay which the German artist and writer, Claudio Lange wrote, titled, "Fragments Towards a Critique of Truisms about 'the Arabic'," (whose main subject regrettably falls outside the scope of this book), he cogently follows the chain of development of human civilisation, emphasising the central Arab/Islamic role. He writes, "Western Europe's take-off in the 11th century is supposedly the result of a number of ingenious inventions made behind monastery walls, of techniques of work, and of the import of technology originally exported by the Arabs into the territories they occupied ... what remains crucial here is that, in the 11th century, Islamic civilization, together with the Byzantine, Chinese and Indian civilizations, embodied the First World of the time, while Western Europe embodied the Third. This is not changed by the fact that Arabic civilization, itself a latecomer, had had to incorporate Roman baths, Persian refinements, Greek and Indian science, Byzantine-Armenian builders and Christian-Syrian scholarship. On the contrary: the rapid rise of the newly-arrived Arabic civilization served as an encouraging model for Western Christianity ..." Thus, Dr. Lange draws a continuous line of growth and intercultural exchange.

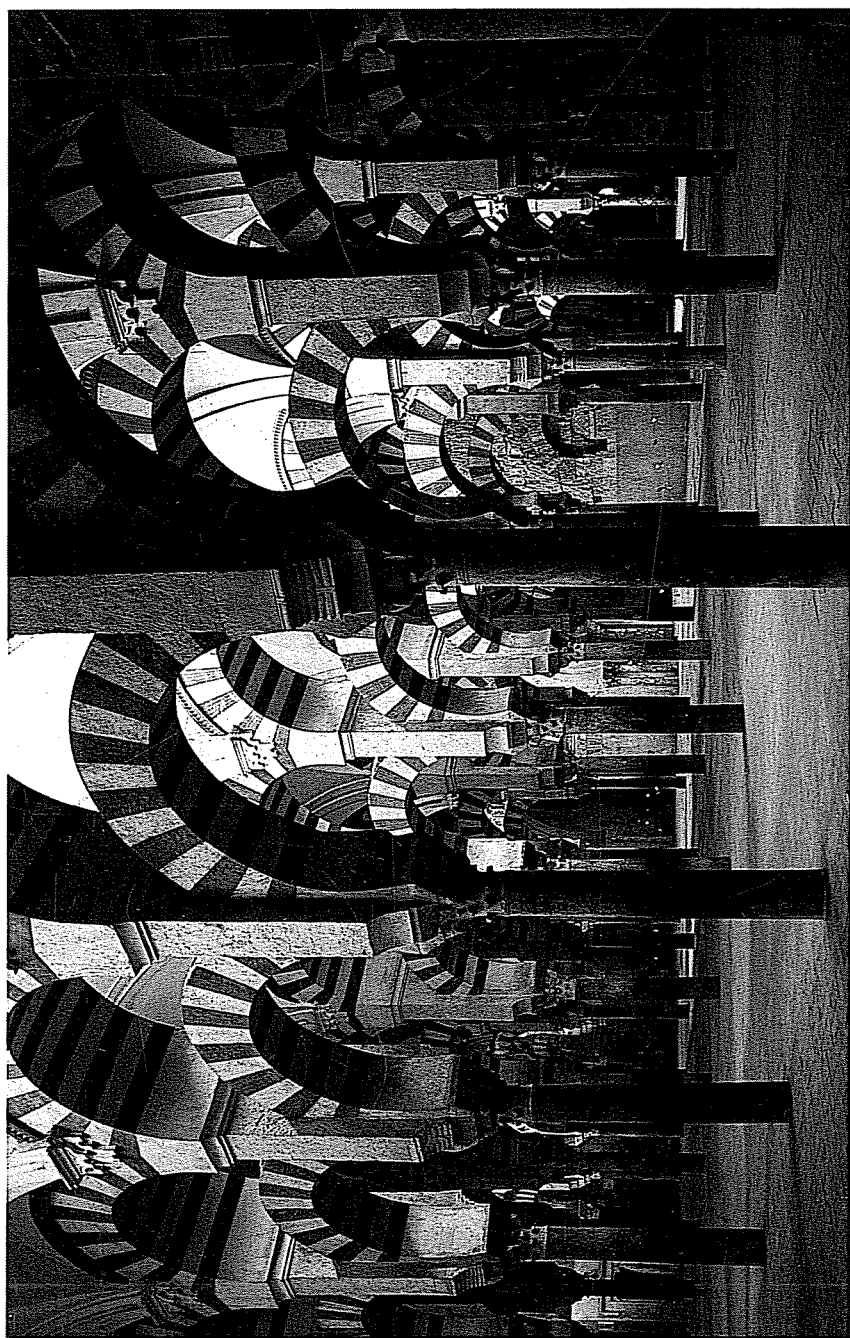
* * *

I have tried to make this book as comprehensive as possible, endeavouring to cover the major aspects of Islamic civilisation in medieval Spain with an eye to revealing the legacy and influence of this civilisation. It is most fortunate that recent years have produced many scholars both in Spain itself and in the West generally who have discovered the line of connectedness in human creativity and intellect over the centuries, and have realised the vital

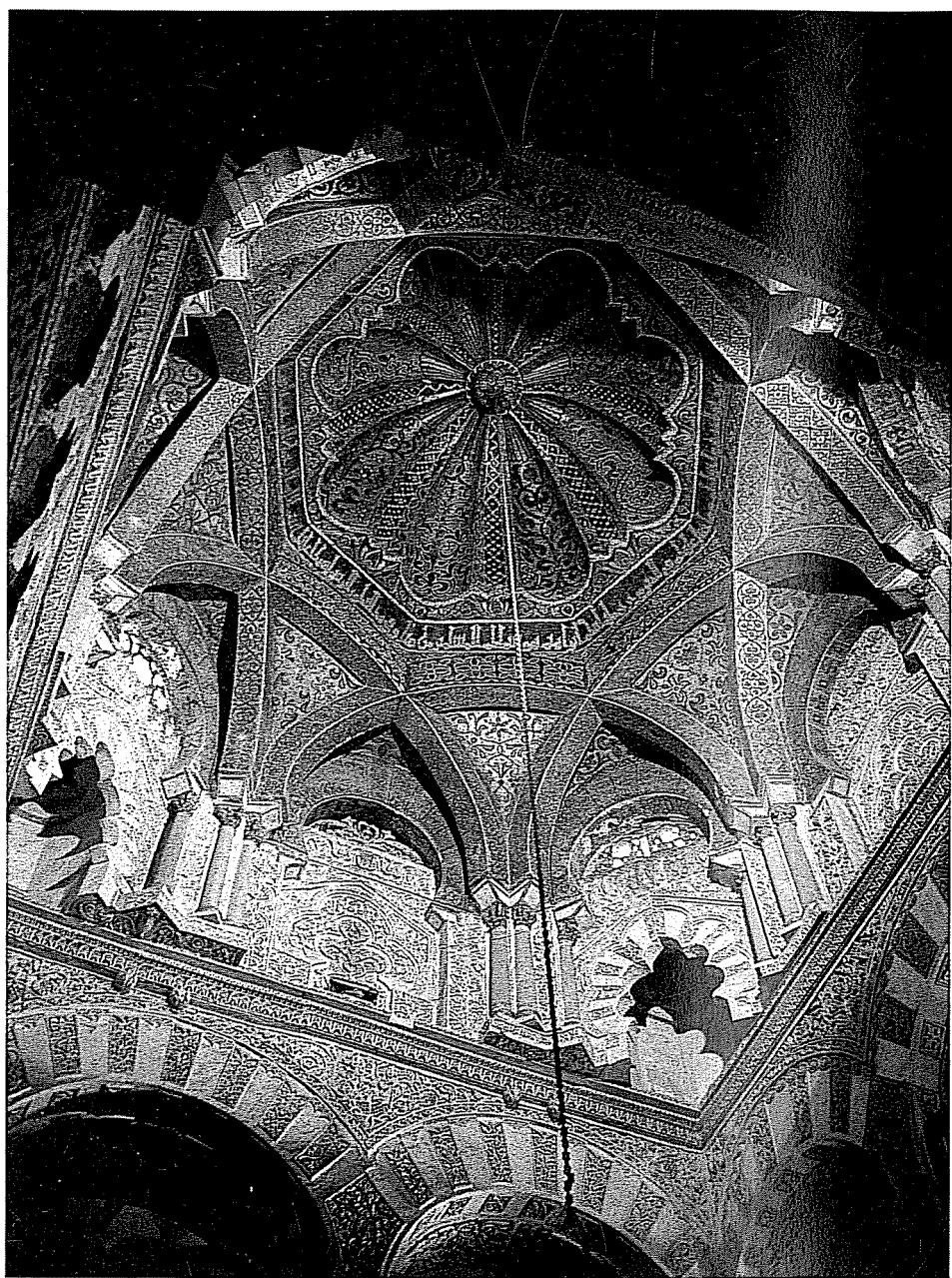
importance of medieval Islam to the continuity and flourishing of human civilisation. The old, wilful avoidance of a vast and shining historical presence of Arabs and Arabised Muslims (and even Arabised non-Muslims) throughout the Middle Ages, who not only kept the line of human intellectuality and creativity alive, but greatly enhanced it, has, to put it in the mildest terms, been a historical crime long unrecognised. It gives me great happiness to see the increasing number of Western scholars now dedicated to the truth.

It has been PROTA's aim ever since its inception in 1980 to try, as far as possible, not only to foster new knowledge of the Arab/Islamic heritage, medieval and modern, but also to change attitudes and the general outlook on this vast corpus. The basic aim of PROTA is not to bring out differences, but to assert the unity and indivisibility of human creativity, which is the only unity that can be achieved in a world still so aggressively divided. I hope that this book, written by so many experts in so many fields, will play its appropriate part towards achieving this goal.

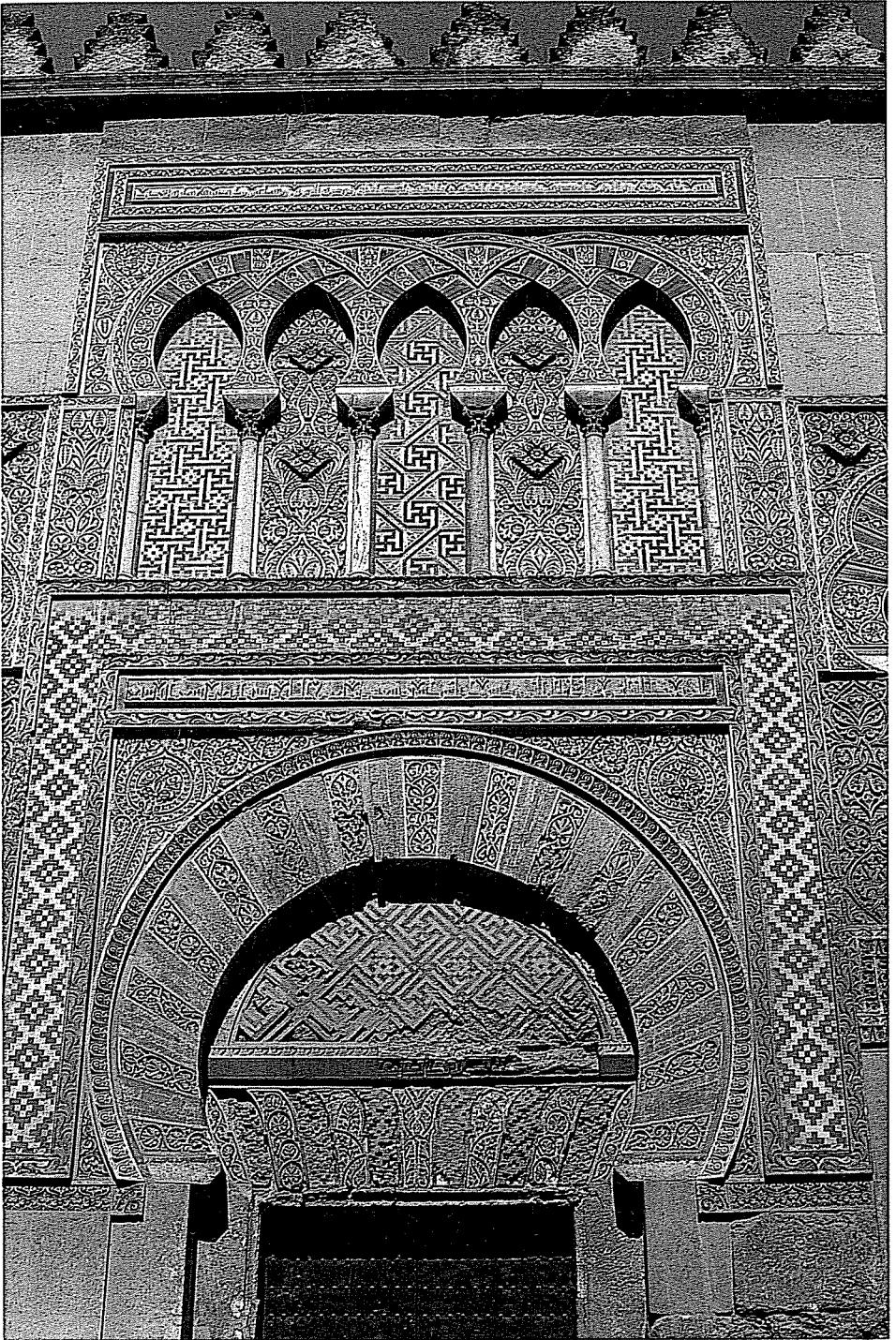
SALMA KHADRA JAYYUSI



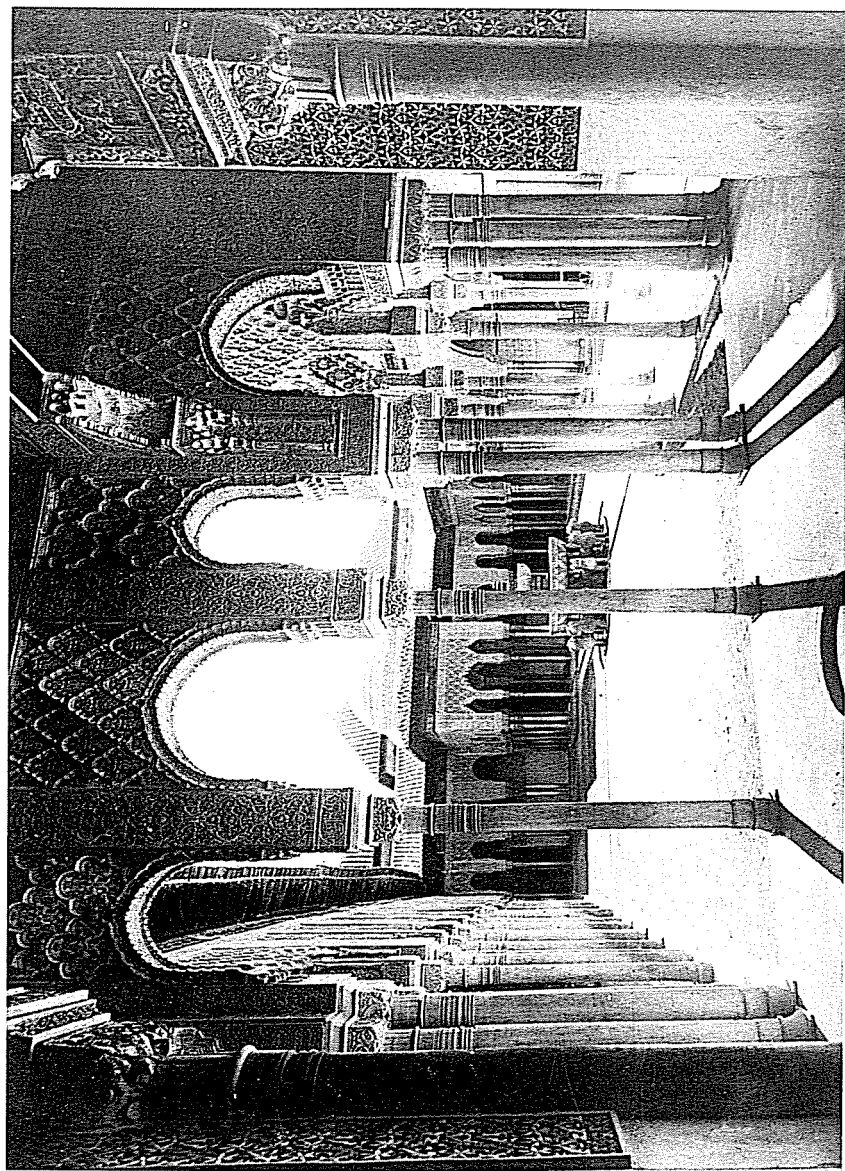
Ill. 1. Mosque of Córdoba: prayer hall. Courtesy of Walter B. Denny.



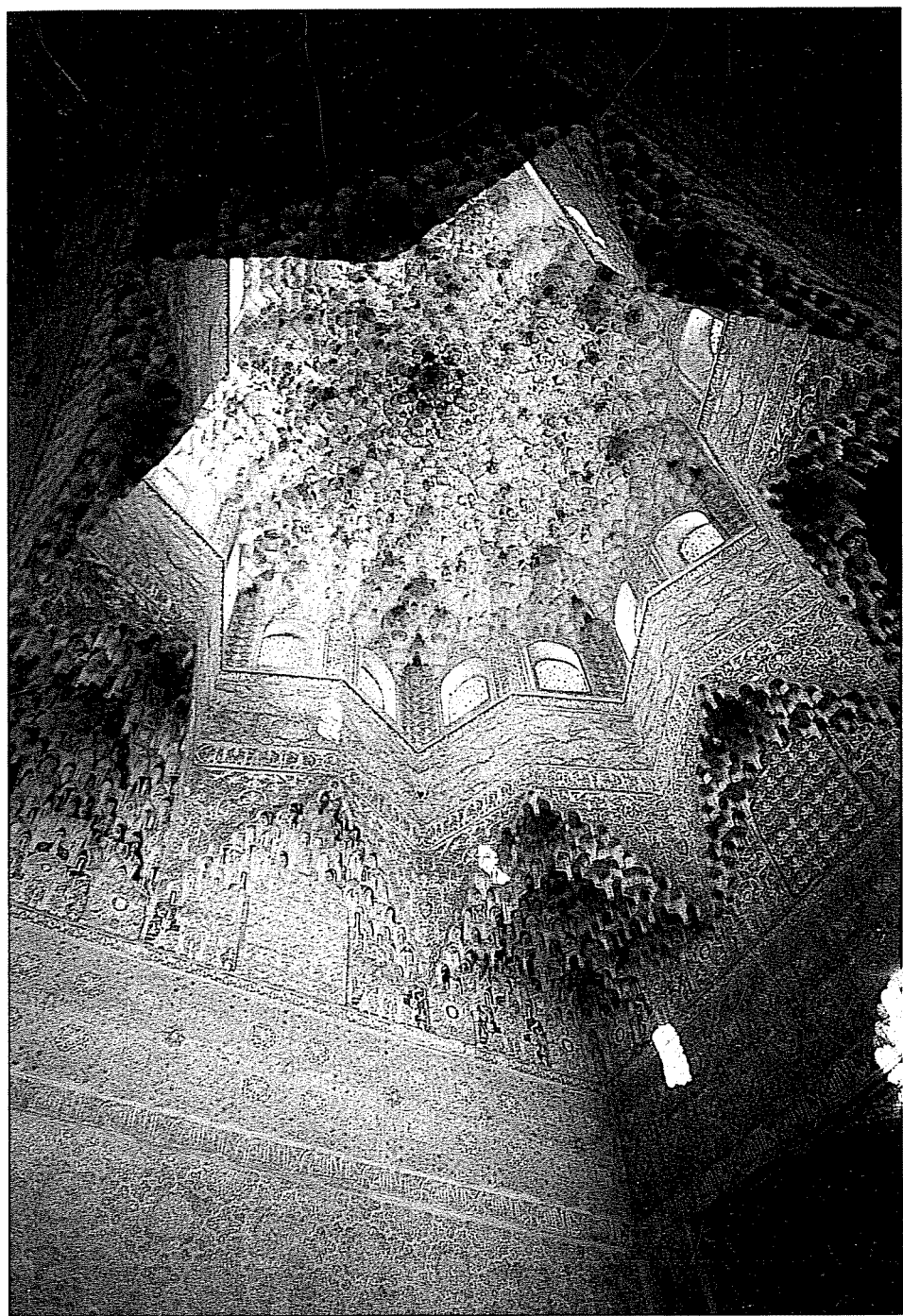
Ill. 2. Mosque of Córdoba: Dome of Mihrab/centre of *maqṣūra*. Courtesy of Oliver Radford.



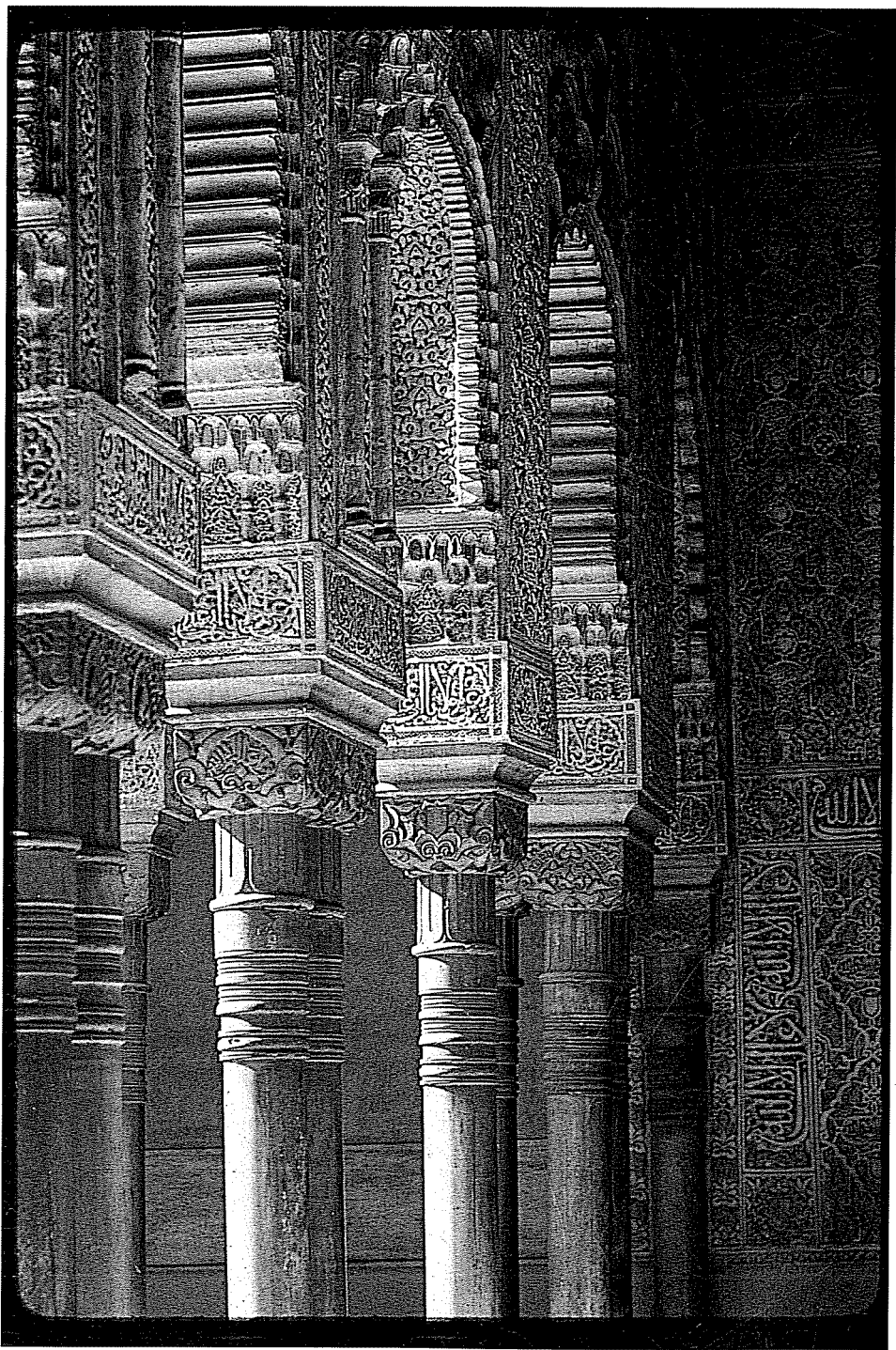
Ill. 3. Mosque of Córdoba: W. door. Courtesy of Oliver Radford.



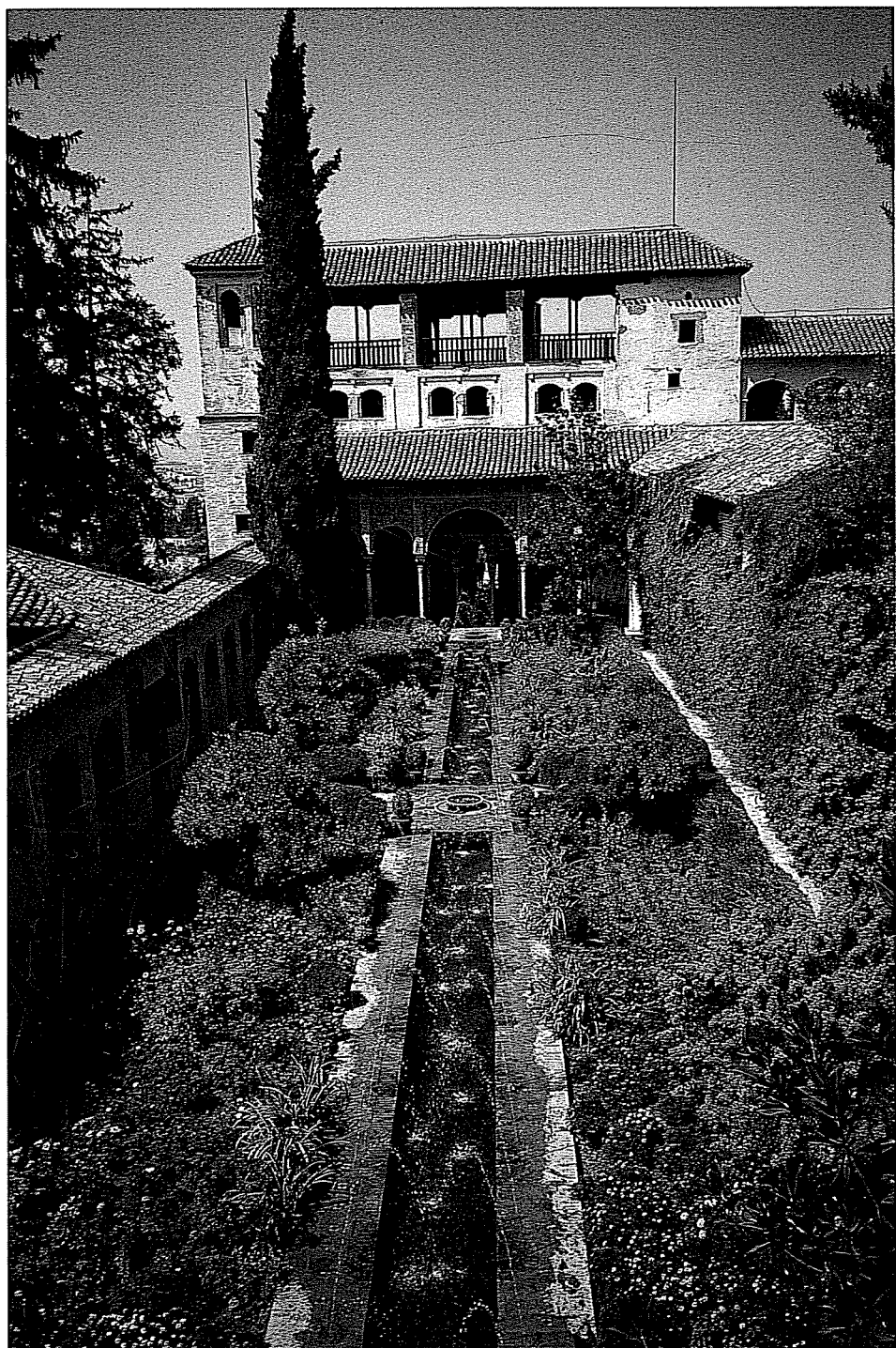
III. 4. Granada: Alhambra: Patio de Leones. Courtesy of the Visual Collection, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.



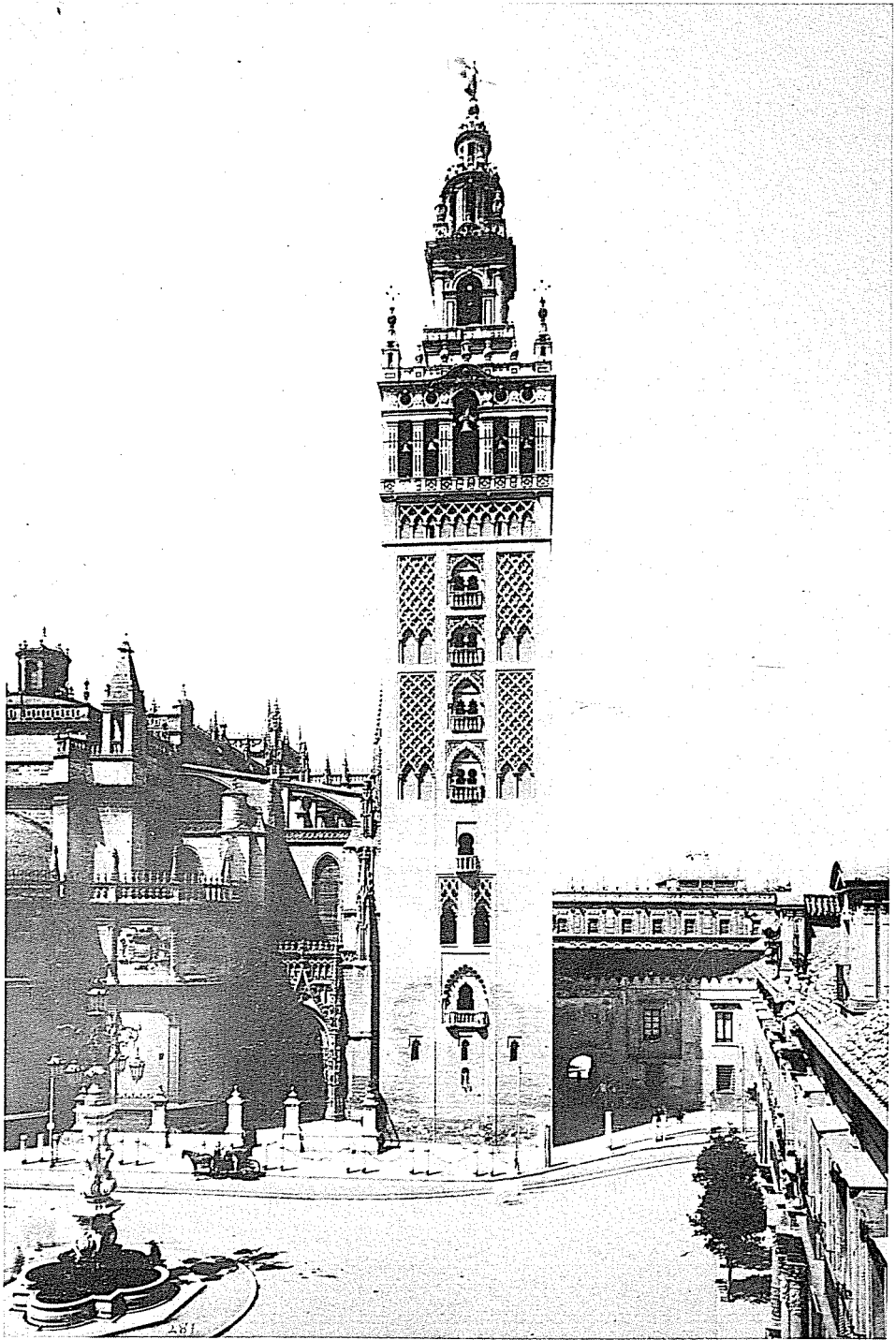
Ill. 5. Granada: Alhambra: Hall of Abencirages. Interior *Muqarnas* Dome. Courtesy of Walter B. Denny.



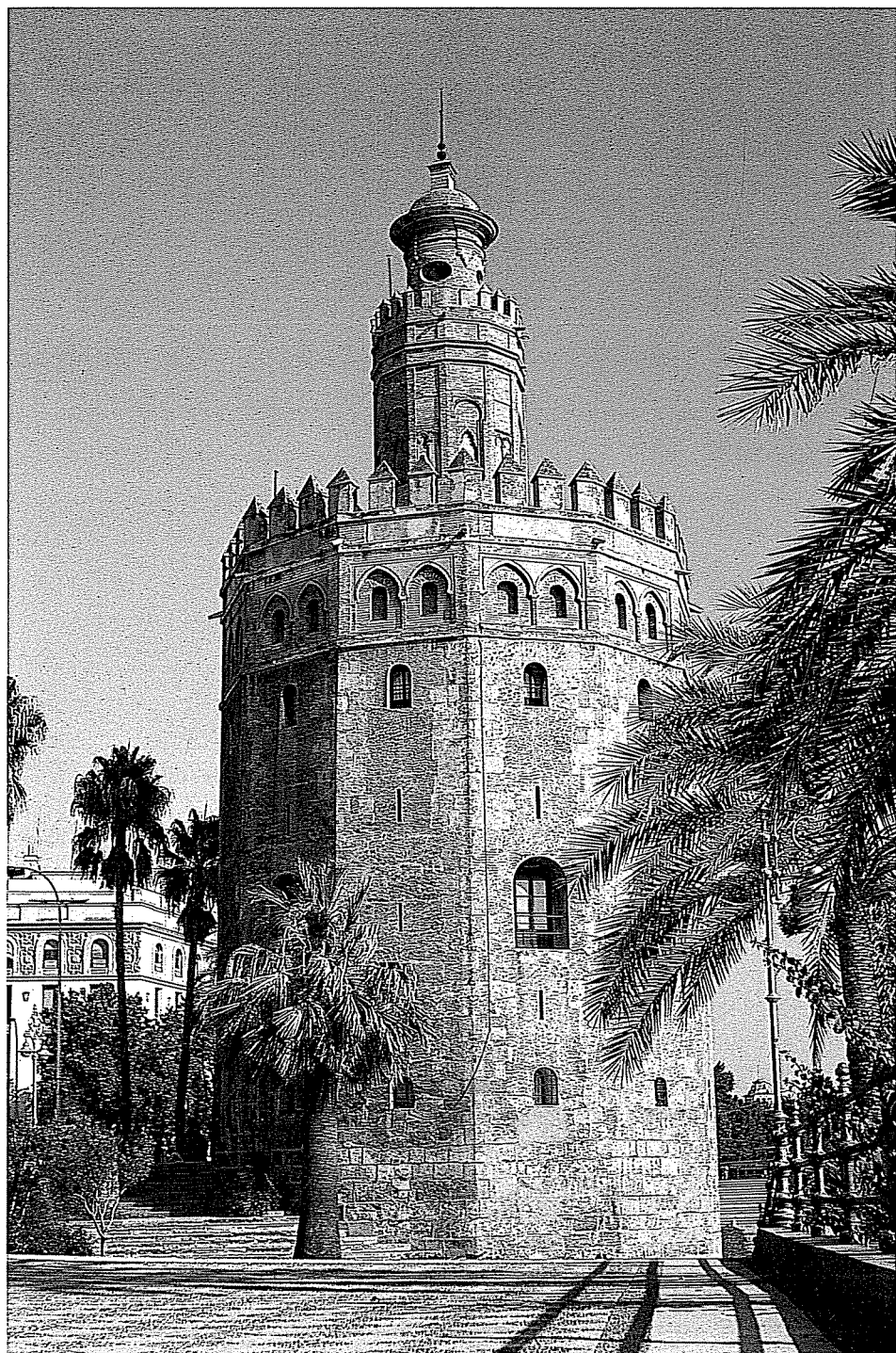
III. 6. Granada: Alhambra: Court of the Lion, exterior view, N.E. corner arcade. Courtesy of Kevin Low, from the Aga Khan Program Archives.



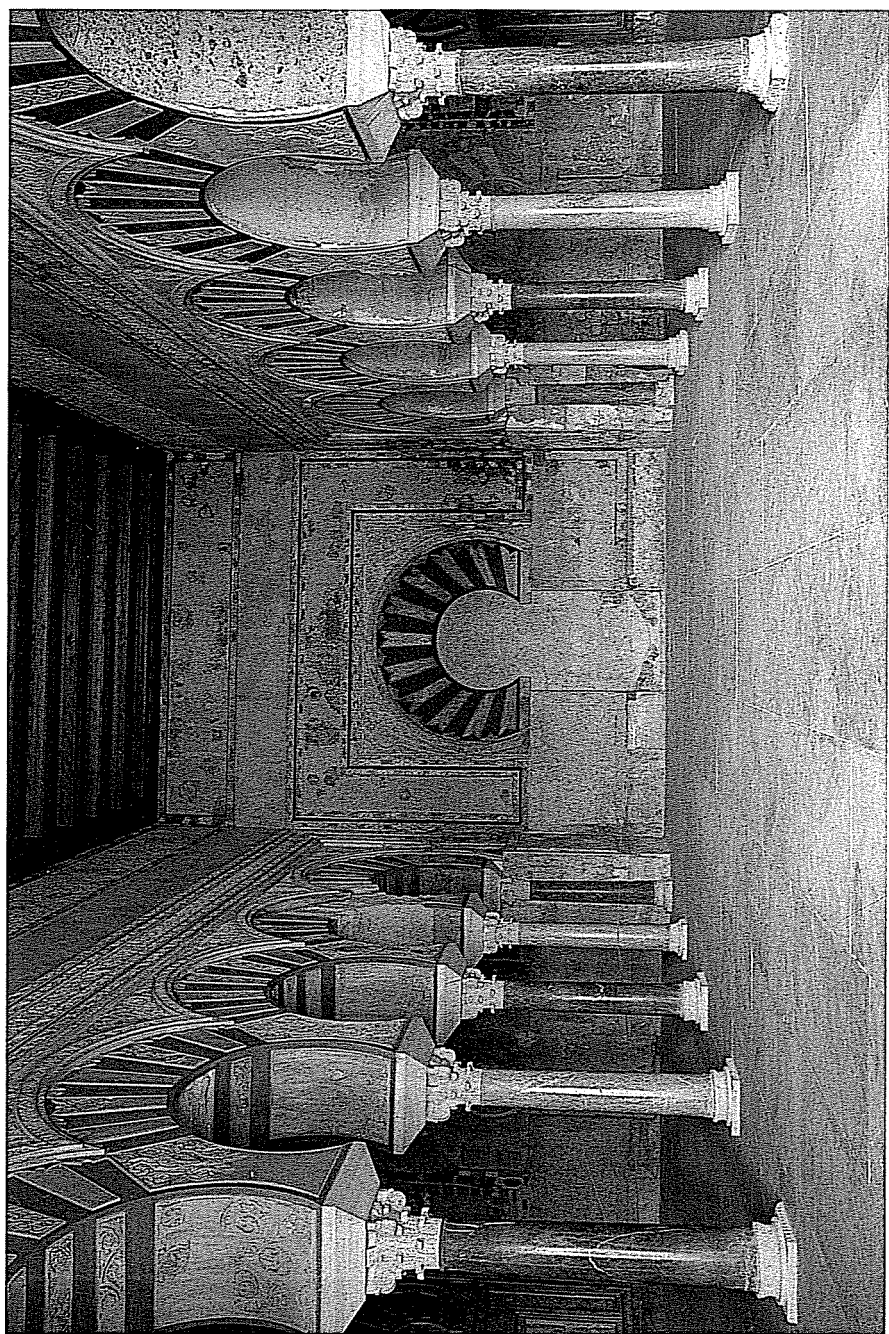
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Ill. 9. Seville: Torre del Oro. Courtesy of Martinez Lillo.



Ill. 10. Madinat al-Zahrā': Audience hall, interior. Courtesy of Robert Hillenbrand.



III. 11. Toledo: Sta Maria La Blanca (former synagogue). Courtesy of Walter B. Denny.

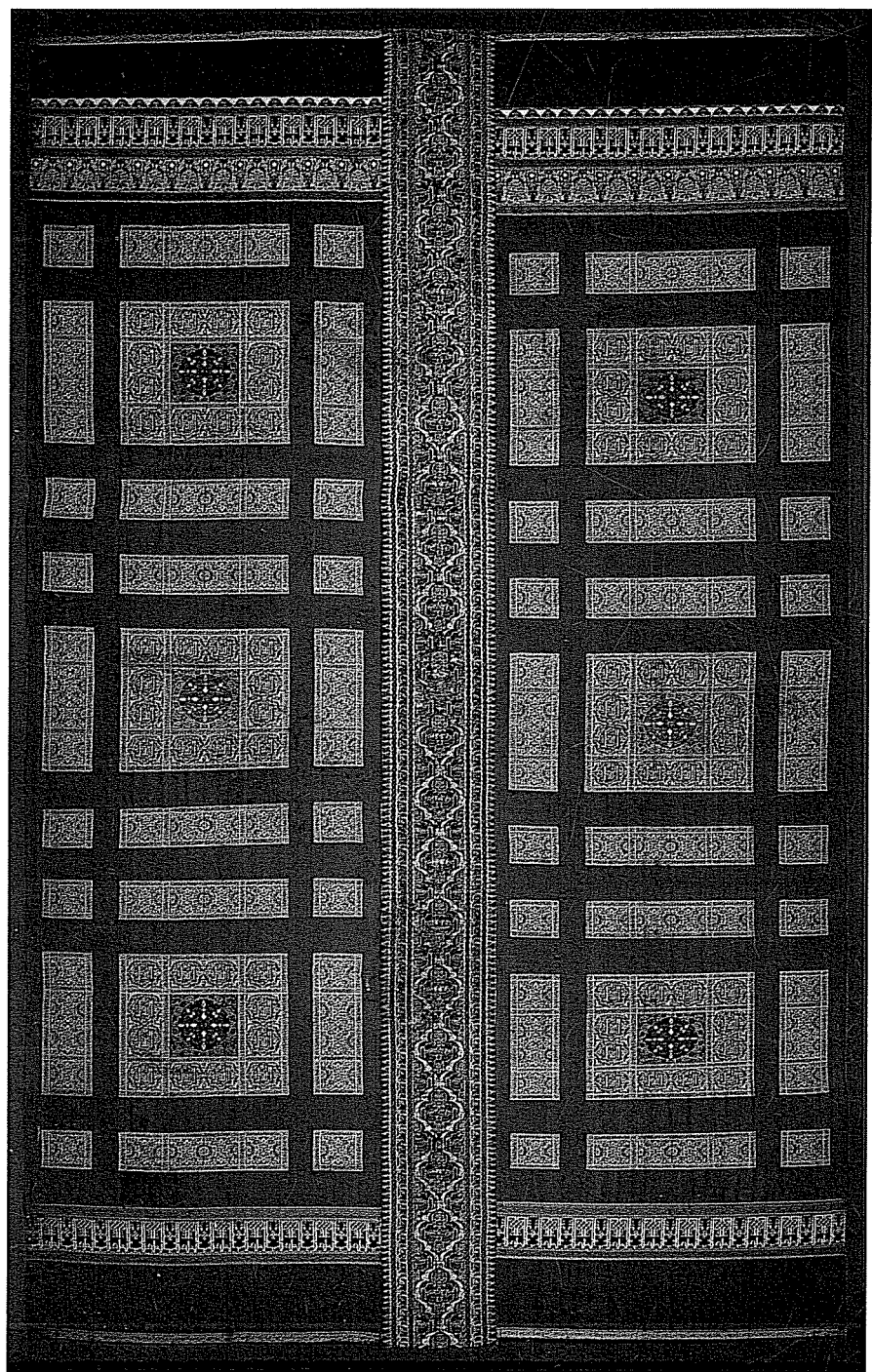




III. 12. Castillo de Gormez, Soria. Courtesy of Martínez Lillo.



Ill. 13. Beatus, Commentary on the Apocalypse, 11th Century (?). Courtesy of Margarita López Gómez.



Ill. 14. Curtain, Spain, Granada, Nasrid Period, 15th Century. Courtesy The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund, 28.16.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالصَّلَامُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ
وَالْحَمْدُ تَمْتَدُّ فِي آفَاقِ الشَّرَافِ الْفَوْضِ عِنْدَ رَأْسِ الدِّينِ
أَتَمَّتْ عَالَمَهُمْ مِنَ الْمُغْنَى عَنِ حُرْمَتِهِمْ بِرَأْسِ الدِّينِ

Oratio qua Mahomet
adorat deū; ut apud
nos pater noster, i.
tū apud Mahometan
nos hęc oratio refert.

[illegible]

Deus	A	Mittens
Gabriel	E	Legatus
Isabom	M	Ad quærit

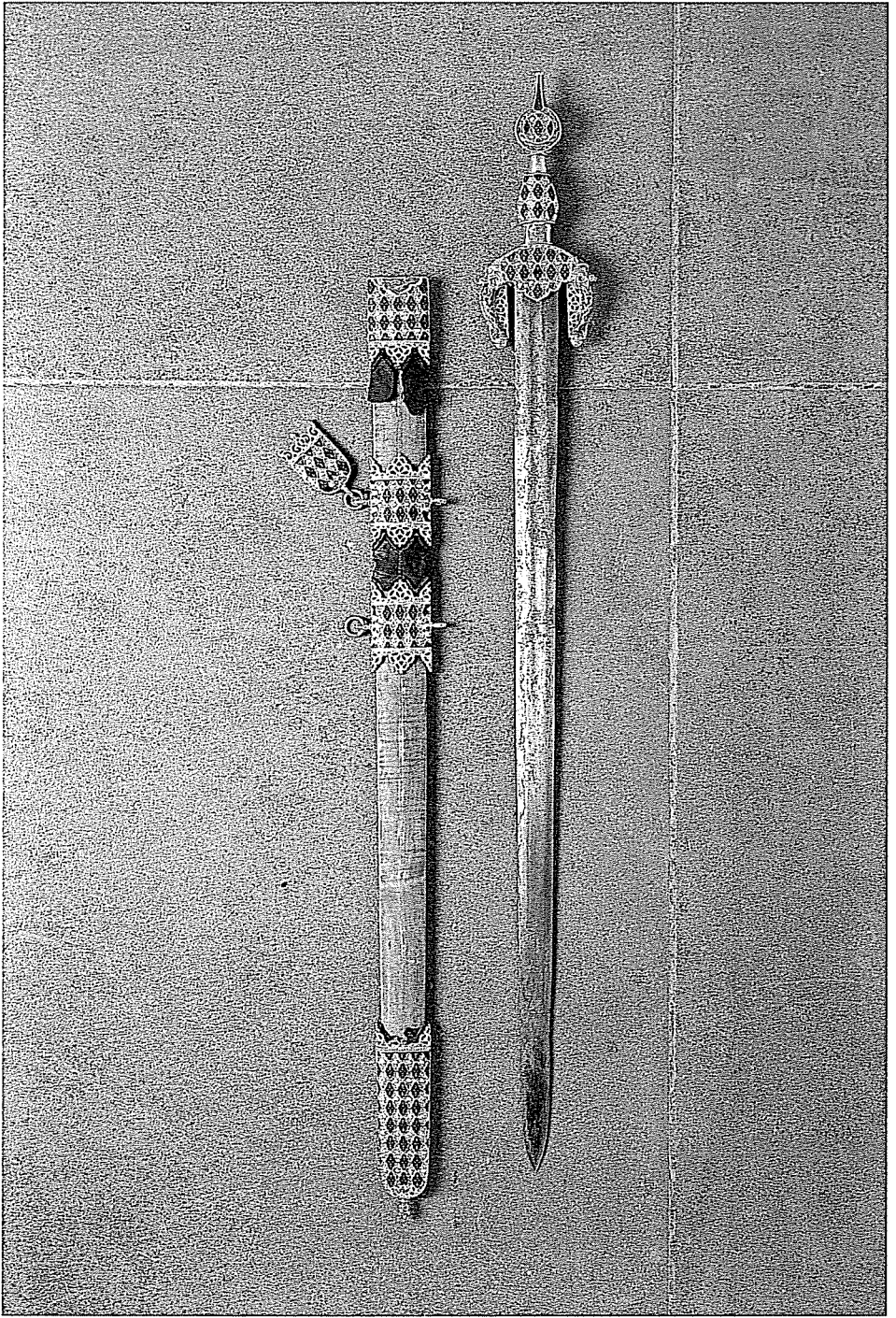
Indigos vocat maledictos, et ira dei plenos, Christianos vero errantes.

Joannis Alberti Widmstadij

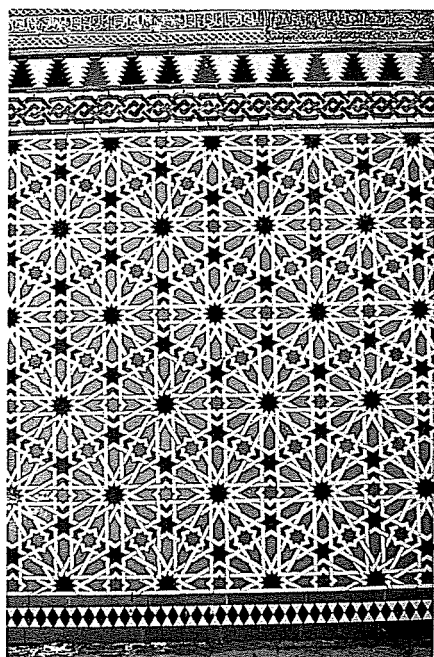
Ill. 15. Quran manuscript, 12th Century, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.



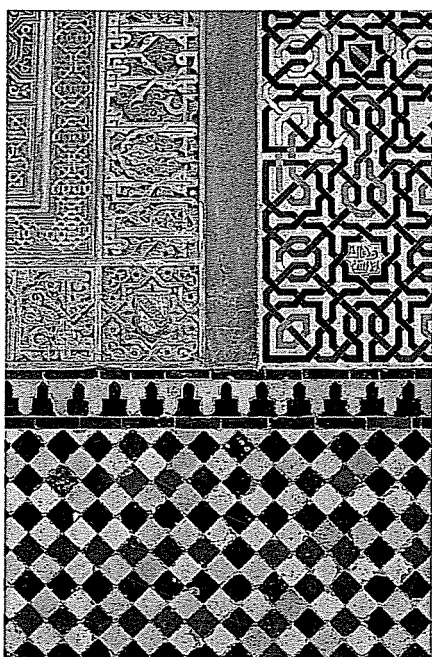
Ill. 16. Ivory casket, so-called "Zamora" casket, 10th Century, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Courtesy of J. Dodds, from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional.



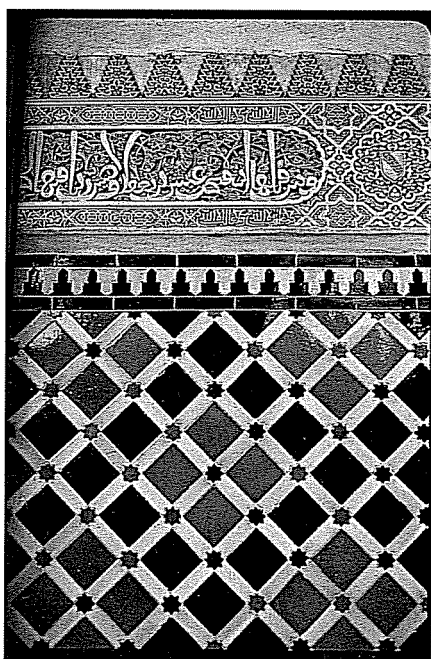
Ill. 17. So-called “Sword of Boabdil”, Nasrid Period. Courtesy of J. Dodds, from the Staatliche Kunst-Sammlungen Kassel.



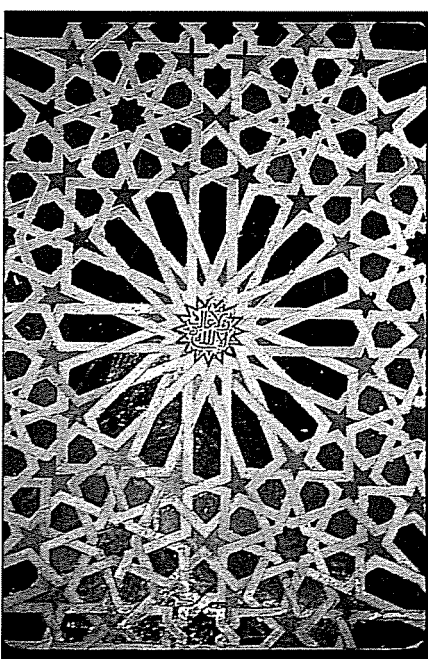
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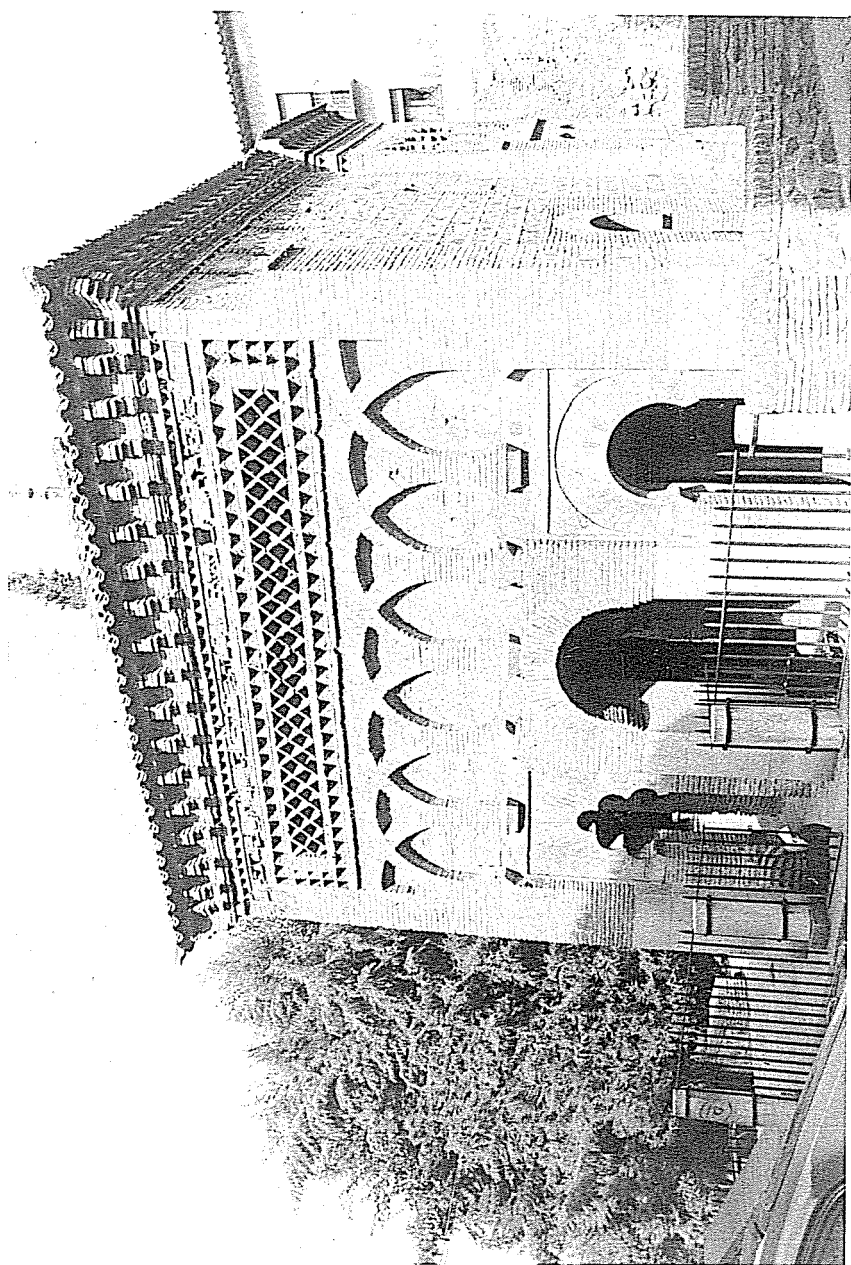


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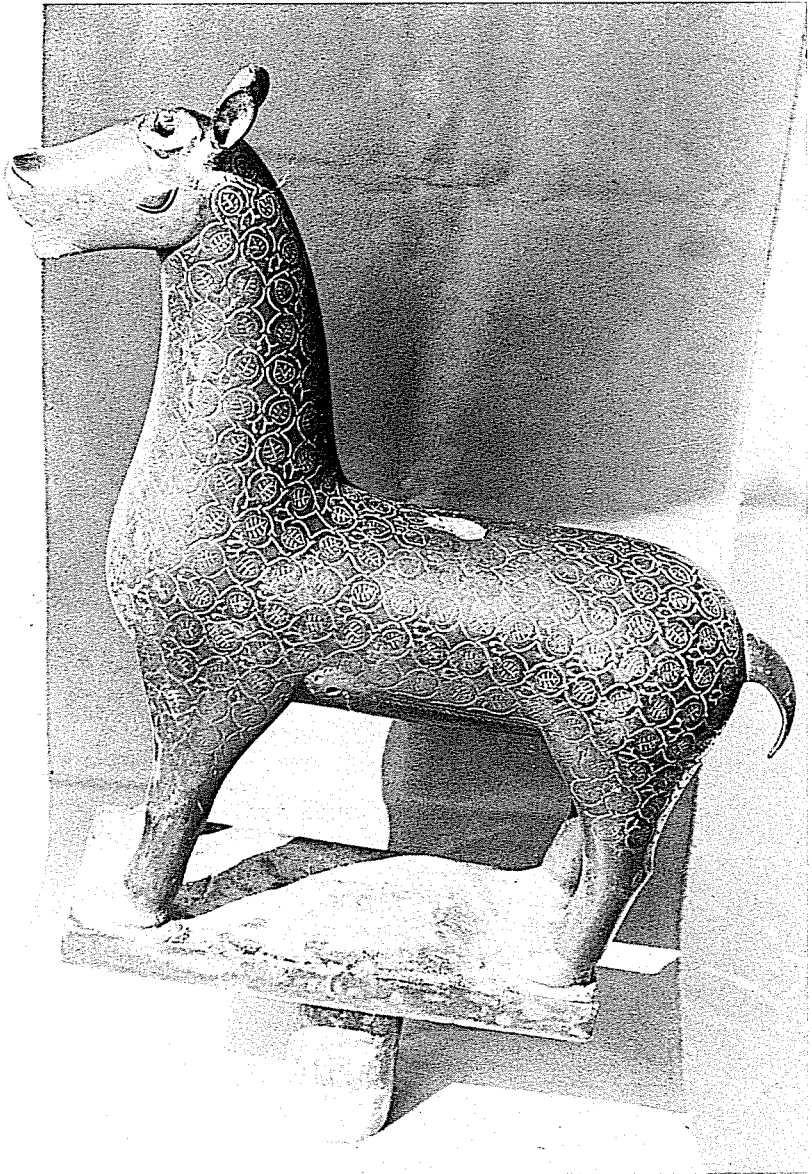
Ill. 18: *i*. Tile from Seville: Alcázar, Patio de los Doncellas, wall detail; *ii*. Tile from Alhambra, Mexuar Court, wall detail; *iii*. Tile from Alhambra, Court of Myrtles, wall inscription relief and mosaic inlay; *iv*. Alhambra, Mexuar Court, north wall. Courtesy of Oliver Radford (*i* & *ii*), Mary Alice Torres, from the Aga Khan Program Archives (*iii*) and Beatrice St. Laurent (*iv*).



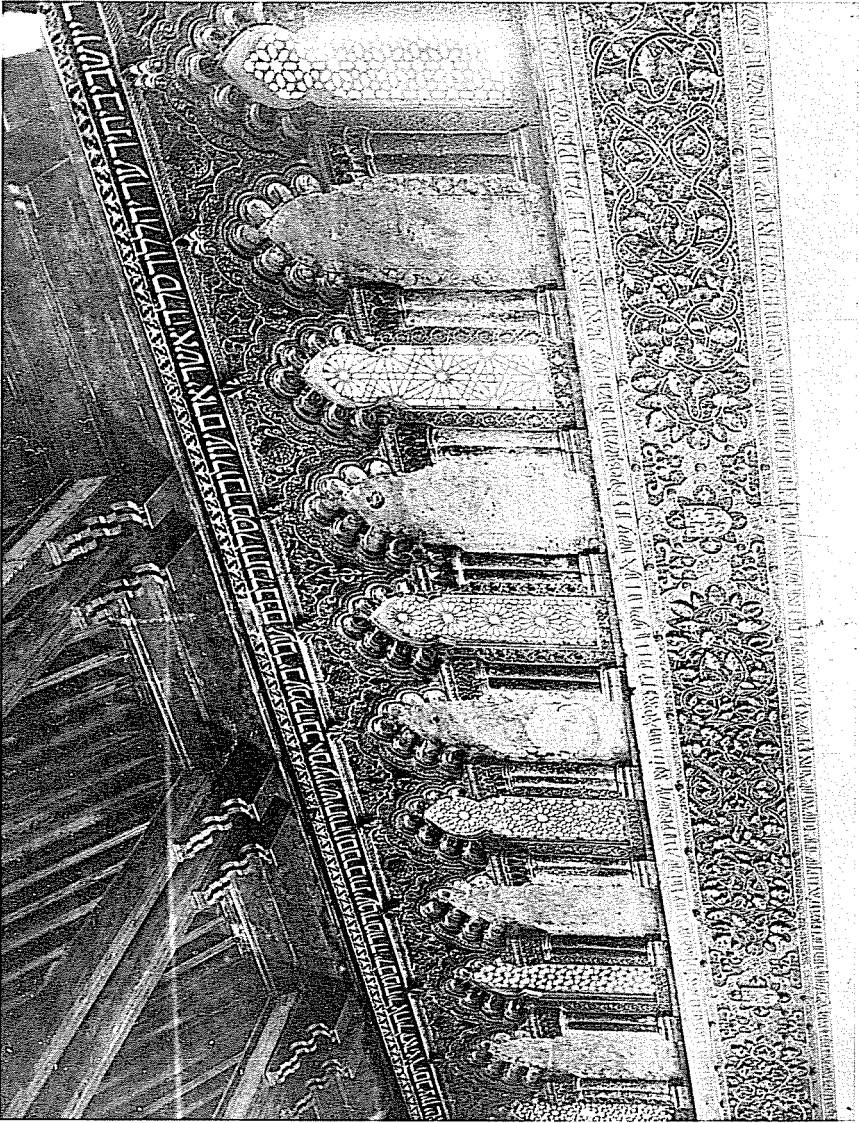
1. Casket of Hishām II, worked silver and gilt. Courtesy of J. Dodds, from Cathedral Treasury, Gerona.



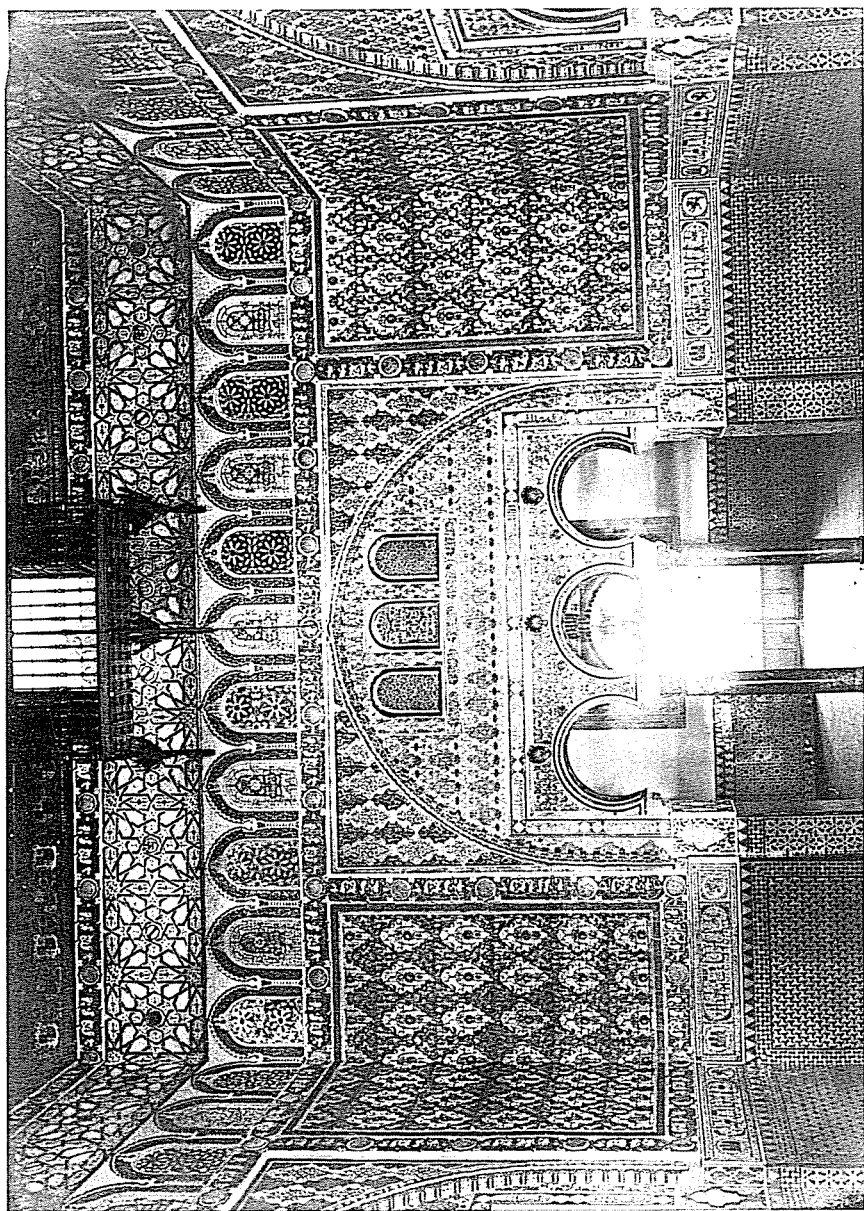
2. Toledo: Mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm. Courtesy of Robert Hillenbrand



3. Madinat al-Zahrā': Bronze inlaid deer, 10th Century, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico. Courtesy of Walter B. Denny.



4. Toledo: Synagoga del Tránsito, interior wall decoration. Courtesy of the Visual Collection, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.



5. Seville: Alcázar: Sala del Embajadores, interior. Courtesy of the Visual Collection, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

HISTORY

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF AL-ANDALUS (92/711-897/1492)

MAHMOUD MAKKI

I.1 *The Arab Conquest of North Africa*

The conquest of the Iberian Peninsula may be regarded as one of the most momentous historical events of the early days of what we now call the Middle Ages, for it was in this corner of the earth, named al-Andalus by the Arabs, that there rose the first Arab-Islamic state on the continent of Europe. Moreover, the Andalusis succeeded in making their land, which existed for eight centuries, one of the most brilliant of the Islamic countries, building a citadel of civilisation marked by an intermingling of European, African and Asian elements and possessed of a distinct cultural identity vis-à-vis the rest of the Islamic world. As such, it was able to act as a bridge over which Arab culture passed to the countries of Western Europe.

The Arab conquest of al-Andalus was in fact a natural extension of their subjugation of North Africa; and, since the author of the final victory of the Arabs in the Maghrib was also the man who assumed the task of conquering al-Andalus, we should briefly review the phases of the conquest of North Africa itself.

By 21/642 the Arabs had completed their subjugation of Egypt, which, from that point on, became the base for all the conquests directed westward along the North African coast (the countries in question having formerly, like Egypt itself, been part of the Byzantine Empire). In 22/643 and 23/644, the conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, carried out the conquest first of Barqa and then of Tripoli, after fierce fighting with the Byzantines and the Berbers allied with them; while, following the assumption of the Caliphate by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Sukūnī made his way westward, in 45/665, with an expedition which continued the Arab advance as far as Ifrīqiya (Tunisia), although he withdrew to Egypt after winning major victories. Subsequently 'Uqba b. Nāfi' twice became governor of Ifrīqiya: on the first occasion, he founded the city of Qayrawān, which then became the base for further expansion westward; on the second, he undertook a major expedition during which he penetrated the Aurès Mountains and reached Tangiers on the Atlantic Ocean, before then turning south, crossing the Atlas Mountains and making his way further south, beyond the city known today as Agadir, on the shore of the ocean. On his way back from this long expedition, in 63/683, Berbers of the Urubba tribe surrounded

his army to the south of the oasis of Biskra, and he and all those with him lost their lives, the Berber chief, Kusayla, subsequently occupying the city of Qayrawān. The Umayyad Caliphate was too preoccupied with the war against 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr to give any attention to the affairs of Ifrīqiya, but when the Caliphate was finally assumed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, he sent Zuhayr b. Qays, in the year 69/688, to recover the place. The war ended, however, with his defeat and death at the hands of the Berbers and their Byzantine allies, and 'Abd al-Malik accordingly dispatched a further expedition under the leadership of Ḥassān b. Nu'mān al-Gḥassānī who, between 72/690 and 85/704, was able to reconquer Ifrīqiya and complete the conquest of central North Africa.

Following Ḥassān b. Nu'mān's dismissal, the Caliph's brother, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān—who was governor of Egypt and the whole of North Africa—entrusted Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī, one of their top military men, with the governorship of North Africa. The latter advanced along the coast until he reached Sajūma (near present-day Tiṭwān), and was thus enabled to seize Tangiers, giving the Muslims their second view of the coast of the Atlantic. He then appointed his son, Marwān b. Mūsā, governor of Tangiers and sent expeditions to the south of the Maghrib, these reaching Sijilmāsa (in the region of Tāfilālt on the borders of the great Sahara Desert). Mūsā b. Nuṣayr returned to Qayrawān, having accomplished the subjugation of the whole of North Africa between the years 85/704 and 95/714, and organised the administration of the territory, dividing it into five provinces: Barqa, which had been subject to Egypt; Ifrīqiya, which extended from Tripoli to the Zāb region at the channel of the Shalaf River (in the east of present-day Algeria), and hence embraced virtually all of present-day Tunisia; Central North Africa, stretching from the channel of the Shalaf River to that of the Mawlawiyya River, with Tlemcen as its capital; Morocco, which lay to the west of the former as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, then southward to the Umm Rabī' Valley, with Tangiers as its capital; then a fifth province, that of Sūs, stretching from the Umm Rabī' River southward to the Sahara, with Sijilmāsa as its capital. The governorship of this new province Mūsā bestowed on his *mawla*, or client, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, before subsequently transferring him to Tangiers.

Mūsā thus completed the conquest of the whole of North Africa in about ten years, crowning the efforts of the conquerors who had preceded him. Islam now took firm root, in these lands, among the Berbers who had previously strongly opposed the Arabs—indeed, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, to whom Mūsā later entrusted the conquest of al-Andalus, was himself of Berber origin. Like many others of his race, he embraced Islam, became assimilated to Arab culture and played a major role in the Holy War. We shall see how they shared with the Arabs in the subjugation of al-Andalus and in the extension of Islam beyond the Pyrenees, and how the Andalusī population

sprang from the intermixing of these two ethnic groups with the original inhabitants of the country.

1.2 The Iberian Peninsula under the Goths

Prior to the Muslim conquest, the Iberian Peninsula was under the rule of the Western Goths (Visigoths), one of the barbarian Germanic peoples who had swept down on the Roman Empire when weakness and disorder overtook it at the beginning of the 5th century A. D. These Germanic tribes invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 409, parcelling out provinces which had formerly been subject to Rome. The Western Goths were divided into three groupings: the Suevi (Shūbiqāt in Arabic), whose territory consisted of the north-western part of the Peninsula called Galicia (al-Jallīqiyya); the Alani (Alan), who settled in two provinces, the eastern called La Cartagena (Qarṭājanna), and the western Lusitania, or Portugal (Ludāniyya); and a third group, the Vandals (al-Wandāl), whose lot fell in the southern region called Bética (Bāṭīqa). Between 429 and 430, a group of these Vandals crossed over to the Roman province of Africa (the equivalent of Tunisia and eastern Algeria today), being attracted by its natural wealth (like Egypt, it was regarded as a reservoir of grain for Rome). The Romans were too weak to repel these invaders, and the descendants of the Goths consequently remained there till the Arabs conquered the lands. When the Arabs learned that the Vandals had crossed to Ifriqiya from the Iberian Peninsula, they applied to their territory of origin a slightly distorted form of the tribal name "Vandals"—the origin of the name "Andalus", which came to mean that part of the Iberian Peninsula in Muslim hands.

The Goths did not, however, enjoy undisturbed rule over the Peninsula, for there were continual wars and strife between them and the Franks, in addition to which some of the southern parts of the Peninsula were under the control of the Byzantines. The Goths constituted a ruling élite separate from the indigenous people, with all high offices reserved to them and inter-marriage with their subjects prohibited. There was also a religious-sectarian controversy between them, since the native inhabitants endorsed Catholicism which taught the dual nature of Christ, while their Gothic kings belonged to the Arian sect which held to one nature—which the people viewed as rank heresy. There was also a Jewish minority in the country, which suffered the harshest persecution.

Thus, political, religious and social divisions rent the unity of the country until the end of the 6th century, when, under the rule of King Leovigildo (573-586), an attempt at political unification began to be made. This king succeeded in bringing the Suevi kingdom to an end and in taking over the southern cities which had been subject to the Byzantines, and he also dispatched an expedition to subdue the Vascones (Vasūnis), who had been in

constant revolt in the north. Then, during the reign of Recaredo (586-601), the son of the previous king, there was also an attempt at religious unity, as he adopted Catholicism, which, from this time onward, became the state religion of the Gothic kingdom—this assisting the reconciliation of the Gothic kings with their subjects to a certain extent, although class and social differences remained as before. The Goths inherited from the Romans their very cruel system of slavery, together with their system of taxation, which, since the Gothic aristocracy was exempted from it, was a constant burden on the subject population.

The Gothic kings came and went, with the country almost always involved in revolt, civil war and plots undertaken by the nobles, until Vamba (672-80) was elected king, and the state of the country improved somewhat with an end put to most of the revolts which had broken out. Soon, however, he himself was deposed, and, after a period of considerable unrest, Witiza (702-710) came to the throne. Wishing to establish concord with the allied families, he bestowed the title of "Duke" upon his mortal rival, Rodrigo (Roderic, known to the Arabs as *Ludhriq*), son of Teodofredo, who was a grandson of one of the former kings, and whose family coveted the throne. Witiza's good deed was of no avail in winning the friendship of his rival, for no sooner had he passed away in 710 than the supporters of Roderic, who was then residing in Córdoba, hastened to proclaim him king. However, the latter gained no joy from this royal sway, for the fall of the Gothic state and the entry of the conquering Arabs were destined to occur during his reign. Thus, he was the last Gothic ruler of Spain.

II. THE ARAB CONQUEST AND THE PERIOD OF THE GOVERNORS (92/711-138/756)

II.1 *The conquest*

Accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus current in Arab sources and, later, in Christian chronicles and Spanish heroic poems, trace it back to a tale which has long stirred popular imagination: the story of how the Gothic king, Roderic, violated the beautiful daughter of Julian, governor of Ceuta (Sabta), who—according to the custom of the Gothic nobility, which used to send its sons and daughters to be brought up in the king's palace—lived in Roderic's palace at Toledo (*Ṭulayṭula*). When, according to the story, the girl wrote to tell her father of this, he determined to dethrone the king to avenge his honour, and accordingly approached *Ṭāriq b. Ziyād*, the governor of Tangiers, offering him all possible assistance in conquering the country.

Whether true or not, however, the story is not in itself sufficient explanation for the Arab conquest of al-Andalus, which was a natural extension of the movement of conquest westwards along the Mediterranean coast. Also,

the occupation of the Iberian coast opposite North Africa provided insurance for Muslim conquests in North Africa. Following their conversion to Islam, the Berbers, like the Arabs, felt that they possessed a religious message they must struggle to spread. In fact, relations between the two communities facing each other across the Western Mediterranean Basin had been continuous from the dawn of history, and whenever the ruler of one of them began to feel powerful, his gaze would always turn towards the enemy opposite. These years, corresponding to the latter part of the first *hijrī* century under the caliphate of Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, witnessed a very great extension of Muslim conquest in both the East and the West, and it is an interesting coincidence that the years witnessing the subjugation of al-Andalus were also those in which Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhili reached the approaches to China, following his conquest of the lands of Turkestan and his penetration into Central Asia, and in which Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi entered the Sind River Basin.

There is no doubt that Julian, the governor of Ceuta spoken of in the conquest stories, was a historical personage, belonging, apparently, to the party of the Gothic King Witiza, which was hostile to Roderic. Although initially successful in his courageous defence of the city in the face of the Muslim siege, it would seem that he agreed to plot with Witiza's sons to depose Roderic, and decided to seek the assistance of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, who was, as noted above, governor of Tangiers, on behalf of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. He may have believed that, if the Muslims agreed to help him against his adversary, they would be satisfied with the booty won and return to North Africa—if so, this was a miscalculation, for the Muslims had other plans. Ṭāriq welcomed Julian's proposal after the latter had promised to place his ships at his service to transport the Muslim army to the coasts of al-Andalus, but had first to gain the approval of his commanding officer, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Mūsā gave him the required permission, but advised him to ensure Julian's loyalty by having him take part in a reconnaissance raid.

In 91/710, Ṭāriq sent a small expedition of 400 men under a Berber leader, Ṭarīf b. Mulūk. It landed on the southernmost tip of the Peninsula, at a place where, subsequently, a small city was built which still bears the name Tarifa (Jazīrat Ṭarīf) after the expedition's leader. From this spot, the Muslims undertook raids which brought them considerable plunder and large numbers of slaves.

It was this successful expedition which spurred Ṭāriq on to pursue the conquest itself, and, having equipped an army of 7,000 men, mostly Berbers, he set out from Ceuta harbour in April or May of 711 (92 A.H.). He landed at the foot of a mountain called Calpe (Kālpi), and there built a fortress on the rocky eminence destined to bear his name down to the present day—Jabal Ṭāriq, or Gibraltar. Then, leaving a small garrison there, he proceeded north to a town named Carteya (Qarṭāja) on the Straits of Gibraltar,

followed the Straits and encamped on a promontory, where a larger city was afterwards built which is now the most important harbour linking Spain with North Africa, namely Algeciras (al-Jazīra al-Khaḍrā'). All this occurred without his having met any resistance worth mentioning; he had in fact timed the expedition well, since Roderic had left his capital, Toledo, to put down a revolt by the Vascones in the North. When Roderic heard that Ṭāriq and his Muslim soldiers had landed, he collected his forces and hurried south to meet them. Meanwhile, Ṭāriq had continued his advance and crossed a small river emptying into the Atlantic Ocean, the Guadalete (Wādī Lakka), which flows into the shallow lake of La Tanda (called al-Khandaq by the Arabs). Here, in this level area, he marshalled his forces to await the battle with the Gothic king, who advanced swiftly with an army estimated by some sources at a hundred thousand men, though this appears to be an exaggeration. The two armies met on the shore of La Tanda, and battle raged for seven days, ending in a crushing defeat for Roderic's army on 28 *Ramaḍān* 92/July 19 711. The fate of Roderic himself is not known, but it appears that he fled following his defeat, and that the Muslims subsequently overtook him and killed him.

With this victory, the door of al-Andalus was open to Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, and he moved north towards the Gothic capital, Toledo, over 600 kilometres from where the Guadalete Battle had taken place, through difficult terrain with many mountains and narrow passes. As he advanced, he sent a detachment under one of his senior officers named Mughīth al-Rūmī (i. e., the Byzantine), a descendant of Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī, who took Córdoba, the capital of the southern region called Baetica by the Romans. Ṭāriq laid siege to Toledo and captured it after fierce resistance, upon which the Gothic notables and the city's priests fled with their treasures, including the high altar of the church which was overlaid with gold and jewels. They were pursued and finally overtaken near a village which the Muslims afterwards named Qal'at 'Abd al-Salām (now Alcalá de Henares) on the road to Guadalajara (Wādī al-Ḥijāra). The altar was then seized by the Muslims, who called it "Solomon's Table" and regarded it as one of the most important pieces of booty taken during the conquest. Winter having now set in, Ṭāriq returned to Toledo and wrote to his commander Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, informing him of the great victory and also requesting him to dispatch additional forces.

Feeling that he too should take part in the conquest, Mūsā decided to cross to al-Andalus from Tangiers, accompanied by a force estimated at 18,000 men, most of them Arabs (Qaysis and Yemenis). His army numbered several prominent successors to the companions of the Prophet, including 'Alī b. Rabbāḥ al-Lakhmī and Ḥanash b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣan'ā'nī. Having disembarked with his men at Algeciras, Mūsā decided to follow a different course from Ṭāriq, since some areas had still to be subjugated; these he now determined to subdue in order to protect the rear of the Muslim forces. He

made the crossing in *Ramaḍān* 93/June 712, and began by taking Medina-sidonia (*Shihdūna*) and the two large fortresses of Carmona (*Qarmūna*), and Alcalá de Guadaira (*Wādī Īra*) to the east of Seville. He then advanced upon Seville (*Ishbiliya*) itself, one of the major centres of the south, taking it with little resistance as its Gothic garrison withdrew to Niebla (*Labla*), in the extreme southwest, and to Beja (*Bāja*) in Portugal. Next he set out for Mérida (*Mārīda*), one of the largest cities in the southwest, where the Muslims met fierce resistance before the city surrendered to him on 1 *Shawwāl* 94/June 30 713, yielding up a great amount of treasure. Thence he went on to Toledo, having sent word to Ṭāriq to meet him there, and having, in the meantime, sent his son 'Abd al-'Azīz to put down a revolt which had broken out in Seville, and to take Niebla, Beja and Ocsonoba (*Ukshūnuba*) in the south of Portugal. Ṭāriq, meanwhile, had advanced down the Tagus River (*Nahr Tāju*) to the city of Talavera (*Ṭalabīra*), where the two leaders met before returning to Toledo together. Mūsā then ordered the first coinage to be struck in al-Andalus in two languages, Latin and Arabic.

Mūsā remained in Toledo over the winter of 95/713-714, concerning himself with the reorganisation of the new state. In the spring of 95/714, he moved north-east and took Saragossa (*Saraqusta*), the capital of the Ebro (*Ibrū*) Valley, where the *tābi'ī*, Ḥanash al-Ṣan'a'nī, drew up plans for the great mosque there, then headed for Lérida (*Lārīda*) on the road to Barcelona (*Barshalūna*), commanding Ṭāriq to take another road to complete the conquest of the northern regions in Aragon (*Araghūn*) and the district known today as Castilla la Vieja. Having subdued Aragon, Ṭāriq then captured Amaya, followed by the cities of León (*Liyūn*) and Astorga (*Ashtūrqa*).

Mūsā himself also moved north parallel to the Ebro, then made his way west towards the province of Asturias (*Ashtūriyash*), taking its capital Oviedo (*Tubit*) and reaching as far as the city now called Gijón on the Cantabrian Sea, while the people of the region fled to the rugged mountain tops now called Los Picos de Europa. It was in this area that the first organised Christian resistance subsequently sprang up, and, as such, it formed the nucleus of the first principality to confront the new-born Muslim state.

When in Lérida, Mūsā had received Mughīth al-Rūmī, a messenger from the caliph Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, who summoned him and his client Ṭāriq to the caliphal presence in Damascus to inform him of the results of their campaigns. Mūsā, however, decided first to complete the conquest of the country. Then, seeing that most parts of the Peninsula had submitted to him, he set out on the return trip with Ṭāriq, appointing, as his successor over the new province, his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, who began his governorate of al-Andalus in *Muḥarram* 95/September 714.

Mūsā and Ṭāriq embarked on their journey, Mūsā bringing much of the booty of the conquest with him. It is said that, since Caliph Walid was on his deathbed, his heir Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik sent to Mūsā requesting him to

postpone his journey out of respect for the imminent death of his brother, but actually so that he could take exclusive possession of the treasure. Mūsā, however, did not comply, continuing his journey till he reached Walīd, who was still alive, and handing over to him what he had brought. This was one of the reasons for Sulaymān's mistreatment of Mūsā, although it is also mentioned that jealousy had sprung up between Mūsā and Ṭāriq, because each wanted the sole honour for the conquest and the sole credit for the booty obtained. What we do know is that Sulaymān accused Mūsā of seizing some of the spoil for himself, levied a large fine on him and commanded that he be imprisoned and tortured till he had paid what was due. Ṭāriq too sank into oblivion. Sulaymān's treatment of the two great conquerors was regrettable, in that he failed to appreciate the generals' value or reward them as they deserved. Such behaviour was not, however, out of character: he had acted similarly with the conquerors of Turkestan and India, Qutayba b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi.

No more than three years had passed since the first campaign of the conquest, and the Iberian Peninsula, carved out from the Christian continent of Europe, was now added as a new province of the Islamic Empire. From this point on, the Muslims came to the country not as raiders in search of booty to take back to their homelands, but rather as settlers, forming the nucleus of a new society and initiating a new era which was to change the direction of history.

II.2 The governorship of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā and the consolidation of power in the country

The beginning of the rule of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 95/714 marks what is known as "the Period of the Dependent Governors", those, that is, who were not independent of the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus. He spent the two years of his governorate completing the conquest, since there were large areas which the Muslims had not entered; he seized control of the western region (present-day Portugal), and also, it seems, captured Evora (Yābura), Santarem (Shantarīn) and Coimbra (Qulunbriyya). He may perhaps have undertaken other campaigns in the east, to take possession of Tarragona (Tarrakūna), Barcelona, Gerona (Jurunda), and then in such adjacent French territories as Narbonne (Arbūna), but the sources give us no details of these, mentioning only that he set out eastward from Seville, capturing Málaga and Elvira (Ilbīra), and continued his advance as far as the area known as Tudmir (Tudmīr), of which Murcia (Mursiyya) was later the capital. A semi-independent emirate existed there at the time, ruled by a Gothic prince named Teodomiro, whom Arabic sources call Tudmīr b. 'Abdūsh, and who seems to have possessed sufficient firmness and courage to convince the Muslims that he was strong enough to resist them. 'Abd al-

'Azīz accordingly deemed it advisable to conclude a peace treaty with him, by which Teodomiro's rule over his principality was recognised on payment of a yearly tribute, and by which 'Abd al-'Azīz would also guarantee the safety of his followers and himself and grant complete freedom of religious worship and safety for their churches. This pact between 'Abd al-'Azīz and Teodomiro is the only known peace treaty between the conquerors and the inhabitants of the country, and Teodomiro's region accordingly enjoyed a unique status in al-Andalus.

This raises a question which was a subject of discussion among historians and *fuqahā'* (Islamic religious scholars), namely which parts of al-Andalus had been conquered by force and which parts on the basis of peaceful agreement, this being important in that a difference is made, in Islamic jurisprudence, between regions conquered by the two means. This is not the place for a close examination of the various views on the subject; it seems, however, that most of the land in al-Andalus was regarded as having been taken by peaceful agreement and very little as having been seized by force. By Islamic law, revenue from land taken by force must be divided into five parts (*yukhammas*), with a fifth set aside for the state and the rest distributed among the warriors. As for land taken over by peaceful agreement, the Muslims make peace on the basis of leaving land and trees in the hands of the original owners, but taking over the rest of their possessions. The conquering soldiers thus settled on most of the lands of al-Andalus, as fiefs from which they derived revenues.

The emirate of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā was a short-lived one, for the hatred of Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik for 'Abd al-'Azīz's father, Mūsā, and for his whole family, led to his arranging the assassination of the governor by one of the latter's own men in 95/714. The Andalusis then remained for some time without a governor, before choosing Mūsā's nephew, Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī, to whom is attributed the building of the city of Calatayud (Qal'at Ayyūb) on the Upper Frontier (al-Thaḡhr al-A'lā).

Over forty years or so, up to the fall of the Umayyad state and the establishment of the emirate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, twenty-two governors followed one another, with an average command of no more than two years—such swift change clearly reflecting the fear of the caliphs that a governor might become independent if he remained long in charge, especially given the considerable distance from the seat of the Caliphate, which precluded any speedy regaining of control by the latter. Sometimes the governor was appointed directly by the Caliph and at other times by the viceroy of Egypt or Ifrīqiya. Sometimes, too, the inhabitants of the country elected their own governor from among themselves.

There is no need to give a list of these governors and the length of their periods in office; it is sufficient to note the most prominent among them and the major events taking place during their tenures. The most notable action

of Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī was to remove the seat of government from Seville to Córdoba, where many of the soldiers from the original armies of the conquest were also settled. He was followed by al-Ḥurr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī, one of whose achievements was to build the emiral residence in Córdoba, facing the Guadalquivir bridge and standing over against the Great Mosque, which would later become the palace of the Umayyad princes. When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz became caliph, al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlanī was made governor of al-Andalus, and was one of the best governors, undertaking many building works and giving his life in the campaign of Holy War he undertook against the Gauls of France. He was succeeded by 'Anbasa b. Suhaym al-Kilābī, who also died in the Holy War in 107-8/726. Between this time and 114/732, six governors ruled al-Andalus, the last being 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī, who died at the battle of Balāt al-Shuhadā' in Poitiers in *Ramādān* 114/October 732.

Berber revolts now broke out in successive years against Arab rule in North Africa and al-Andalus. The caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sent an army of 30,000 Arabs from the military districts of Syria, under the leadership of Kulthūm b. 'Iyād al-Qushayrī, but the Berbers returned to defeat it in the fall of 123/741, and the remnant took refuge in the city of Ceuta, under the leadership of Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī. Then, when the Berbers tightened their grip on them, they sought help from the then governor of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Qaṭan al-Fihri. The latter—who was from Medina, and had not forgotten what the Syrian army had inflicted on his city in the battle of al-Ḥarra in 63/683—refused to help them, but when the Berber revolt had also become critical in al-Andalus itself, he decided to seek their help, allowing them to cross over into the country, where they were in fact able to inflict successive defeats on the Berbers there. When he judged that he no longer needed these Syrians, he requested them to withdraw, whereupon they refused to do so and quickly drove him out of the governor's palace, proclaiming their leader, Balj, governor of al-Andalus in his stead.

Dissension now broke out anew, this time between the Medinan Arabs and Syrian Arabs, until Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sent a governor, Abū 'l-Khaṭṭār b. Ḥusām b. Ḍirār al-Kalbī, with instructions to restore peace to the country. The latter, who reached al-Andalus in 125/743, decided that the best means of bringing the dissension to an end was to disperse the Syrian soldiers among the various districts of al-Andalus, taking care to assign the soldiers of each Syrian district to a similar area of Andalusi land; thus he assigned the soldiers from Damascus to the district of Elvira in Granada (*Gharnāṭa*), the Jordanian contingent to the district of Archidona (*Arshidhūna*) and Málaga, the Palestinian contingent to Medinasidonia, the contingent from Homs to Seville and Niebla, the Qinnasrīnī contingent to Jaén (*Jayyān*), and the Egyptian contingent to Murcia, Beja and Ocsonoba (*Ukshūnuba*) in the south of Portugal, the region known today as the Algarve, i. e., "the West".

With such wise policy did Abū 'l *Khattār* began his governorate, but soon his partisan loyalty led him to favour his own tribe and the Yemenis, with the result that dissension and civil wars broke out again. Matters finally became somewhat calmer when the Andalusis chose as their governor, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri, who ruled over al-Andalus for about ten years (130/747-138/756), until the arrival of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil.

II.3 Tribal and family struggles

The army of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, which had undertaken the initial conquest, was made up largely of Berbers, who possessed a tribal organisation divided into two main branches: the Butr, who were nomadic, and the Barānis, who were sedentary. There was rivalry between the two, as there also was between the 'Adnānī or Muḍarī Arabs (the northern Arabs) and the Yemenis (the Arabs of the south). Then the largely Arab army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (containing some 12,000 Arabs in all) entered al-Andalus—the group known as the “contingent of Mūsā”—bringing with them a large group of clients (*mawālī*). In the year 97/716, al-Ḥurr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī came from Ifrīqiya with four hundred of the leading men there, who were the élite among the Arab leaders, this group being known as the “contingent of al-Ḥurr”. These two contingents, who were the first Arabs to settle in al-Andalus, were called the “original Arabs” (*al-'Arab al-baladiyyūn*). Subsequently a further group of Arabs, numbering some ten thousand, came, as we have seen, with Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī in *Ṣafar-Rabī'* I 123/January 741 (the “contingent of Balj”), these being referred to as “Syrians” since they were from the military districts of Syria. Strife soon broke out between the “original Arabs” and the Syrians, and it was in order to put an end to this, as we have seen, that Abū 'l-*Khattār* al-Kalbī decided to spread the Syrians among the districts of al-Andalus. Fighting still, however, broke out from time to time, reaching its peak during the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan al-Fihri, and ending, as noted above, with the killing of Ibn Qaṭan and the governorship of the Syrian leader Balj.

Further struggle broke out between the two big Arab confederations, that is, between the Muḍaris, or Qaysis, and the Yemenis. Such conflict had long been present in the East, and the Umayyad caliphs themselves promoted it, showing favour now to one faction and now to the other, in the belief that this would ensure their control of both sides—although this policy proved, finally, to be one of the factors underlying the downfall of the state as a whole. In al-Andalus the Yemenis were more numerous than the Qaysis, but the latter were endowed with an ability, courage and cohesiveness which led to their dominance, particularly during the final years of the period of the governors, from the time Yūsuf al-Fihri assumed power (130/747), along with his adviser, al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥatīm al-Kilābī.

As if these quarrels were not enough, there was also the strife between Arabs and Berbers. Some historians have claimed this was due to the monopolisation, by the Arabs, of the best and most fertile Andalusī lands, with the mountainous and desert areas left for the Berbers, but it has now become clear that the conquerors rather simply settled in the regions where they found it agreeable to live—the high incidence of Berbers living in mountainous areas may be due to their being accustomed to such regions in their original North African homelands. The sources do not provide clear reasons for the Berber revolt in al-Andalus. A prime cause may have been the pride in things Arab and the scorn for other ethnic groups which characterised the Umayyad state, but it is more likely that the Berber revolt in al-Andalus was simply an extension of their revolt in North Africa; *Khārījī* principles, which had spread there, appealed to the Berbers, because they called for equality between Arabs and others.

This *Khārījī* Berber movement in Ifrīqiya was headed by Maysara, known as al-Ḥaqir, whose victories over the Arabs kindled the fervour of the Andalusī Berbers. Then, following the murder of Maysara, the leadership was assumed by Khālīd b. Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, who scored a crushing defeat over the Arabs in a battle known as *Ghazwat al-Ashrāf* ("the Battle of the Nobles") in the Shalaf Valley in 123/741. The Andalusī Berbers then came together, with those from the far north-west leaving their homeland and moving south, killing the Arabs along the way or forcing them to take refuge in flight. When, as we have seen, 'Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan realised the worsening position of the Arabs, he permitted the Syrian Arabs besieged in Ceuta under the leadership of Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī to cross over to al-Andalus, so as to make use of their help in fighting the Berbers. These Arabs demonstrated their competence and efficiency, inflicting three successive defeats upon the Berbers bands: in Medinasidonia, in the Córdoba region, and finally near Toledo, in the Battle of Guazaleta (Wādī Salīt). This then enabled them to proclaim their leader, Balj, governor of al-Andalus.

II.4 *The ethnic elements of Andalusī society*

The conquerors of al-Andalus belonged, then, to two main factions: the Arabs, whether "original" or Syrian, Qaysis or Yemenis, and the Berbers, who in turn belonged to two large groupings: the Butr and the Barānis, these branching out into many tribes. There is no doubt that the Berbers outnumbered the Arabs, but they soon assimilated with them in language and culture. Attached to the Arabs was a large group called *mawālī*, or clients, many of non-Arab origin, but associated with the Arabs according to the prevailing maxim that "the *mawla* of a people is an integral part of them". Thus, the tie of clientship was almost like that of lineage. Many descendants of client families, as we shall see, emerged on the political stage of al-Andalus

and came to occupy the highest offices of state. Most of them were from among the clients of the Banū Umayya, i. e., they gave their their allegiance and loyalty to the Umayyads.

There remain the original inhabitants of the country. Gothic society was divided into two groups, the Gothic rulers themselves and the indigenous population, and it was a society governed by sharp distinctions between the different classes. Then, when the various ethnic groups of Muslim conquerors came, they intermarried with the inhabitants of the country—for the conquerors did not, it should be remembered, arrive as families, but as a group of males, and accordingly had to take their wives from among the women in the new land. Thus, we soon see, in the generations which follow, a society which was a mixture of all these elements.

The Arabs treated the inhabitants well. They refrained from crushing them with taxes, and also left them their religious freedom, compelling no one to embrace Islam—a lenient policy which led to further intermixing, to the point that many among the indigenous population were in fact converted. These new Muslims were termed *al-asālima*, or *al-masālima* (new Muslims), and their children Muwallads (*muwalladūn*, i. e., people born and raised among Arabs, but not of pure Arab blood). Large numbers of inhabitants continued to profess the Christian religion, but they too were influenced by the customs and social practices of their fellow citizens, and took Arabic as their language; these were called Mozarabs (*al-mustaʿribūn*, people assimilated to the Arabs). The number of the latter, however, constantly decreased as the readiness to accept Islam grew.

II.5 *The spread of Islam to Gaul*

For all the dissension and civil war among the Muslim conquerors, a number of the governors of al-Andalus conducted a policy of Islamic Holy War beyond the Pyrenees (al-Barānis or al-Burtāt in Arabic). One of the first to do so was al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawḷānī, who made great efforts in this respect, and finally died a martyr at Toulouse (Ṭulūsha) in 102/721. Then, in 106/725, ʿAnbasa b. Suhaym al-Kalbī undertook an expedition which captured Carcassonne (Qarqashshūna) and Nîmes (Nîma), sending the resulting prisoners to Barcelona, which was now under Muslim control. He then advanced up to the valley of the Rhône (Rudāna) and entered the Province of Burgundy (Bürjūnya).

Holy War was revived under the governorship of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī, who, in the summer of 114/732, equipped a large army which he led over the Pyrenees from Pamplona (Banbalūna). He made his way to Bordeaux (Burdhāl), defeating the Duke of Aquitaine, who had attempted to block his advance there, then moved on towards the city of Tours (Ṭūr). Sensible to the danger, the King of the Franks, Charles Martel, gathered

a large army and confronted 'Abd al-Raḥmān about twenty kilometres to the north-east of Poitiers (Buwāṭiyay). The battle raged from 18-24 *Sha'bān* 113/October 25-31 732, and ended in a crushing defeat for the Muslims. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī himself was killed, and such a large number of Muslims were slain with him that the battlefield was referred to as "The Plain of the Martyrs".

The severity of this defeat lessened the drive to Holy War, although this never entirely died out. The Muslims still possessed extensive lands in Provence, and when 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Sulūlī became governor of al-Andalus, he led a new expedition which captured Valence (Vālāns), laying waste the country around Vienne, reconquering the whole of Burgundy and recapturing Lyon. Charles Martel, however, counter-attacked by besieging and taking Avignon, and also attempted, unsuccessfully, to occupy Narbonne.

After the death 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj in 123/741, the leadership of the Muslims in Gaul passed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alqama al-Lakhmī, a courageous man, although his partiality for the Yemenis prompted him to march to Córdoba to take part in the fighting between the Qaysis and the Yemenis, this resulting in the retaking of the largest cities of Septimanie (Sabtimāniyya) from the Muslims. Pepin II, son of Charles Martel, laid siege to Narbonne, but failed to take it, so that the city remained a bridgehead for the Muslims in Gaul up to the end of the period of the governors. Communications were, however, cut between Gaul and the Islamic bases in al-Andalus, and when 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil tried to send aid to those in Gaul, the expedition was defeated in the Pyrenean passes in 140/758. The following year, the Muslim lands held in Gaul fell to the Gauls and the Franks, so that the Arabs lost everything beyond the Pyrenees.

II.6 *Christian resistance in the North*

Though the armies of the original conquest had penetrated the rocky mountainous regions along the Cantabrian coast, the Muslims were not concerned with establishing their control over the north-western corner of the Peninsula, known as Galicia. Some Berber tribes did, however, settle in the region till the fighting between Arabs and Berbers led them to leave and join their fellow countrymen in the south. The land thus left vacant was resettled by the Goths and their Iberian followers, who had earlier fled following the fall of their state and now regained about a fifth of the Peninsula without a fight. Spanish historians refer to this event as a *reconquista*, which is hardly exact, although it might be taken to herald the beginning of the resistance movement. Arab and non-Arab sources agree that the remnants of the Goths had fled northwards after their defeat by the Arabs, finding refuge, finally, in a mountainous region in the Asturias overlooking the Cantabrian Sea. The Arabs call this area "Ṣakhrat Bilāy", since a Gothic prince named Pelayo,

said to be the nephew of Roderic, took refuge there, fortifying himself in a village called Cangas de Onís, which he successfully defended against the Muslims during the time of 'Anbasa b. Suhaym al-Kalbī. According to Christian records, he won a victory over the Muslims in 99/718 in a battle they call Covadonga, and this battle, embellished with a wealth of exaggeration and mythical detail, is regarded by them as the beginning of the *reconquista*. In reality it appears to have been an insignificant skirmish in which Pelayo demonstrated his steadfastness—which is not, however, to deny its importance, since it marked the beginning of this leader's emergence from his stronghold and his drive to extend his control until he held a principality comprising Asturias, Cantabria and part of Galicia. With the attention of the Muslims distracted by the dissension between Arabs and Berbers, he was able to consolidate his position and establish the foundations of his state. According to Muslim historians, Pelayo was succeeded, on his death in 119/737, by his son Favila, who died after a reign of a year or two. The people of Asturias then elected Alfonso I (*Adh̄fūns* in Arabic), the son of Pedro, Duke of Cantabria, and son-in-law of Pelayo. When the Muslim Berbers withdrew from the Galicia area, so that the area of Muslim domination now ceased at the Duero River, Alfonso seized the opportunity to extend his possessions.

II.7 *Evaluation of the period of the governors*

For all the negative aspects of the period of the governors, notably the dissension and civil war between the various factions, it was not without important positive features, the most prominent of these being the swift advance of Islam among the mass of people in the Peninsula. As Islam spread, so did the Arabic language, which soon became the language of culture and civilisation, not just for the Muslims but for the Christians too. The condition of the people improved immensely, for the Muslims adopted a tolerant policy, marked by a high degree of kindness to the inhabitants of the land and the removal of injustices from which they had suffered under the Goths. The Muslims treated their subjects well, mixing with them rather than holding them in contempt, and this assisted in the moulding of the new nation, through which life in the Peninsula took a completely different historical course.

III. THE ERA OF THE INDEPENDENT *AMĪRS*

Despite the political and administrative ability of many of the Umayyad caliphs and the great conquests they achieved—it was during their time that the Islamic state reached its greatest extent—their caliphate was in fact short-lived, lasting for less than a century (40/661-131/750). There were many

reasons for this, one of which was the strong opposition met by their state from the political/sectarian parties which everywhere fomented revolt against them. There were, to begin with, the Shi'a, who held that the Caliphate really belonged to the Prophet's family, and whose followers inflamed the Islamic world with hatred against the Umayyads, taking advantage of such monstrous blunders, on the part of the rulers, as the slaughter of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, of the Prophet's family, at Karbala in 61/681 and their mistreatment of many other members of the family. Then there were the Khārijis, who forcibly resisted the Umayyads, waging war against them in numerous regions from Iran to Morocco; and the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr, whose revolt in the Hijaz would have spelt the end of the Umayyad state had it not been for the intrepid courage and political shrewdness of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

A further factor was the partiality shown by the Umayyads towards those of Arab ethnic origin. This irritated the clients from other ethnic groups who had accepted Islam, and those of Persian origin especially hastened to join opposition movements. Moreover, the Umayyad caliphs' policy of sowing dissension among the Arab tribes themselves led to partisan loyalties and rancour, so finally contributing to the fragmentation of society and the rending of its unity. All this, together with the military exertion demanded by the many conquests achieved during the period, placed an excessive strain on the state treasury, which meant that the caliphs and their viceroys were obliged to impose exorbitant supplementary taxes and collect them by oppressive means, so increasing the people's hatred of them.

The most powerful opposition to the Umayyads lay in the call for an *imām* from the Prophet's family, something involving both the Shi'a and the supporters of the descendants of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This movement, which relied on a powerful secret organisation disseminating its propaganda in the eastern part of the Islamic Empire (Iraq, Iran and Khurāsān), grew in strength during the period of Marwān b. Muḥammad; in his time, in fact, secret propaganda was transformed into open revolt, led by such capable commanders as Abū Salama al-Khallāl and Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī. Marwān b. Muḥammad was, as a result, plunged into constant wars against the rebels, who supported the claim of the Abbasid *imām*, and although he fought with great courage, he was finally defeated, being killed in the Fayyūm in Egypt in 132/750 as he attempted to flee to north-west Africa.

With his death the Umayyad state collapsed and Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ proclaimed himself the first Abbasid caliph. The Abbasids then immediately began to wreak dreadful vengeance on the remnants of the Umayyad family, pursuing the living, even exhuming the dead from their graves, and rigorously searching out their remaining descendants everywhere.

III.1 'Abd al-Raḥmān I b. Mu'āwiya, "al-Dākhil"
(138/756-172/788)

Among the surviving Umayyad princes was a grandson of the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, named 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Hishām. Born in 113/731, he lost his father as a child, and was brought up under the care of his grandfather, Hishām. His mother was a Berber concubine from the Nafza tribe. When the Umayyad state fell, he was living in the village of Ruṣāfa on the banks of the Euphrates River, and, as Abbasid soldiers surrounded his house, he and a younger brother took flight. He was forced to swim across the river, witnessed the soldiers slaughtering his brother, and afterwards moved on, in disguise, from one place of refuge to another, from Northern Syria to Palestine, on to Egypt and, finally, to the Maghrib—a heroic tale of legendary proportions. When he reached the far north-west of Africa, he took refuge with the Nafza tribe of his maternal uncles in the coastal city of Nakūr, and from here he approached the Umayyad clients in al-Andalus (many of the Syrian contingent of Balj b. Bishr being, as noted above, from among these *mawālī*).

'Abd al-Raḥmān's *mawlā*, Badr, undertook the mission for him, parleying with the Syrian *mawālī*, 'Abd Allah b. Khālīd and 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, the commanders of the Elvira garrison, and Yūsuf b. Bakht, who commanded the garrison at Jaén. These men laid the matter before al-Ṣumayl b. Hātim, the vizier of Yūsuf al-Fihri, but he hesitated for fear of losing his high position, and the supporters of 'Abd al-Raḥmān then decided to turn to the Yemenis—who were eager to revenge themselves on the Qaysis, since the latter were friendly towards al-Ṣumayl and Yūsuf al-Fihri. The Yemeni leaders welcomed their advances, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān accordingly set sail for the port of Almuñécar (al-Munakkab), where he arrived on 1 Rabi' 138/August 14 755.

Yūsuf al-Fihri had been governor of al-Andalus since 130/747, and he had continued to rule it independently when the Umayyad Empire fell, so that it vexed him to see this Umayyad prince coming to seek the throne of his forebears. He deemed it advisable, nevertheless, to negotiate with 'Abd al-Raḥmān, offering to settle him in Córdoba, take his daughter in marriage and provide him with a wealthy life, on condition that he refrained from dabbling in political activity. 'Abd al-Raḥmān rejected this proposal, and it was inevitable that war should break out. The Umayyad clients of the Syrian Army, most of the Yemenis, a few of the Qaysis and some groups of Berbers rallied round 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and the two factions met in battle at al-Muṣāra on the banks of the Guadalquivir (al-Wādī al-Kabīr) near the walls of Córdoba, on 9 Dhū 'l-Hijja 138/May 14 756. Yūsuf al-Fihri and his friend al-Ṣumayl, were crushingly defeated, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān entered Córdoba to proclaim himself its *amīr* (emir) in July of the same year. He contented

himself with this title (*amīr*, i. e., prince or commander) rather than claiming the Caliphate in order to avoid antagonising the Abbasid caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, who was now heir to the other countries of the Islamic World. Thus, al-Andalus was the first country to proclaim its independence and separation from the Caliphate.

'Abd al-Raḥmān undertook the reorganisation of the state, endeavouring to avoid the mistakes into which his predecessors, the eastern caliphs, had fallen. Realising that racial and tribal partisanship were the primary cause of the anarchy which had been prevalent in the country, he immediately announced that that he did not recognise such loyalties, but would rather provide justice and equality for everyone. Such a declaration displeased many of the leaders, who had grown accustomed to placing their own special interests before everything else, and there were, in consequence, repeated revolts by agents of the Abbasid Caliphate, and also by Yūsuf al-Fihri and al-Ṣumayl (who violated their oaths after he had guaranteed their safety), by the Yemeni leaders (who had taken pride in their support for him), by the Berber leaders, and others. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, however, put down all of these revolts with a degree of severity which was unavoidable in the circumstances. He possessed considerable administrative ability, and was also expert in choosing men for positions of state, relying on a number of client leaders who demonstrated great political and administrative competence, and whose families—such as the Banū Mughīth al-Rūmī, the Banū Abī 'Abda, the Banū Bukht, the Banū Khālid, the Banū 'Uthmān and the Banū Shuhayd—remained, to the end, the props of the Umayyad state in al-Andalus. He also treated the *ahl al-dhimma* (the non-Muslim subjects) well. He succeeded in propagating justice among the populace, restoring order to a country long torn by dissension and anarchy and administering the financial resources of the country wisely, founding, finally, a powerful, well-ordered, unified state.

Probably the most dangerous event in al-Andalus during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (so named because he was the first member of the Umayyad family to enter the country) was the attack mounted by Charlemagne in an attempt to seize Saragossa, the capital of the Upper Frontier. In the spring of 161/778, the French King, having previously made an agreement with the Vascones to join him, set out with a huge army, crossing the Pyrenees east of the city. Two Arab leaders, Sulaymān b. Yaḡzān al-A'rābī and al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī, also entered the alliance, tempting him with the promise to surrender Saragossa to him. However, disagreement sprang up between the allies, and the inhabitants of the Upper Frontier rose to defend their country. The European King, having failed to take Saragossa after a prolonged siege, withdrew to his own country, and, on the way, was attacked by the Vascones in the middle of the Roncesvalles (Runshafāla) Pass in the Pyrenees. The Muslims allied themselves

with the Vascones, and fell on the rear of the Frankish army, tearing it to pieces and killing its commander, Roland, who became the hero of the popular French ballad, the *Chanson de Roland*, regarded as one of the decisive landmarks in the formation of the French language.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil paid much attention to the construction of buildings, his first project being the erection of the Great Mosque of Córdoba in 168/785. He also restored the Emiral Palace opposite the Great Mosque and, to the north-west of Córdoba, built his country palace, which he named *al-Ruṣāfa*, by analogy with his grandfather Hishām’s palace on the banks of the Euphrates.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil was a statesman of major stature. It is sufficient to consider the details of his life, his transition from fugitive to restorer of a kingdom and founder of a state, and the name given to him by his deadly enemy Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, namely *Ṣaqr Quraysh* (“the Falcon of Quraysh”).

III.2 *Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (172/788-180/796)*

In accordance with his father’s oath, Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded him in the principality. He was not in fact the eldest son, and this led to revolts by his two brothers, Sulaymān and ‘Abd Allāh, the latter being known as al-Balansī (“The Valencian”) because he resided in that city. Hishām was lenient, religious and mild-tempered, treating people in a way far removed from his father’s harshness. His brief period in power was not disturbed by revolts, other than those undertaken by his two brothers and some of the Yemenis, though there was also an attempt by the Principality of Asturias to expand its borders. His commanders were decisively successful in countering these threats.

Probably the most important event of Hishām’s reign was the entry of the Islamic Mālikī rite into al-Andalus. The country had, up till now, followed the rite of al-Awzā‘ī (d. 157/774), the *imām* of the Syrians, but scholars on their way to Medina on pilgrimage witnessed the high authority held among Muslims by the *imām* Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), who had now completed his compilation of Muslim jurisprudence, *al-Muwattaʿa*, regarded as one of the prime legal works regulating religious observances and interpersonal dealings within Muslim society. The book captivated a number of Mālik’s Andalusī students, among them, al-Ghāzī b. Qays and Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, known as *Shabṭūn*. However, the most important of these scholars was undoubtedly Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848), whose recension of the *Muwattaʿa* became the authorised one among the Andalusis. From this time onward, the Mālikī *fuqahā* became a very influential class among the people, and judges and counsellors were chosen from among them.

We should pause briefly to consider Hishām’s relations with the Christians of the North. We have already seen how Pelayo first initiated Christian

resistance, and how his son-in-law, Alfonso I, followed him and ruled the kingdom of Asturias from 121/739 to 139/757. During the latter's reign, as we have seen, the revolt of the Berbers broke out in North Africa, and the Berber inhabitants of Galicia withdrew south to assist their brothers against the Arabs, while the famine of 133/751-135/753 produced a further evacuation of Muslims living in León, to the cities of Coria (Quriyya) and Mérida. During the latter part of the period of the governors and the early days of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil, the Muslim revolts and dissensions permitted Alfonso I, as noted above, to extend his influence till his kingdom reached the banks of the Duero. It is true that 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil halted this advance, but the Muslims made no attempt to recover the land from which they had withdrawn.

Between 139/757 and 175/791, Asturias was ruled by weak kings, and Christian expansion ceased. In 175/791, *Amīr Hishām* sent two expeditions to the regions of Alava (Alaba) and Galicia, dealing severe punishment on them, and in the same year Alfonso II, known as "the Chaste" (175/791-227/842), came to the throne, moving his capital to Oviedo. In 178/794, *Hishām* sent out two further armies, the first attacking Alava and the fortress of Castilla (al-Qitā') and the second storming Oviedo, inflicting serious damage on it.

On his death *Hishām* left an established, powerful and secure principality. He was loved by the populace and was, according to some historians, called *al-Riḍā*, "the conciliatory". He is the only one of the independent Andalusī princes to bear an honorary title of this kind.

III.3 *Al-Ḥakam I b. Hishām al-Rabaḍī* (180/796-206/822)

Having inherited a firmly established, largely well-ordered realm, al-Ḥakam was tempted to devote himself to the pleasures of drinking and hunting. Rather than follow his father's course of fostering the *fuqahā'*, who had great influence with the masses, he surrounded himself with a guard of Slavs, called *al-Khurs* ("the dumb ones") by the people because of the barbarous way they spoke Arabic. They were also very cruel, and dissatisfaction among the common people soon turned to violent revolt. His first anxiety sprang from the revolt of his two uncles, Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh, and though Sulaymān was defeated and killed in the Mérida region in 182/798, 'Abd Allāh travelled to seek the aid of the Frankish king, Charlemagne. His revolt on the Upper Frontier was not, however, destined to succeed, though it did encourage Charlemagne to interfere once more in Andalusī affairs. Thus, he decided, in 185/801, to avenge his previous defeat, when he had attacked Saragossa, by sending his son Louis with an army to lay siege to Barcelona. The governor, Sa'dūn al-Ru'aynī, sought help from the neighbouring governors on the Frontiers, but no one came to his aid, and, after a siege lasting two

years, the city fell into Louis' hands and became a border area subject to the Frankish kingdom—the *Limes Hispanicus*, or *Marca Hispánica*—with Barcelona now the capital of a new Christian principality.

Similar unrest arose among the Muwallads of Saragossa, but their rebellion was soon snuffed out. Then, in 181/797, the infection of revolt spread to Toledo, where the people threw off their allegiance, and the governor of Toledo, 'Amrūs, inflicted fearful slaughter on the rebel leaders in a battle known as *Waq'at al-ḥufra* ("The Battle of the Pit"). A further revolt broke out in 189/805 on the Lower Frontier, at Mérida, led by the Berber officer, Aṣḥagh b. Wānsūs and also joined by the Muwallads, the Berbers and the Mozarabs. This revolt lasted for seven years, being finally subdued in 197/813.

The most dangerous uprising, however, occurred in Córdoba itself. These were the two revolts in the *Rabaḍ*, the level area on the left bank of the Guadalquivir opposite the *amīr*'s palace, and known as *Arrabal de Secunda* (*Rabaḍ Shaqunda*). This was a crowded quarter inhabited by merchants, craftsmen, *fuqahā'* and students, and it was the *fuqahā'* who inflamed the masses with their scathing criticism of the *amīr*'s policy. The first revolt broke out in 189/805, being, in fact, a plot aimed at overthrowing al-Ḥakam and making his paternal cousin *amīr* in his stead, but the latter himself informed against the conspirators, who were captured and 72 of them crucified, including a leading *faqīh*, Yaḥyā b. Muḍar al-Qaysī.

Such cruel measures did not, nevertheless, succeed in putting an end to the rebellion, and another revolt, more dangerous than the first, broke out—again in the *Rabaḍ*—in 202/818. The *fuqahā'* themselves took part, among them Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī and Ṭālūt b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, who were disciples of the *imām* Mālik. The rebels invaded the Emiral Palace, placing the *amīr* in a critical position, but, remaining calm, and aided by some of his military commanders, he withstood them, so enabling his guard to subject them to another fearful slaughter. Because of these two revolts, al-Ḥakam has become known to history as *al-Rabaḍī* (the man of the *Rabaḍ*). After subjecting the *Rabaḍ* to plunder and slaughter for three days, he issued a guarantee of public safety. Some of the surviving rebels fled to Toledo, but al-Ḥakam ordered that most of them—estimated by some historians at 15,000 families—should be exiled. One group made its way to Fez in Morocco, where the Idrisid *amīr*, Idrīs II, welcomed them and settled them in a city of their own, which was named "The City, or Embankment (*'Udwa*) of the Andalusis". It faced the old city called "The Embankment of the Qayrawānis" (referring to the city of Qayrawān), whose inhabitants were mainly Berbers.

Another group went by sea to the eastern Mediterranean. These adventurers seized possession of Alexandria, taking part in the disturbances sweeping through Northern Egypt at the time, till finally, Caliph Ma'mūn

was forced to send one of his best commanders, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to suppress the revolt of these Andalusis. However, Ibn Ṭāhir, in his political far-sightedness, deemed it wiser to parley with them, and concluded a peace by whose terms he would convey them in his ships to any island they wished. Guided by their leader, Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar al-Ballūṭī (derived from Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ—Valle de los Pedroches—a plain to the northwest of Córdoba), they made their way to the Island of Crete (Iqriṭūsh), which belonged to the Byzantine Empire. Having occupied it, they established an Islamic state there, which continued to exist until the Byzantines reconquered it in 350/961.

For all the cruelty and bloodshed with which historians no doubt rightly charge al-Ḥakam, he was not without piety, particularly during the final period of his life. As for his cruelty, there was some justification for this, in that he was anxious to strengthen the foundations of power and respect for authority. He concerned himself with affairs on the Frontiers, and succeeded in protecting the borders against enemy attack, except for Barcelona, which he lost irretrievably. Repenting of his excesses in putting down the two *Rabaḍ* revolts, he set out to expiate them during the later years of his reign by giving charity to the people, and his wives too performed a great many charitable deeds, dispensing alms and erecting mosques. His reign also, it should be said, witnessed the first signs of an emerging cultural and artistic activity in al-Andalus—we encounter, besides a number of *fuqahā'* and philologists, such influential poetic figures as 'Abbās b. Nāṣih, Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl and Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Shāmī, and even some proficient singers.

III.4 'Abd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam (206/822-238/852)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam was the opposite of his father—mild-tempered, sociable with the populace and possessed of a calm and leisurely manner, though not neglecting the affairs of state. His reign is regarded as constituting one of the most brilliant, stable and fruitful periods of the emirate. This was due to the administrative and organisational ability with which he was endowed, his outstanding innovation lying, probably, in his system of government and organisation of state institutions. In contrast to the situation obtaining in the Abbasid Empire, al-Andalus was characterised by a consultative system based on what might be called "collective leadership", whereby functions were expertly distributed on the basis of competence. There was a Minister of the Treasury (i.e., Finance), a Minister for Security called the "Controller of the City" (similar to a Minister of the Interior), a Minister for Defence, called the "Commandant Minister", and a Minister for Buildings and Development, called the "Controller of Public Works". These men had a place called the "Ministry Building", and a head called the *ḥājib*, or chamberlain, and they met to confer on affairs of state and make decisions, which they then submitted to the *amīr* for ratification. They were

accorded a freedom of opinion permitting them to raise objections even to the decision of the *amīr* himself—to a great extent, in fact, a democratic system. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān chose these ministers well, mostly from client families of the Umayyads known for their loyalty to the state and devotion to its service. Many of them were known for their great administrative ability and trained their sons to succeed them, so that offices were passed on by family inheritance, such a system being found, for example, among the Banū *Shuhayd*, the Banū Abū ‘Abda, the Banū *Bukht*, the Banū Umayya, the Banū *Fuṭays* and the Banū *Basīl*, all of whom provided the state with dozens of highly skilled and capable men.

The court system was similarly organised, along with the offices attached to it. There was the *qāḍī al-jamā‘a*, or chief judge, who was the judge of the capital, Córdoba, and oversaw the district judges; there was a “Controller of Estates”, in charge of the distribution of inheritances; and there was a “Market Controller” (analogous to the *muḥtasib* in the East), who had jurisdiction over markets, the supervision of prices and the punishment of hoarders and givers of short weight. These systems, and the court system in particular, possessed a large measure of independence—we hear repeatedly of judges whose verdicts were imposed even on the *amīrs* themselves. The judge was surrounded by a number of *fuqahā’* called “consultants” (*muṣḥā-warūn*) and would not adjudicate on any matter without taking their views into account. This unique system, largely resembling those of modern democratic states, guaranteed a high degree of security, stability and justice for the nation, which, in turn, encouraged the people to devote themselves to their labours and various activities in a way that soon produced swift progress and conspicuous advancement. It may well be, indeed, that no other Islamic state reached the same level in this respect.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān was cultured in the true sense of the word; and when news reached him of the progress and cultural level attained by the Abbasid capital of Baghdad in the time of al-Raṣḥīd and al-Ma’mūn, he wanted Córdoba to become the Baghdad of the West and he himself the Ma’mūn of the Umayyads. Previous *amīrs* and their subjects had held aloof from Iraq and Persia, the centre of Abbasid culture, fearing their Abbasid adversaries might interfere in the country’s affairs; when, for example, Andalusis performed the religious duty of pilgrimage, they would, out of loyalty to the Umayyads, visit Damascus, Fustāt and similar places. By the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, however, the danger had disappeared, since the Abbasids no longer thought of sending their agents to muddy the waters of al-Andalus, and the Umayyad *amīr* consequently decided to benefit as far as possible from the fruits of Abbasid civilisation and its advanced culture, welcoming the singer, ‘Alī b. Nāfi’, known as Ziryāb, the student of Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī, as a representative of the highest type of civilisation. Ziryāb deserved the status he was accorded in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s court, since he was not only a brilliant

musician and singer, but also represented the refinement, elegance, traditions, patterns and culture of Abbasid civilisation in every other way: in style of dress, in table manners, in the rules of what we now call "protocol" and "etiquette", even in the coiffure of both men and women. In his own field, Ziryāb succeeded in establishing the first musical and singing school, thanks to his student singers (both male and female), and even made developments to the eastern lute, to which he added a fifth string, and innovations with respect to types of rhythmic modes and melodies. As a highly cultured man, he brought with him a great deal of poetry set to music, and also anecdotes and stories current among drinking companions. Anxious to benefit from the scientific renaissance in Baghdad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent his poet, 'Abbās b. Naṣīḥ al-Thaqafī, to Iraq to bring him books on '*ulūm alawā'il*' ("the sciences of the forefathers")—mathematics, astronomy, medicine, etc.—and also dispatched the poet Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Ghazāl to Baghdad as his representative, thus introducing to al-Andalus the school of such modern poets as Abū Nuwās and Abū 'l-'Atāhiya. He likewise sent many students of philology, grammar and Quranic interpretation, who returned home with abundant stores of culture in these branches of learning.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was interested in development and construction, undertaking the expansion of the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the raising of its roof, while his engineers created, in the mosque, those double arches which are considered one of the masterpieces of Andalusī architecture. He also constructed a large number of imposing mosques in the various urban centres of the country.

The middle years of 'Abd al-Raḥmān were not, however, completely cloudless, for numerous revolts broke out in some cities of al-Andalus (in Toledo, on the Upper Frontier and in Algeciras), while the Tudmīr region witnessed a renewal of dissension between the Qaysis and the Yemenis which lasted for seven years, till it was extinguished in 214/829. Immediately afterwards, 'Abd al-Raḥmān built a new city there, Murcia, which became the capital of the province. There was an uprising, too, by the inhabitants of Majorca (Mayūrqa) and Minorca (Minūrqa). They had a treaty with the Muslims dating from the early days of the conquest, whereby they enjoyed a privileged position verging on self-rule, but when the uprising occurred a fleet was sent to conquer the islands, which henceforth became part of the territory of al-Andalus.

'Abd al-Raḥmān dispatched several expeditions against the Christians in the North. In 208/823, his general, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḡhīth, raided Alava and Castile, and in 219/825 his uncle, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Balansī, again raided Alava, while the general, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī, penetrated the territory of Galicia. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Balansī again attacked Galicia the following year, his troops reaching the banks of the Miño River (Wādī Minyu), then headed again for Castile. In 225/840, 'Abd

al-Raḥmān led an expedition to Galicia in person, and next year sent his son, al-Muṭarrif, and the Vizier 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Yazid al-Iskandarānī to attack the Barcelona region. In 227/842, the king of Asturias finally died, being succeeded by his son, Ramiro I (842-850), but the situation there did not in fact change, with 'Abd al-Raḥmān continuing his attacks on the Christian kingdom. In the expedition of 233/846, led by Muḥammad, son of *Amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the city of León was besieged and bombarded by catapult, so terrifying the inhabitants that they fled. Muḥammad then stormed and burned the city, demolishing its walls.

The most critical occurrence of the middle period of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's reign, was, however, the attack by the Normans (al-Ardamāniyyūn, or "the Magians" as the Arabs called them) against the Andalūsī coastline in the year 229/844. These "northerners" from the Scandinavian countries were attracted by the wealth and sedentary culture enjoyed by al-Andalus, and, in accordance with their habit of attacking the European coast, they mounted a surprise attack on the harbour at Lisbon (al-Ashbūna) with their light vessels. The governor of the city, Wahb b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥazm, hurriedly sought help from the *amīr*, but the Normans set sail for Cádiz (Qāḍis), which they occupied, then penetrated the mouth of the Guadalquivir as far as Seville, burned down the Great Mosque there and plundered the city. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then swiftly sent forces to the city under the leadership of the eunuch Naṣr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, and these two generals courageously confronted the Norman pirates, inflicting a terrible defeat on them at the village of Tablada (Ṭablāṭa) south of Seville. These events led 'Abd al-Raḥmān to build a powerful fleet to guard his country's coasts, undertaking a concerted construction programme in the Andalūsī ports of Lisbon, Seville, Valencia and Algeciras, as a result of which he soon possessed two powerful fleets, one in the Atlantic and the other in the Mediterranean. He was likewise active in building fortresses and coastguard stations.

The *amīr* saw no harm, however, in handling the matter by diplomatic means, and sent an embassy headed by his poet, Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl, to the country of the Norman king, where, according to a famous report, al-Ghazāl concluded an armistice or peace treaty with them. The *amīr* also charged al-Ghazāl with another mission to the king of Byzantium, Theophilus, in Constantinople, as a result of which a treaty of friendship was apparently concluded between Córdoba and Byzantium.

III.5 Muḥammad I b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (238/852-273/886)

Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam bequeathed his son a strong and stable country, blessed with abundant revenues and a good measure of peace. This condition was due to a number of viziers and officers of state who had proved their ability and good administration in public affairs, chief among these

being the chamberlain, ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd. When ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd died, Muḥammad I chose, as his new chamberlain, ʿĪsā b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿAbda, who was no less able than his predecessors. Subsequently, however, he appointed Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as his vizier, a man inferior to those who had gone before, characterised by pride, pomposity, malice and envy of those who were competent. Without doubt this was the reason for the corrosion and deterioration of many of the affairs of the state under Muḥammad, especially during the latter part of his rule. Nevertheless, this *amīr* ruled for nearly a quarter of a century, during which the affairs of the country proceeded with integrity, although constant revolts broke out in various regions.

Al-Andalus was characterised by revolts and rebellious movements springing from various causes. One of these was the diverse ethnic origins of the people. The country was made up of Arabs, clients, Muwallads and Berbers, and there was, too, a Christian minority, the Mozarabs; while these last had been assimilated to the Arabic culture and language, their self-awareness and sense of religious disparity had, under the influence of a number of churchmen who prompted many of them to defy Andalusī Muslim society, been on the increase from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Another reason behind the revolts was the spirit of pride and haughtiness engendered in the various parties in al-Andalus since the conquest, which made them regard submission to authority as implying some kind of humiliation or servile status. A third factor, reinforcing the tendency to rebellion, was the geographical nature of al-Andalus: the Peninsula is a place of far-flung regions, made up mostly of very rugged mountainous terrain, so that it was difficult for any central authority to exercise complete control over it. Again and again we see rebels taking refuge in their impregnable strongholds, refusing, for years on end, to submit to authority, and with no military force able to humble or subdue them.

The first rebellion faced by *Amīr* Muḥammad had in fact broken out in the latter days of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, among the Mozarabs, whose clergy were appalled at the way their Christian flock was being influenced by Muslim culture and at their imitation of Muslim customs. In a celebrated attack, Alvaro of Córdoba criticised his co-religionists on the grounds that they neglected the observance of the rules of their religion, and had become so saturated with Muslim culture that they had forgotten the Latin language and become masters of Arabic, both prose and poetry. This he regarded as a threat, presaging the probable acceptance of Islam by many of them, as did indeed often occur. He accordingly set on a number of churchmen to stir up the religious sensibilities of the Christians and urge them to defy Muslim society, by attacking Islam and openly reviling its Prophet (Ṣ). Among those stirring up this discord may be mentioned two priests, Samson and San Eulogio, together with his disciple, Alvaro. The state had an obligation to punish those who dared revile Islam, for which the *sharīʿa* provides penalties

that may include death—a penalty which did in fact, in *Ramaḍān-Shawwāl* 236/April 850, overtake a priest named Perfecto, followed by others, whom the Church regarded as martyrs. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II had dealt with the situation wisely, aided by moderates among the clergy who called on their brethren to refrain from provoking the Muslims and rather live alongside them in peace.

Amīr Muḥammad continued this moderate policy, and after just a few years of his rule the movement subsided and the Mozarabs returned to a state of co-existence with the Muslims.

Muḥammad also faced the ongoing rebellion of the inhabitants of Toledo, and, in 250/854, advanced there in person at the head of a large expedition. The Toledans then sought the aid of the King of Asturias, Ordoño I, the son of Ramiro, who supported them with a large army led by a trusted agent, and the two sides met at Guazalet (Wādī Salīṭ) to the south-west of Toledo, the battle ending in a crushing defeat for the rebels and their Asturian allies. In 245/859, the Toledans again revolted, and Muḥammad again advanced against them and lay siege to the city. He ordered the destruction of the arched bridge over the Tagus River, which so intimidated them that they sought clemency and did not rebel again for the rest of his rule.

He also had to confront Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Qasī, who vacillated between submission and rebellion on the Upper Frontier, in the Saragossa region (he had in fact acted like an independent king during the later days of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II). In 245/860, a dispute arose between Mūsā and his son-in-law, Izrāq b. Muntīl, the commander of Guadalajara (Wādī ‘l-Ḥijāra), who, with his family, had always been loyal to the *amīrs* of Córdoba, and in the subsequent fighting Mūsā received a wound which led to his death the same year. *Amīr* Muḥammad received this news with satisfaction, although Mūsā’s sons, Lope, Ismā‘īl and Fortún carried on their father’s course of wavering between obedience and revolt. Muḥammad sent several expeditions against them, which broke their power and weakened their authority towards the end of his rule.

The most critical rebellion faced by *Amīr* Muḥammad was, beyond doubt, that of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān, known as “the Galician”, in the western region—the equivalent of the present-day Spanish province of Extremadura. Embarking on his rebellion in Mérida, he was arrested in 254/868 and sent off to Córdoba, along with other rebels. It was customary to treat people of this kind in a conciliatory manner, making an appeal to their hearts, but Muḥammad’s haughty, malicious vizier, Hāshim b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, humiliated and ill-treated the captive. When Ibn Marwān escaped from prison in 261/875, he once more raised the banner of revolt, taking refuge in the fortress of Alanje (Ḥisn al-Ḥanash), 20 miles south of Mérida. The local Muwallads rallied to him, and he was joined, too, by another leader named Sa’dūn al-Surunbāqī, who lived in Portugal, in the city now

known as Oporto. Muḥammad went himself to attack them, putting them under tight siege, so that Ibn Marwān asked for terms, to which Muḥammad agreed after receiving hostages from him. Ibn Marwān then made his way to Badajoz (Baṭalyaws), where he lived with his comrades after rebuilding the city. However, he rebelled yet again the following year (262/876), upon which Muḥammad sent an expedition under the leadership of Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, and a fierce battle took place at Alburquerque (Karkar), ending in defeat for Muḥammad's army and the capture of Hāshim.

Ibn Marwān was in alliance with the King of Asturias and León, Alfonso III (the Great) (866-909), and decided to turn his prisoner over to the Christian King. Hāshim was accordingly taken to the royal palace at Oviedo, where he spent two years in captivity, until *Amīr* Muḥammad rescued him by paying a heavy ransom. Ibn Marwān remained in revolt, even taking part, with the Christian King, in his expedition which destroyed the Adobales (Dūbal) fortress—to the south of Badajoz—in 263/877, but finally repented of his alliance with Alfonso and, having sought clemency, led a quiet life in the later part of Muḥammad's rule, finally passing away in 276/890, during the rule of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad.

In Muḥammad's time a new Christian principality, Navarre (Nabarra), began to take shape, with Pamplona as its capital. The first family to govern it was that of Iñigo (the Banū Yannaq), often allied by marriage with their neighbours, the Banū Qasī, who ruled the Upper Frontier. The principality did not, however, present much danger for Muslim al-Andalus at this period.

We have noted how, by the time of Muḥammad's relations with Asturias, the strength of this Christian kingdom had so grown as to pose a serious threat to the Muslims, especially after the accession of Alfonso III. This King ruled for forty-three years, during which he managed to take possession of the wide strip of territory between the Duero and Tagus valleys, settling the region with large numbers of Christian Mozarabs come from al-Andalus, and changing the capital of his kingdom from Oviedo in the far north to León. We have already noted the expedition in which he penetrated al-Andalus and seized the fortress of Adobales, to the south of Mérida; and this, together with the fact that *Amīr* Muḥammad's vizier remained his prisoner for two years indicates the extent to which conditions had changed. It was now possible for this Christian kingdom to face al-Andalus on equal terms, and it was this new and mounting danger which caused Muḥammad to plan defensive lines for his country. We see him, accordingly, constructing a chain of fortified cities across the central plateau (the Meseta Central) to protect the frontiers of al-Andalus—such cities as Madrid (Majrīt), Talamanca (Ṭalamanka), Canales (Qanālīsh), Olmos (Wūlmūsh) and Calatalifa (Qal'at Khalifa). These cities lay in the region which would afterwards be called the "Middle Frontier" (Thaḡhr al-Awsaṭ), between Guadalajara and Toledo. He also took care to fortify both the Upper Frontier (Saragossa and

the surrounding region) and the Lower Frontier (Mérida and the adjacent area up to the Atlantic).

Muḥammad's foreign policy was based on the creation of friendly relations, even with traditional enemies. Besides his good relations with the Rustumids, the rulers of Tiaret (Tāhart), and the Banū Midrār, the rulers of Sijilmāsa in Morocco, he strove to win the friendship of the Aghlabids of Ifrīqiya, and there were, indeed, constant emissaries passing between him and the King of the Franks, Charles the Bald.

Muḥammad also promoted culture and freedom of thought, as is apparent in his stand regarding the *faqīh* and scholar of the science of *ḥadīth*, Baqī b. Makhḥlad (d. 276/889). The latter returned from the East with collections of traditions and the *Risāla* of the *imām* al-Shāfi'ī, and this stirred up the *fuqahā*, who incited the people against him; they would have killed him had it not been for the *amīr*'s protection, and his encouragement to publish his work. His rule also witnessed such notable scholars as 'Abbās b. Firnās (d. 274/887), a physician, inventor, astronomer, musician and poet, who made the first attempt to fly.

III.6 *Al-Mundhir and 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad* (273/886-300/912)

Amīr al-Mundhir ruled al-Andalus for two years, before being succeeded by his brother, 'Abd Allāh, whose rule lasted twenty-five years. The chief thing to be recorded of this period is that conditions which had already deteriorated over Muḥammad's last years now worsened drastically during the rule of his two sons. The root of the problem was that the flexible policy prevailing in the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II had been replaced, during Muḥammad's rule, by the harsh policy (stemming from the short-sightedness of the vizier Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz) of forcibly imposing the central authority of Córdoba on the other regions of al-Andalus. Moreover, the huge military effort expended against internal rebellion, and to repel Christian attacks from the outside, led to a deficit in state revenues, which necessitated an increase in taxes and the oppression of the people to collect them; and this, in its turn, involved an escalation in the number of rebellions and seditious movements. Realising the inability of the central authority to control the resulting disorder, these parties, which reflected various ethnic allegiances, began to settle their disputes among themselves without regard for the emiral authority. Thus the government of Córdoba no longer faced revolts and seditious movements only, but also a chain of civil wars among the inhabitants themselves.

The lengthiest and most dangerous rebellion was the one embarked on by 'Umar b. Ḥaḥṣūn, the leader of the Muwallads in the region of Málaga and the Ronda Mountains. His revolt began in 265/879 and lasted until 305/918, over a period, that is, of about forty years, from the time he took refuge in

the fortress of Bobastro (Būbashatru). In 270/883, the vizier Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz led an expedition culminating in the siege of Bobastro, and made peace with Ibn Ḥafṣūn, bringing him down, indeed, from his fortress and taking him with him to Córdoba. Ibn Ḥafṣūn was active in the emiral army, taking part, with conspicuous courage, in the raid directed by Muḥammad against Alava. However, he once again turned to dissent on account of mistreatment by Hāshim and his men, and stole away from Córdoba, just as Ibn Marwān al-Jilliḳī had previously done, to return to Bobastro. There his Muwallad comrades rallied round him, launching a guerilla-type warfare in which they cut the road to Córdoba. Al-Mundhir sent repeated expeditions to put down Ibn Ḥafṣūn's revolt, but to no avail—in fact he himself lost his life when he was struck down by sickness while laying siege to Bobastro. He was accompanied on the expedition by his brother, 'Abd Allāh, who was compelled to raise the siege so as to return to Córdoba with his brother's corpse.

During the rule of 'Abd Allāh the scope of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's revolt expanded, being supported by the Muwallads throughout the rest of al-Andalus. In 277/890 Ibn Ḥafṣūn gained possession of the fortress of Poley (Bulāy)—now called Aguilar de la Frontera—50 kilometres south-west of Córdoba, and became bold enough to make repeated raids on the plains called La Campina (al-Qanbānia), surrounding the capital. *Amīr* 'Abd Allāh, however, quickly inflicted a crushing defeat on him, thanks to two of his able generals, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh b. Umayya and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī 'Abda, and in 278/891 the emiral army seized Poley. In 286/899 Ibn Ḥafṣūn formally renounced Islam and embraced Christianity, which lost him many of his Muslim supporters, and from this point on his power gradually contracted, although he remained a thorn in the side of the emirate till 'Abd Allāh's death.

Movements of revolt and sedition also spread through the other parts of al-Andalus. In the Elvira region, for instance, discord sprang up between the Muwallads and the Arabs, the latter being led by Sawār b. Ḥamdūn, and including the poet, Sa'īd b. Jūdī, both of whom fluctuated between insurrection against 'Abd Allāh and submission to him. In Seville, too, where two Arab families, the Banū Khaldūn (the ancestors of the famous historian, Ibn Khaldūn) and the Banū Ḥajjāj, shared the authority, there was dissension between Muwallads and Arabs. The Arabs came out on top in this struggle, but Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥajjāj turned Seville and its surrounding area into a semi-independent principality.

Many minor rebels from among the Muwallad leadership took possession of various sites, evolving into semi-independent *amīrs*: 'Ubayd Allāh b. Umayya b. Shāliya in Somontin (Shumuntān) in the region of Jaén; Sa'īd b. Mastanna in Priego (Bāghu); Khayr b. Shākīr in Jódar (Shūdhār); Sa'īd b. Hudhayl in Monleón (al-Muntliyūn), near Jaén; Daysam b. Ishāq in Murcia and Lorca (Lūrqa); 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Jawād in Beja and Mértola

(Mirtula) in Portugal; and Bakr b. Yahyā in *Shantamariyyat al-Gharb* (the present-day city of Faro, in Southern Portugal).

The Berber rebels took control of the cities in their hands, among these being the Banū *Dhī* 'l-Nūn, from whom sprang the kings of Toledo during the period of the *ṭawā'if*, or petty states. They were descended from the Berber Hawwāra tribe, and ruled the cities of Uclés (Uqlish) and Huete (Wabdhā), in the region of Cuenca (Qūnka). Some minor Berber rebels also made themselves independent in certain fortresses in the south and west.

As for the Frontiers, their situation was no better. On the Upper Frontier, the sons of Mūsā b. Mūsā al-Qasawī divided the cities up among themselves, though their power was reduced first by internal squabbles, then by the appearance of a rival Arab family, the Banu Tujīb, who were later to gain the ascendancy in Saragossa and the surrounding region. On the Western Frontier, the Muwallads and Berber families divided the control of the region containing Mérida, Badajoz and their environs.

Mention should be made, too, of the rebellion initiated by Aḥmad b. Mu'āwiya, known as Ibn al-Qiṭṭ al-Mahdī, of the Umayyad family, who (apparently influenced by Shi'ite propaganda) issued a ringing call for a *jihād*, or holy war, in the cause of Islam. The spiritual leader behind this call was a semi-legendary personality named Abū 'Alī al-Sarrāj. Ibn al-Qiṭṭ and al-Sarrāj succeeded in attracting thousands of Berbers living in the Valle de los Pedroches, to the north-west of Córdoba, and the Sierra de Almadén (Jabal al-Barānis, or al-Ma'dan), from the Nafza and Kutāma tribes who lived in the Guadiana (Wādī Ana) valley. This revolution was not directed against the Córdoba emirate, but was rather a *jihād* directed against the Christians. Ibn Qiṭṭ, accompanied by Abū 'Alī al-Sarrāj, made his way at the head of 60,000 of their followers to the city of Zamora (Samūra) on the banks of the Duero, which Alfonso III had rebuilt in 280/893 in the course of his expansion southward. A violent battle took place near the walls of Zamora in *Rajab* 288/July 901, ending in the death of Ibn al-Qiṭṭ al-Mahdī and the crushing defeat of his comrades.

All these events illustrate the disintegration of the emirate in the days of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad; the whole Umayyad state, indeed, would have faced collapse, had it not been for 'Abd Allāh's perseverance and insistence on his legitimate rights, and for a number of commanders, such as Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī 'Abda, his nephew 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad and Badr b. Aḥmad, who demonstrated outstanding courage, mastery of the arts of war and devoted loyalty.

Probably the best thing *Amīr* 'Abd Allāh did was to appoint as his heir his grandson, 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad. The latter's father, Muḥammad, had been killed in tragic circumstances: as heir to the throne, he was envied by his brother, al-Muṭarrif, who killed him in 278/891. The *amīr* overlooked

this crime, but when al-Muṭarrif later, in 282/895, killed the officer 'Abd al-Malik b. Umayya as they were making their way to Seville, he commanded that he be put to death. It seems that the *amīr*'s love for his eldest son, Muḥammad, caused him to lavish affection on his orphaned grandson, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, so that he sponsored and trained him to succeed to the emirate.

Remarkably, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān assumed the emiral power following his grandfather's death on 1 *Rabī'* I 299/October 16 912, he met no opposition from his family, even though he was a mere twenty-one years of age, and several uncles and other eminent members of the family were living. He had inherited an encumbered legacy—an emirate torn by dissension and revolt and an almost empty treasury. Yet the youthful *amīr* directed the affairs of state with extraordinary firmness and skill, resolved from the beginning to restore the emirate's unity with unflagging zeal.

Right from the start, 'Abd al-Raḥmān was drawing up plans to accomplish this end. The year 300/912 had scarcely ended before he took possession of Ecija (Istija), the nearest of the rebellious cities to Córdoba, and the subjection of the fortresses of Jaén, Elvira and Málaga followed. Then, in the succeeding years, he set about capturing Ibn Ḥafṣūn's fortresses around his stronghold of Bobastro, and Seville once more submitted to him. Shortly afterwards, in *Rabī'* I 305/September 917, the leader of the Muwallad revolt died a natural death, and this presaged the near end of the revolt, since Ibn Ḥafṣūn's sons were unable to carry it on for long; by 315/928, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's commanders had captured Bobastro, the last fortress of the Banū Ḥafṣūn. As for the minor rebels in the south, they fell one after another. At the same time, 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent out expeditions to subdue the rebels in the eastern and western regions, either by armed force or by peaceful means, and between 317/929 and 320/932, the subjugation of the Frontiers was completed with the submission of Toledo and Badajoz on the Upper Frontier.

These exertions did not, however, divert 'Abd al-Raḥmān from defending his frontiers with Christian Spain. The king of Asturias and León, Ordoño II, who came to the throne in 914, had mounted a destructive expedition against the city of Evora (Yābura), in present-day Portugal, and in 302/915 he attacked the fortress of al-Ḥanaṣh. 'Abd al-Raḥmān accordingly dispatched a reprisal offensive under the command of Abu 'l-'Abbās b. Abī 'Abda, which invaded the kingdom of León and took several fortresses. Then, in 306/918, his armies returned to attack León, inflicting a grim defeat on Ordoño. In 308/920, the Umayyad *amīr* himself led an expedition into the kingdom of León, destroying many fortresses, the expedition moving on thereafter to the kingdom of Navarre, whose king, Sancho I Garcés, had attacked the Upper Frontier. A fearful defeat was then inflicted on Sancho and his León allies, known as the defeat of Valdejunquera, or, in the Arabic sources, *Ghazwat Muwīsh*. In 312/924 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself led a campaign known as

Ghazwat Banbalūna, in which he invaded the territory of Navarre, inflicted a crushing defeat on King Sancho, entered the capital Pamplona and demolished its walls. These expeditions struck such terror into the hearts of the people of León and Navarre that they did not venture into the Muslim Frontiers for a further seven years.

Thus, over a period of some fifteen years, 'Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded in re-establishing unity to the state, following a period of fragmentation which had lasted about thirty years, and so restoring the emirate's prestige not only in the eyes of citizens within the country, but also in those of the Christian kingdoms beyond. During this period, news began to arrive of the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, where the caliphs had become mere playthings in the hands of viziers, army commanders and the women of the palace, their authority now a matter of mere external form. Moreover, in 297/909, three years before 'Abd al-Raḥmān came to power, the caliphate of the Fāṭimid Banū 'Ubayd had been proclaimed in Qayrawān, following 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī's overthrow of the Banū 'l-Aghlab state—this representing the first Shi'ite caliphate in Islam. 'Abd al-Raḥmān thereupon decided to proclaim himself caliph and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and al-Andalus entered on a new phase of its history.

IV. THE PERIOD OF THE CALIPHATE (316/929-422/1031)

Introduction

The rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh covered a full fifty years according to the *hijra* calendar (300/912-350/961), and may be divided into two basic periods: the first sixteen years up to the end of the independent emirate, and the remainder of his rule in the new era of the Caliphate. We have seen how the young *amīr* succeeded in restoring the political unity of his kingdom, defending its frontiers against its enemies and instilling respect for it everywhere. His people welcomed him as a champion saving them from the dissensions, anarchy and ruin to which they had been subjected. He was in fact an extraordinary man, a statesman of the first rank.

No doubt it was the first appearance of a Shi'ite caliphate on the stage of history, in North Africa, which encouraged 'Abd al-Raḥmān to proclaim himself caliph. This Shi'ite caliphate was a challenge to the Sunni Muslim world, which had, up to that time, been represented by the Abbasid Caliphate. The latter's position, however, had now tragically deteriorated, and the only semblance of authority retained by the Caliph was the giving of the Friday sermon in his name in the provinces of the empire, and the striking of currency in his name. Once 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad had made al-Andalus a major power, he considered himself worthy of speaking in the name of the Sunni community, in the face of the challenge from the Shi'ite

Banū 'Ubayd, who were hated by their subjects in Ifriqiya and other north-west African countries. The overwhelming majority of the North Africans adhered—like the Andalusis themselves—to the orthodox rites of their forefathers, particularly the school of the *imām* Mālik .

'Abd al-Raḥmān proclaimed himself caliph and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* in a famous edict issued in *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 316/early January 929. The *khutba* was read in his name, from the pulpits of the mosques in al-Andalus, from the Friday of the middle of *Dhū 'l-Hijja* 316/January 16 929, and he was given the caliphal title of "al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh". While the caliphal era lasted a full century in al-Andalus, up to the year 422/1031, it may in practice be divided into three periods: a genuine caliphate, with the caliphs exercising full authority, for the remainder of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's rule, together with that of his son al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (316/929-366/976); the period of the 'Āmirid chamberlains (366/976-399/1008); and the period of Berber Revolt (399/1008-422/1031).

IV.1 *The initial period*

IV.1.1 *The caliphate of al-Nāṣir*

Having assumed the title of "Caliph", 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir now had to reinforce his position in the eyes of his people, in his capacity as defender of the supremacy of Islam; and, as such, he continued to confront the Christian kingdoms and principalities to the north. The strongest of these was the Kingdom of León, but fortune favoured him when its daring king, Ordoño II, died in 924, and civil war subsequently broke out between his two sons, Alfonso IV, known as "El Monje", and his brother, Ramiro II, finally ending with Ramiro's accession to the throne in 932. He was a vicious and arrogant king, who began his reign by gouging out the eyes of his brother Alfonso and those of his paternal cousins, but he proved his courage in opposing al-Nāṣir, although the latter inflicted successive defeats on him, the greatest of these being the battle of Osma (Wakhshama) in 322/934. Despite al-Nāṣir's defeat, for the first time, in the Battle of the Ditch (*al-Khandaq*) in 327/939, the armies of Córdoba persisted in raiding the kingdom of León until Ramiro's death in 950.

As for the kingdom of Navarre, its ruler, Sancho I, had died in 926, to be succeeded by his young son García I, who was still under the guardianship of his mother Toda (Tūṭa). This kingdom represented no great danger to Córdoba. Following the Osma raid of 322/934 and al-Nāṣir's appearance on the Upper Frontier, Toda inclined towards peace, going to al-Nāṣir's camp in Calahorra (Qalahurra) and making an armistice with him there, which, however, she violated in 326/938. The armies of al-Nāṣir then invaded Pamplona and occupied a number of its fortresses, after which Navarre remained quiet—indeed, we find Toda, her son, García and her grandson Sancho (known as Sancho "the Fat" due to a malady which caused excessive obesity)

making their way to Córdoba in 347/958 to conclude a peace and secure treatment for Sancho's malady. Al-Nāṣir agreed to this latter, instructing his physicians to treat the obese prince, who was cured of his condition.

The period of al-Nāṣir witnessed the birth of a "county" (*qūmisiyya*), or new Christian principality, which, small and insignificant to begin with, was to play a dominant role in overcoming the Muslims—the principality of Castile (*Qashtāla*).

Castile is the region the Arabs called "al-Qilā", which is a literal translation of the Spanish word, and it comprised the eastern mountainous portion of the kingdom of Asturias and León. The first person to rule this region, with the title of "count" (*qūmis*), was Fernán González (ruled 923-970), whose name was immortalised in a famous Spanish epic. He was a foxy politician, who took advantage of the quarrel between the kingdoms of León and Navarre to extend his own territories, and succeeded in securing the independence of his principality from León following the death of Ramiro in 950. Al-Nāṣir sent several expeditions against him, of which the Osma raid mentioned above was the most notable, and the Muslims occupied many of his cities and fortresses. He then took part in the Christian alliance which defeated al-Nāṣir in the Battle of the Ditch, but was also included in the peace agreed between al-Nāṣir and the two kings of Pamplona and León in 329/941. As for the "Frankish" principality—that is, Catalonia (*Qaṭālūnya*)—al-Nāṣir's navy raided it in 323/935. In 328/940 peace was concluded between al-Nāṣir and Sunyer, Count of Barcelona (ruled 914-54), who in fact remained at peace with the Córdoba Caliphate for most of his time in power.

Quite apart from all the wars and treaties between al-Nāṣir and the neighbouring Christian kings of Spain, the central political role of the caliphal capital in Córdoba was confirmed, with the Umayyad Caliphate enjoying hegemony over the whole of the Peninsula. As such, Muslim al-Andalus now emerged as the greatest and most prosperous power in Europe, and this prompted the European kings beyond the Pyrenees to court its favours, with a stream of emissaries sent: from the Byzantine emperor Constantine, in 338/949, and then from Otto, the king of the Slavs and Germans, and from other kings.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir was contemporary with the expansion of the ʿUbaydī Shiʿa in North Africa, following the founding of their state in Qayrawān in 297/909. The first *imām*, ʿUbayd Allāh, and those who succeeded him, coveted sovereignty over al-Andalus because of the riches and natural wealth they had heard it possessed, and this led to a clash between the two states in which al-Nāṣir proved the stronger, particularly following his occupation of the Port of Ceuta in 319/931. He now embarked on a policy aimed at seizing control of a large part of North Africa, seeking the help of his agents among the opponents of the Shiʿa; and if he was not able to impose

any kind of permanent authority over Morocco, he did at least succeed in shifting the war with the Fāṭimid Shi'a to their own house in North Africa.

These political and military activities did not distract 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir from undertaking a concerted building programme and displaying a strong concern for culture and for intellectual and scientific activity. It is sufficient to point to his erection of a number of stately palaces in Córdoba, and to the palatine city of Madīnat al-Zahrā' to the north-west of the capital, whose ruins still bear witness to the majestic nature of Andalusī architecture and the extent of the Caliphate's extraordinary opulence and wealth. Al-Nāṣir would receive visitors and incoming ambassadors here, in accordance with an intricate and awe-inspiring ceremony and protocol. We should also note his addition to the Great Mosque in Córdoba, which doubled its size, the building of its minaret and the renovation of its *miḥrāb*, which is still considered a marvel of Andalusī art.

His concern for culture is apparent in the large number of scholars, in every branch of knowledge, who flourished during his time; in fact, his son and heir, al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir, acted as minister of culture and science. The book *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī (d. 328/940), which appeared at the beginning of al-Nāṣir's rule, is still considered one of the chief springs of Arabic literature, and in 330/942 al-Nāṣir invited to his realm the eminent philologist Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī, who led a great revival of Arabic language and grammar in al-Andalus. His court was thronged with *fuqahā'*, writers, poets and physicians, and it is mentioned that when the Byzantine Emperor sent an ambassador to him, he presented him with Dioscorides' work on medicinal herbs, which al-Nāṣir then arranged to be translated into Arabic.

To sum up, the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir may be regarded as the most brilliant, in every field, in the history of al-Andalus; and indeed, if we weigh the extremely adverse circumstances in which he came to the throne against what he accomplished thereafter, it is no exaggeration to say that he was one of the greatest statesmen to rule Spain in any era.

IV.1.2 *Al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir (350/961-366/976)*

The caliphate of al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir bi-Llāh (*Ramaḍān* 350/October 961-*Ṣafar* 366/September 976) brought the era initiated by his father to its apogee. Inheriting a powerful, secure and wealthy state, he continued the policy his father had previously marked out, both in internal and external affairs. He paid careful attention to the country's borders, appointing a number of capable military commanders in the frontier districts.

Sancho I ("the Fat"), the son of Ramiro II, had succeeded his brother Ordoño III to the kingdom of León in 955, but had been deposed by his paternal cousin Ordoño IV ("the Bad") in 958. We have seen how Sancho travelled to Córdoba with his grandmother, the regent of Navarre, and was cured of his obesity. Al-Nāṣir also promised to restore him to his throne, and succeeded in achieving this, though he demanded ten forts on the Frontiers between the two countries as the price for this assistance.

When al-Nāṣir died before the implementation of this condition, Sancho began to temporise over the fulfilment of his pledge. Ordoño IV had fled, following his expulsion, to the city of Burgos (*Burghush*), but the Count of Castile, Fernán González, apprehended him and sent him to Medinaceli (*Madīnat Sālim*), which had become the headquarters of the so-called "Middle Frontier". *Ghālīb* al-Nāṣirī, the commander of this Frontier, then sent him to Córdoba. In *Ṣafar* 351/April 962, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir had a meeting with Ordoño, at which the latter declared his complete submission to the Caliph, and al-Ḥakam promised to restore him to the throne of León as a punishment for his adversary. When Sancho heard this, he was filled with alarm and hastened to send an emissary to al-Ḥakam declaring his submission and his readiness to implement the previous conditions as to the surrender of the fortresses on the Frontiers. However, Ordoño IV now died in Córdoba, and Sancho again broke his promises, making an alliance with the Count of Castile, the King of Navarre and the Count of Barcelona to attack the territory of the Muslims. In the face of this Christian alliance by four states, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir decided to declare war on all of them, and in the summer of 351/963 personally led a large expedition, occupying the fortress of Gormaz (*Ghurmāj*) on the Duero River, and then that of Atienza (*Antīsha*). The governor of Saragossa, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī, advanced to Navarre, where he inflicted a defeat on García I, while, in another offensive, the commander, *Ghālīb*, also attacked his territory, seizing the fortress of Calahorra, which he rebuilt and garrisoned. Al-Ḥakam had thus taught his neighbours an extremely harsh lesson.

He received a stroke of fortune when Sancho I of León died in 965, to be succeeded by his three-year-old son, Ramiro III, León being torn thereafter into warring counties. Also, Galicia and Asturias were subjected to Norman raids, while the victories of al-Ḥakam broke up the supporters of Fernán González, who, grown old and weak, died in 970. In the same year, García I of Navarre also died, and was succeeded by his son, Sancho II Abarca. With this universal decline among the Christian Spanish kingdoms and principalities, there was no longer anyone who dared take up arms against al-Mustanṣir—we rather see these Christian kings and princes flocking to Córdoba between 359/970 and 363/974 to declare their submission to the Caliph. The first of these was Borrel, Count of Barcelona, followed by Sancho, King of Navarre, then García Fernández, Count of Castile, who had succeeded his father, and various other minor counts and nobles. There were also more distant European emissaries sent to Córdoba, including one from the emperor of Byzantium, Johannes Tzimiskes in *Jumāda* I 361/March 972, and a letter from the emperor of Germany, Otto II.

In the summer of 363/974 a new alliance was concluded between the three Christian states, but it fared no better than its predecessor, as *Ghālīb* and the other Frontier commanders inflicted further crushing defeats on the allies in *Shawwāl* 364/June 975.

Córdoba was, therefore, once more in charge of the situation in the Peninsula, and there was no incentive for anyone to covet the Muslim territories of al-Andalus. In North Africa, al-Ḥakam pursued a defiant policy in the face of the Shi'ite Fāṭimids, with a series of fierce battles fought and the two sides experiencing victory and defeat in turn. Al-Ḥakam was able, finally, to impose his sway over a large part of these territories, but with great sacrifice and at enormous financial cost.

Having assured the security of the state, al-Ḥakam now turned his attention to his preferred activity, namely his pursuit of culture and the collection of books. He himself was a scholar and a supporter of all aspects of learning, and had assembled in his palace a library which some have estimated at 400,000 volumes. He also founded schools for teaching the poor and the orphaned, encouraged writers and attended scholarly gatherings. All this made Córdoba the greatest centre of learning in the whole of the west, Islamic and Christian alike.

We must, however, note two major errors into which al-Ḥakam fell, and which were subsequently to bring the most disastrous consequences for al-Andalus. The first was to augment the number of mercenary soldiers brought in from among the Berbers of North Africa, particularly the *Šinhāja* tribal federation. These came, in time, to form a distinct military class which subsequently played a major role in the sedition which swept away the Caliphate itself. The second error was to bequeath his throne to his young son, Hishām, who was no more than twelve years of age when al-Ḥakam passed away, even though the Marwānid house had no lack of outstanding princes at that time, who were capable of occupying the office of Caliph. The choice of this child prince as heir to the throne led to a struggle between competing parties, and finally to the fall of the state beneath the yoke of the autocratic al-Manšūr b. Abī 'Āmir, as a result of which the Caliphate underwent a radical change.

IV.2 *The period of the 'Āmirid Chamberlains*

When al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir died in *Ramaḍān* 366/October 976, the first hint of a crisis appeared on the horizon. The Palace Slavs, whose leaders were strongly loyal to the state, felt certain that the enthronement of the child Hishām would entail questionable consequences, and they wished to shift their allegiance to al-Ḥakam's brother, al-Mughīra, a man lacking neither in years nor in experience. They consulted on the matter with al-Ḥakam's first minister, Ja'far b. 'Uthmān al-Muṣḥafī, a selfish and short-sighted man, whose ambition suggested to him that the instalment of a boy like Hishām would result in his becoming guardian to the throne and so place him in command of the state. He therefore, with his men, hatched a plot to remove al-Mughīra, delegating the assignment, so it is said, to one of his trusted men,

Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir, who had risen up through the administrative and financial offices in al-Ḥakam's time and had finally been placed in charge of the Central District police. This latter took the affair in hand, and it was duly announced that al-Mughīra had died by strangulation at his home. Allegiance was thereupon sworn to the boy Hishām, who was given the title of al-Mu'ayyad, and the reins of power fell into the hands of Ja'far al-Muṣḥafi and his henchman, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir.

Some of the counts of the kingdom of León took advantage of al-Ḥakam's death to mount raids on the Muslim Frontiers, and, of all al-Muṣḥafi's men, none other than Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir was appointed to repulse them—in fact, he volunteered for the assignment, although he had never assumed command of any army prior to this. He set off at the head of a carefully equipped expeditionary force, crossed the Tagus River and attacked the region of Salamanca, laying waste every part of the city itself, taking a great quantity of booty, then returning to Córdoba, where the news of his victory had preceded him. This increased his popularity, and, in addition, his consideration and liberality towards his soldiers ensured their praise and support.

Ibn Abī 'Āmir was both highly ambitious and extremely cunning, and he decided to divide the existing political forces. He began by inducing al-Muṣḥafi to overthrow the Slavs, then ingratiated himself with Ghālib, commander of the Middle Frontier, allied himself to him by marrying his daughter and made an agreement with him for the overthrow of al-Muṣḥafi himself—subsequently turning against Ghālib too. In little more than a year this Machiavellian policy had borne fruit. He arrested and imprisoned al-Muṣḥafi, accusing him of wasting state revenues, then became *ḥājib*, or "chamberlain", and dictator, placing the boy caliph, Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, under guardianship, and leaving him only the formal semblance of authority: namely the delivery of the Friday sermon, and the striking of currency, in his name.

IV.2.1 *Al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir (367/977-392/1002)*

From the moment Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir seized the reins of power in 367/977, he felt, like every dictatorial ruler, that he would need to depend on a powerful army personally loyal to him. Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, in his political wisdom, had relied on his Andalusī soldiers when making war, with only a limited resort to mercenaries—mostly Berbers from North Africa—and it was one of Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir's subsequent mistakes to multiply the number of these mercenaries. For his part, Ibn Abī 'Āmir had little confidence in the Andalusī soldiery because of the loyalty he knew they bore to the Umayyad family, and he therefore acted to import a great many more Berber mercenaries, especially Berbers from the Ṣinhāja, who had always harboured hatred towards the Umayyad family. They were professional soldiers known

San Millán de la Cogolla. On his way home, however, he fell sick and died in Medinaceli, where he was buried.

Al-Manšūr continued the policy of al-Nāšir and al-Mustanšir in North Africa—in fact he extended the influence of Córdoba to areas it had never previously reached. In the spring of 369/980, for instance, he instructed his ally and protégé *Khazrūn* b. Fulful al-Maghrāwī to attack Sijilmāsa, the capital of the Banū Midrār in the extreme south of Morocco. The latter captured it, and for the first time the Friday sermon was read from its pulpit in the name of the Andalusī caliph.

In the same year, Buluqqīn b. Zīrī, governor of Ifrīqiya on behalf of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz in Egypt, undertook a daring campaign along the whole of the North African coast in order to restore Fāṭimid authority in these territories. He continued to advance until he had almost reached Ceuta, but al-Manšūr had prepared a powerful army, and also had his navy lying in wait in the waters of Ceuta and Algeciras, so that Buluqqīn was forced to withdraw.

In 375/985, al-Ḥasan b. Jannūn, who was from the remnant of the Idrīsīd *amīrs*, returned to Morocco after a visit to Egypt, during which the Fāṭimid caliph had promised him assistance in return for resisting Andalusī interference in Morocco. Al-Manšūr's commanders, however, surrounded him, and forced him to surrender. Al-Manšūr then summoned him to Córdoba, giving orders that he should be assassinated en route, after which Morocco became compliant. Al-Manšūr made use of protégés among the Berber chieftains, such as Zīrī b. ʿAṭīya al-Maghrāwī (of the tribe of Zanāta), but very soon, in 387/997, Zīrī proclaimed a revolt against Córdoba. Al-Manšūr sent Waḍīḥ al-Ṣaqlabī ("the Slav"), commander of the Middle Frontier, against him, reinforcing him with a powerful army headed by his son, ʿAbd al-Malik, who was given the title "al-Muẓaffar". Together they inflicted a crushing defeat on Zīrī, upon which ʿAbd al-Malik entered the city of Fez as a conqueror, and was appointed by his father as his deputy and governor of Morocco. Thus did al-Manšūr's authority spread to the whole of Morocco, and to the western part of central North Africa.

Throughout all these campaigns, al-Manšūr continued to bring Berber leaders from the Zanāta and Ṣinhāja tribes into al-Andalus to take part in his war against Christian Spain, together with thousands of Berber horsemen and seasoned soldiers to join his army. These were, as we shall see, destined to interfere dangerously in Andalusī affairs.

Unceasing military activity did not prevent al-Manšūr from undertaking building works and encouraging culture and art. He began his period of absolute rule by building a country palace not far from Madīnat al-Zahrā', which he named "al-ʿĀmiriyya", then, in 369/979, built a new city on the banks of Guadalquivir, which he called "al-Zāhira", and in which he allo-

cated living quarters for his viziers, generals and officials. His intention in building the latter was to reduce Madīnat al-Zahrā' to obscurity. Among his most important works was the extension of the Great Mosque of Córdoba by a third on the east side, so that its area now came to 24,300 square metres, although the construction itself is considered inferior from the artistic standpoint to that carried out by al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir. As for his interest in cultural matters, he invited the scholar of philology, history and poetry Sa'īd al-Baghḍādī, so that he might compete with Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, who had come to join 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāsir. He also liberally supported the poets who eulogised and immortalised his victories, the most famous of these being his poet Ibn al-Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī.

If we are to assess the rule of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir over al-Andalus, we must concede that he was a military and political genius of the first order. Yet, for all that, his policies were totally amoral, being directed solely towards serving his own personal interests. For example, though he inflicted greater devastation and humiliation on Christian Spain than anyone before him, reaching places even the early conquerors had never reached, his military expeditions accomplished little, since their goal was speedy victories which would dazzle the eyes of the people, but whose traces vanished as quickly. He made no attempt to settle Muslims permanently in the lands he had invaded; rather, he would advance towards the Christian cities with his armies, causing the terror-stricken inhabitants to flee, then enter the city, burn or demolish it, and withdraw to al-Andalus—upon which the inhabitants would return, and things would revert to normal. Such is the nature of dictators, and of their demagogic policies.

The worst thing to happen under his rule was his destruction of the Umayyad "client" category of capable administrators, who had been the pillars of the Andalusī state. Some of these—the dissemblers who concurred in his policies—he transferred to his entourage, but those who opposed him were harshly removed, to the country's loss. He also undermined the power of the Andalusī army, since, doubting its loyalty to him, he largely replaced it with Berber and Slav mercenaries—the result of which was the emergence of an aristocratic military class kindling hatred in the hearts of the Andalusis. Al-Manṣūr himself, with his powerful, despotic personality, was able to preserve the balance between political and military forces—a balance which depended, however, on his remaining in power; when he vanished from the political stage, the signs of deterioration began to appear. During the rule of al-Manṣūr, al-Andalus appeared to be at the pinnacle of its greatness and efflorescence, but the forces of decay and disintegration were hidden behind this dazzling facade. When deterioration began, it came not gradually, but rather as a swift and resounding collapse. This is, indeed, one of the evils of personal, autocratic rule at all times and in all places.

IV.2.2 *‘Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣūr al-‘Āmirī* (392/1002-399/1008)

With the legal authority of the Caliph now destroyed at al-Manṣūr's hands, the office of chamberlain had become hereditary: no sooner had he departed the scene than the power was seized by his son ‘Abd al-Malik, called “al-Muẓaffar”, who had inherited much of his father's military skill, but not his political talents. Realising that the continuation of the ‘Āmirid state depended on military victories, he copied his father's pursuit of war against the Christian Spanish states. When the count of Barcelona, Ramón Borrel III broke the peace, ‘Abd al-Malik advanced into his territory, in 393/1003, by way of Saragossa and Lérida, attacking Catalonia from its western border, occupying Monmagstre (Mumaqṣar) and Meya (Madannish) and slaughtering the garrisons of both places. He apparently advanced as far as Manresa (Mānrīsa), so that the count was forced to sue for peace. On this expedition ‘Abd al-Malik announced to his troops that the state was ready to assist anyone who wished to settle in the conquered territory and devote himself to farming and developing it. This was the first attempt to substitute a policy of “colonisation”, in the true sense of the word, for the policy of mere devastation followed by al-Manṣūr. The attempt had, however, come too late.

In the summer of 395/1005, ‘Abd al-Malik led another campaign against the kingdom of León, advancing towards Zamora, then bypassing it and moving north to penetrate the valleys of Upper León, where he seized the strongly-fortified citadel of Barrios de Luna, on a small tributary of the Orbigo River. He returned from this daring offensive with a large number of male and female captives. Then, in the summer of 396/1006, he led out another expedition, taking the road to Saragossa, then on to Huesca and to Barbastro, from where he attacked the county of Boltaña in the Pyrenean foothills, destroying the fortress of San Juan (Shant Yuānnish). The following year he again attacked the region, but this time invaded the neighbouring county of Ribagorza. In the summer of 397/1007, the ‘Āmirid chamberlain proceeded at the head of a large army to meet a Christian coalition led by the count of Castile, Sancho García, the battle ending with the crushing defeat of the Castilian Count and ‘Abd al-Malik's seizure of the fortress of Clunia on the bank of the Duero. The last offensive he led, also against Castile, in the summer of 398/1008, saw him fall prey to a chest condition which resulted in his death on 16 Ṣafar 399/October 20 1008, after a rule of only six years and two months.

IV.3 *The Berber revolt (399/1008-422/1031)*

We come now to the third stage of the caliphal era, that of the sedition called the “Berber Revolt” by the Andalusis, because of the large and decisive role played by the Berber elements within the caliphal armies. This revolt, or

civil war, began a few months after the death of 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar and his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān's succession to the office of chamberlain. This 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the son of the princess 'Abda (so named on her conversion to Islam), the daughter of the king of Navarre, Sancho Garcés II Abarca, since this king had, as we have seen, presented his daughter to al-Manṣūr, who had freed and married her, and had this son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ("Sanchuelo"), by her.

'Abd al-Raḥmān, a frivolous, reckless young man, in no way shared the qualities of his father or brother. The first thing he did was oblige Caliph Hishām al-Mu'ayyad to issue a decree appointing him as his heir, something that neither al-Manṣūr nor al-Muẓaffar had dared to do, they being content with possessing *de facto* authority, without aspiring to strip away the formal trappings retained by the Caliph under regency. This decree aroused the hostility of the people of Córdoba, who had secretly hated the 'Āmirid state in any case. The first instigators of rebellion were the Umayyad princes descended from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, whose favourable opportunity finally came when 'Abd al-Raḥmān decided to embark on an invasion of Christian Spain in the middle of *Jumāda* 399/mid-January 1009. The one who started the revolt was a daring, irresponsible young Marwānid prince named Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. He attacked the Caliph's palace in Córdoba on 17 *Jumāda* II/February 15, forcing Hishām al-Mu'ayyad to abdicate in his favour and assuming the title "al-Mahdī bi-Llāh". This was followed by the plundering and destruction of Madinat al-Zāhira at the hands of al-Mahdī's supporters among the masses of Córdoba, while 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol, for his part, was terror-stricken, and his supporters forsook him and scattered. When he had reached the village of Guadalmellato (Armillāt) on his way back to Córdoba, he was suddenly confronted by a detachment sent by al-Mahdī to arrest him. The soldiers, however, slaughtered him on the spot, on 3 *Rajab* 399/March 3 1009. Thus ended the 'Āmirid state.

Matters did not, though, go smoothly for Muḥammad al-Mahdī, especially after he entrusted the management of his affairs to some of his inexperienced plebeian friends and went on to insult the Berber army generals so bitterly hated by the Cordobans. The reaction of these Berbers was to proclaim a rebellion against al-Mahdī, swearing allegiance to a new caliph, a rival Umayyad prince named Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, who was al-Mahdī's cousin and bore the title "al-Musta'in". Thus began a war between the Andalusi party, under the leadership of al-Mahdī, and the Berber party which rallied round Sulaymān al-Musta'in.

Both parties sought help from the Christians in the north, Sulaymān receiving help from Castilian troops, while al-Mahdī was accompanied by forces from Barcelona. Although the fighting ended with the death of al-Mahdī on 8 *Dhū 'l-Ḥijja* 400/July 23 1010, the crisis remained deep-rooted due to

the Cordobans' stubborn refusal to be reconciled to the Berbers. When Sulaymān again became caliph, he distributed certain Andalusī provinces as fiefs to his Berber supporters. The Ṣinhāja received the province of Elvira (Granada), the Zanāta tribes were awarded territory in other regions: the Maghrāwa in the areas north of Córdoba, the Banū Bīrzāl and the Banū Yafran in Jaén, the Banū Dammar and Uzdāja in Medinasidonia and Morón (Mawrūr). As for the Upper Frontier, Sulaymān confirmed Mundhir b. Yahya 'l-Tujībī's power there. This distribution of fiefs marked the beginning of independent power for the governors of the provinces of the Caliphate, and, as such, the start of the period of the petty states.

The cities of North Africa hitherto subject to the authority of Córdoba now proclaimed their independence. In Ceuta 'Alī b. Ḥammūd al-Idrīsī suddenly demanded satisfaction for the blood of Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, whose death Sulaymān al-Musta'in had announced, and a new war took place between al-Ḥammūdī and al-Musta'in, in which Sulaymān was defeated. 'Alī b. Ḥammūd then entered Córdoba in *Muḥarram-Ṣafar* 406/July 1016, ordered the execution of Sulaymān and proclaimed himself caliph—the first time that one of the Alawis had assumed power over the Caliphate in the Umayyad capital city. This disarray induced the *amīrs*, now independent in their provinces, to meddle with the Caliphate, and the 'Āmirid Slav Mujāhid, who ruled Denia and the Balearic Isles, announced the caliphate of another Umayyad, 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'aytī, in *Jumāda I-II* 404/December 1014. The caliphate of 'Alī b. Ḥammūd did not last long, some of his slaves assassinating him on 1 *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 408/March 21 1018.

The Marwānids now attempted to recover the Caliphate, proclaiming 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik as caliph in Valencia, with the title of al-Murtaḍā. His cause was supported by Khayrān al-Ṣaqlabī, the ruler of Almería, and Mundhir b. Yahyā 'l-Tujībī, the master of Saragossa. Al-Murtaḍā made his way to Granada to subdue the Ṣinhājī *amīr*, Zāwī b. Zīrī, but Khayrān and Mundhir b. Yahyā then double-crossed al-Murtaḍā, with the result that his army was defeated and he himself killed by the walls of Granada in 409/1019. In Córdoba, al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd took the caliphate upon himself in succession to his brother 'Alī, but his two nephews, Yahyā b. 'Alī, the ruler of Ceuta, and Idris, ruler of Málaga, soon raised the standard of revolt. Yahyā managed to enter Córdoba and proclaim his caliphate in *Rabī' II-Jumāda I* 411/August 1021, while the war was still going on. There were further attempts to restore the Marwānids to the caliphate; there was, for instance, that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, (the brother of Muḥammad al-Mahdī), who was given the title "al-Mus-taḏhir" and ruled for about a month and a half (16 *Ramaḍān* 414/December 2 1023-3 *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 414/January 17 1024). His caliphate ended in his murder. Then there was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh, entitled

"al-Mustakfi", who was, however, compelled to flee Córdoba after about a year on 25 *Rabī* I 416/May 26 1025.

Finally the people of Córdoba invited another Umayyad *amīr*, Hishām b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, a brother of al-Murtaḍā, who was killed in front of Granada after taking refuge in the fortress of Alpuente (Albunt). He himself took the title "al-Mu'tadd bi-Llāh", but his fate was no better than that of his predecessors, for the other leading men of Córdoba, headed by the vizier Abū Ḥazm b. Jahwar, now realised that the resuscitation of the Caliphate had become an impossible dream, and that the best way to avert chaos was to abolish it forthwith. Al-Mu'tadd was accordingly seized, but permitted to leave Córdoba, whence he fled to the Upper Frontier, took refuge in Lérida and spent the rest of his days there under the protection of its ruler, Sulaymān b. Hūd. Ibn Jahwar proclaimed the final abolition of the Caliphate on 12 *Dhū 'l-Ḥijja* 422/November 30 1031, so inaugurating the fragmentation of the Andalusi state and the independence of each provincial governor within his own province. Thus began what is called the '*ʿaṣr mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*', or period of the kings of the petty states.

V. THE PETTY STATES (*DUWAL AL-ṬAWĀʾIF*) (422/1031-484/1091)

The period of the petty states was one of the most complex, tangled and disorganised of Andalusi history, with the country simply falling apart and being broken up into about sixty tiny states of disparate sizes and strengths. Although they lasted no more than about sixty years overall, the tracing of the ruling families holding sway over these principalities is a difficult matter, since endless wars among them produced constant shifts in their historical courses: some states rising and others falling, boundaries in continuous flux, with the powerful forever coveting the land of their less powerful neighbours, seizing it by war or by peaceful means, or else cutting off pieces from it. Meanwhile, their Christian neighbours, whose power was on the increase, interfered unceasingly in the affairs of these small states, imposing tribute on many of them and working to gain possession of whatever of their lands they could. It is thus difficult to draw any fixed boundaries for these ever-changing kingdoms.

The fragmentation which occurred in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century was not merely political, but social too: the various strands making up the fabric of Andalusi society, and binding them together, were now unravelling again, but somewhat differently from the way things had occurred in the time of *Amīr* 'Abd Allāh in the late 3rd/9th century. Then, as we have seen, Andalusi society dissolved into its main constituent parts, namely, Arabs, Berbers resident from the time of the conquest and Muwallads. Now, how-

ever, new elements had entered al-Andalus following the era of the Caliphate and the 'Āmirid chamberlains. There were, for example, the Slavs, who had played a steadily increasing political role in the affairs of state from the days of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, but more especially during those of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir after he had succeeded in rallying them to his ranks. Then there was the mercenary army of Berbers, who had been imported in great numbers by al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir and become the mainstay of the army under al-Manṣūr, constituting a powerful, dreaded force. We have seen the critical role they played, first in the uprising attributed to them (the Berber Revolt), then in the overthrow of the Caliphate. The Arabs, moreover, were still a force to be reckoned with, and so were the remnants of the Umayyad clients.

On this basis we can divide the kings of the petty states into various social categories, the first being those belonging to the Arab aristocracy. The most important family of this aristocracy was that of the Banū 'Abbād, who ruled Seville. Their ancestor was 'Itāf b. Nu'aym al-Lakhmī, who had entered al-Andalus with the Syrian Contingent of Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī. After them came the Banū Tujīb, who ruled the Upper Frontier in Saragossa and the surrounding cities during the early part of the 5th/11th century. They were descended from the Yemeni tribe which had settled on the Frontier and belonged to the "native Arabs" whose ancestor, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muhājir, had entered the country with the army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr; a branch of these Tujībids, the Banū Ṣumādīh, moved south, ruling Almería until the entry of the Almoravids. Then there were the Banū Hūd, who took possession of the Upper Frontier after the Tujībids until Saragossa finally fell into the hands of the king of Aragon. These were descended from the Yemeni Judhām tribe, while the Banū Ṭāhir, the rulers of Murcia in the east of the country, were from the Qaysī Arabs.

The second category was the Umayyad clients, whose families had been the mainstay of rule in the Umayyad state. Al-Manṣūr had swept most of them aside, but a few remained, including the house of Banū Abū 'Abda Ḥassān b. Mālīk, who had been vizier to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhlīl. To this family belonged the Banū Jahwar, who ruled Córdoba after the disappearance of the Caliphate until al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād did away with them.

The third category was affiliated to the 'Āmirid party, that is the remnants of the family of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir and the Slavs whose numbers al-Manṣūr had increased. The latter had served in the palace, where many of them became commanding officers. One of the 'Āmirid family was 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, ("Sanchuelo") b. al-Manṣūr, who ruled Valencia for forty years, bequeathing the emirate to his son. As for the Slavs, they controlled most of the cities of eastern al-Andalus (The Levant) during the early period of the petty states. They included Khayrān and Zuhayr, who ruled Almería prior to the Banū Ṣumādīh; Mubārak and Muẓaffar, the *amīrs* of

Valencia before it reverted to al-Manṣūr's grandson; Muqātil and Labīb, *amīrs* of Tortosa (Ṭurtūsha) before the Banū Hūd seized it; and Mujāhid al-ʿĀmirī, the overlord of Denia and the Balearic Islands, and his son, ʿAlī Iqbāl al-Dawla.

The fourth category was the Berber faction, who may be classified into three distinct groups, the first being the Berbers who had settled in al-Andalus from the earliest days of the conquest, and had so merged within Andalusi society that there was nothing to distinguish them, although they continued to hold on to their ancient lineages. Some of them, it is worth noting, created Arab lineages for themselves, which indicates the extent of their assimilation. Such were the Banū ʿI-Aṭas, the rulers of Badajoz and western al-Andalus, who originated from among the Miknāsa Berbers, but traced their ancestry to the Arab tribe of Tujīb. Among those who had settled early in al-Andalus were the Banū Dhī ʿl-Nūn, from the Berber Hawwāra tribe, who held sway over Toledo, residing in the area of Santaver (Shantabariyya) and presiding over the cities of Huete, Uclés and Cuenca. Their eminence had begun in the days of the *amīr* Muḥammad, for when the Revolt broke out they subdued Toledo and governed it until Alfonso VI seized it from them. The Banū Razīn, from the same Hawwāra tribe, also belonged to this category, and dwelt in the plain which still bears their name—Albarracín—and in the region of Teruel (Tirwāl).

The second group included those professional soldiers who joined al-Manṣūr for use in his campaigns, and from whom he created a feared military aristocracy. These, unlike the previous group, were not assimilated into Andalusi society—both because of their recent arrival and due to the intense hatred the Andalusis felt towards them on account of their role in the Revolt. Nevertheless, they did, with the passage of time, gradually merge with the society. The largest bloc was that represented by the Banū Zirī of the Ṣinhāja, who seized control of Granada. Prior to this, Granada had been the abode of the Damascene Arabs, but the concentration of Berbers there over the 5th/11th century gave it a distinctly Berber character, and these Ṣinhājī maintained their control over Granada from the time of the revolt to its seizure by the Almoravids.

Numerous other locations in the south of the Peninsula were dominated by these professional warriors, most of whom were from the Zanāta. There were, for example, Carmona, of which the Banū Bīrzāl took possession; Morón ruled by the Banū Nūḥ of the Dammar tribe; Ronda, the fief of the Banū Abī Qurra, who were from Yafran; and La Frontera de Arcos (Arkush), ruled by the Banū Khazrūn of the Uzdāja. However, the king of Seville, Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād, slew these lesser *amīrs*, adding their territories to his kingdom.

The third of these Berber factions, the Banū Ḥammūd, may be termed the "Berberised Arabs". They were of the Idrīsid Ḥasanid lineage, who set up the first Alawī state in Morocco, but for all this Arab Ḥaṣhimī lineage, they

lived under the shadow of the Berber tribes, intermarried with them and were, to use Ibn Qutayba's expression, "Berberised" by them. As such, the Berbers who embarked on the Revolt, notably the *Šinhāja*, rallied to them, recognising them as *imāms*, and these *Ḥammūdis* came to rule over parts of southern al-Andalus, most importantly Málaga and Algeciras, with their authority extending, during the period of the Revolt, as far as Córdoba, Seville and other places.

With the fall of the Córdoba Caliphate in 422/1031, the leading citizens agreed to entrust matters in the old Andalusi capital to the "*shaykh* of the community", Abū 'l-Ḥazm Jahwar b. Muḥammad, who managed to devise a new political system similar to a republic: he formed a council of ministers and judicious men, and would finalise nothing without consulting them. Under this system, therefore, Córdoba possessed a collective leadership, within which Abū 'l-Ḥazm referred to himself as the "Custodian of the Community". This democratic system restored integrity to Córdoba's affairs; and if the destruction sweeping through it in the course of the Revolt meant that it could never regain its former glory, it nevertheless became, thanks to the wise policy of Ibn Jahwar, a model of peace to petty state neighbours violently shaken by wars and strife among themselves. The city became a refuge for exiles and fugitive *amīrs* who had been deposed from their thrones, and Abū 'l-Ḥazm strove to set himself up as an apostle of peace among his quarrelling neighbours, although his success mediating among them was limited. Córdoba itself, moreover, did not escape the ambitious designs of powerful neighbours wishing to incorporate it into their kingdoms, especially during the later days of the republican state.

Abū 'l-Ḥazm governed the Cordoban republic in the democratic manner indicated from the abolition of the Caliphate till his death (422/1031-435/1043), and was succeeded by his son, Abū 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, who followed in his father's footsteps. In fact, affairs continued on this wholesome course until 456/1064, when Abū 'l-Walīd, overtaken by old age, gave up the management of affairs in favour of his two sons, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Abd al-Malik, distributing the authority between them. This was the first sign of a defect in the system, which had now changed from a democratic one to a hereditary kingship, leading to competition between the two *amīrs*. Having gained the ascendancy over his brother, 'Abd al-Malik stripped him of almost all authority, then entered into close relations with al-Mu'taḍid, visiting him in person. The latter, desiring to seize control of Córdoba, feigned friendship for him, urging him to overthrow his vizier and manager of his affairs, Ibn al-Saqqā', who was accordingly assassinated.

This now aroused the greed of Yahyā b. Dhī 'l-Nūn, king of Toledo, who aspired in turn to incorporate Córdoba into his kingdom, sending an army to besiege 'Abd al-Malik. Meanwhile, al-Mu'taḍid b. 'Abbād had died in 461/1069 and been succeeded by his son, al-Mu'tamid. 'Abd al-Malik b. Jahwar

thereupon applied to the latter for help, and al-Mu'tamid, seizing the opportunity, sent assistance which forced Ibn Dhī 'l-Nūn to lift the siege from Córdoba. Then, however, the two generals of Mu'tamid's army double-crossed 'Abd al-Malik, taking Córdoba by storm almost as soon as the danger was removed and proclaiming the deposition of the Banū Jahwar and the installation of al-Mu'tamid in 462/1070. Ibn 'Abbād's army first interned 'Abd al-Malik, with his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān and their aged father, Abū 'l-Walīd Muḥammad (who was sick with palsy), then exiled them to the Island of Saltés (Shalṭīs) in the Guadalquivir River. Thus the Banū Jahwar state ended, and Córdoba was added to the kingdom of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād. Al-Mu'tamid's victory cost him dear, nevertheless: he had left his son, 'Abbād in Córdoba as his deputy, but Ibn Dhī 'l-Nūn instructed one of his generals, Ibn 'Ukāsha, to invade the city, and the latter descended on it one dark night in 467/1075, killing 'Abbād b. al-Mu'tamid and holding the city for a time. The city subsequently reverted to al-Mu'tamid.

We now come to the largest of the Petty Kingdoms under the rule of Arab families, namely Seville, ruled by the Lakhmid Banū 'Abbād. The first of this family to occupy a position of leadership was the *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, who had inherited from his father wealth estimated at one-third of the territory of Seville, and when the important men of the city had made him their head, he concentrated authority in his own hands, though maintaining his position of *qāḍī* as a matter of policy. He increased the number of his slaves, whom he formed into a strong army to protect his city from Berber raids, and ruled Seville from the time of the Revolt till his death (414/1023-433/1042). He was succeeded by his son, 'Abbād, who took the title "al-Mu'taḍid" and was one of the cruellest and most cunning of the kings of the petty states. Al-Mu'taḍid managed to extend his kingdom till it became the largest of all, having wrested Algeciras from the Banū Ḥammūd, Carmona from the hands of the Birzālis, Morón from the Banū Nūh, Ronda from the Banū Abī Qurra, Arcos from the Banū Khazrūn, Niebla from the Yaḥsubis, Huelva (Walba) and Saltés from the Bakris, Silves from the Banū Muzayyin, Santamaria de Algarve (present-day Faro) and Ocsonoba from the Banū Hārūn, and Mértola from Ibn Ṭayfūr, all between 443/1051 and 449/1057. The princes of these small neighbouring petty states were either assassinated or sent into exile. There were also violent wars between him and other neighbours, the Banū Dhī 'l-Nūn, rulers of Toledo, the Banū 'l-Aftas, rulers of Badajoz, and the Banū Zīrī, rulers of Granada, in most of which he was victorious. His kingdom finally became the largest among the petty states in the south of the Peninsula.

When al-Mu'taḍid died in 461/1069, he left this full-fledged kingdom to his son Muḥammad, surnamed "al-Mu'tamid", who, having, as we have seen, incorporated Córdoba into his kingdom in the early days of his rule, now turned his gaze towards Murcia. He sent his vizier, Abū Bakr b. 'Ammār to take

it from Ibn Ṭāhir, but when the latter had accomplished this, he tried to double-cross al-Mu'tamid and make himself the independent ruler of Murcia. Al-Mu'tamid finally managed to apprehend him and kill him in 477/1084.

For all the extent of his kingdom and the wealth of his resources, al-Mu'tamid nevertheless felt unable to repulse the attack of Alfonso VI, king of León, on his kingdom, and was consequently obliged to pay the latter a yearly tribute (called in Spanish *parias*) to keep him at bay. His situation in this respect was the same as that of the other petty kings; and when the Christian king seized Toledo in 478/1085, and the kings of the petty states realised the danger to their thrones, al-Mu'tamid headed a scheme to seek help from the Almoravid *amīr*, Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, and himself performed well, alongside Ibn Tāshfin, in the Battle of al-Zallāqa in 479/1086. After the latter's return to North Africa, however, he returned to dealing with the Christians, and Ibn Tāshfin thereupon decided to depose all the Kings of the petty states, including al-Mu'tamid himself. Al-Mu'tamid was removed from power in 484/1091 and exiled to Aghmāt in North Africa, where he died in 487/1095.

The second largest kingdom ruled by an Arab family was that of the Upper Frontier, in Saragossa and the cities subsidiary to it. When the Revolt took place, it was ruled by Mundhir b. Yaḥyā 'l-Tujībī, and he continued to govern it until 412/1022, being succeeded by his son, Yaḥyā b. Mundhir (412/1022-430/1039), who was assassinated by one of his paternal cousins. The rule of the Tujībī family thus came to an end, and, following his assassination, the people of Saragossa invited Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd al-Judhāmī of the city of Lérida to govern over them, and the rule of the Frontier by the Banū Hūd was thus set in motion. This king, who took the name "al-Musta'in", ruled until 437/1046.

Before his death he divided his kingdom among his five sons: Saragossa to Aḥmad, who took the title "al-Muqtadir"; Lérida to Yūsuf; Calatayud to Muḥammad; Huesca to Lubd; and Tudela to Mundhir. After a lengthy struggle, however, Aḥmad al-Muqtadir seized control of his brothers' territories. During his time, in 456/1064, Barbastro, to the east of Huesca, was subjected to Norman attacks, in which thousands of the inhabitants were killed, but al-Muqtadir managed to recover the city in the following year. He was also able to expand his kingdom at the expense of his neighbours, taking first Tortosa, then Denia, from 'Alī Iqbāl al-Dawla b. Mujāhid in 468/1076, although he was forced to impose exorbitant taxes on his subjects in order to pay neighbouring Christian kings for their help in some of his wars. He died in 474/1081, and when his son and successor, Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin, died in his turn in 478/1085, the latter's son Aḥmad, surnamed "al-Musta'in" (II), inherited his kingdom, just as the Almoravids entered al-Andalus. However, when Yūsuf b. Tāshfin deposed the other petty kings some years later, he refrained from molesting al-Musta'in, believing that those who lived on the Frontiers were best equipped to

deal with their Christian neighbours, and fearing, too, that pressure on them might lead them to seek protection from these neighbours. Al-Musta'in thus continued to rule the Upper Frontier till his death in 503/1110.

Nevertheless, al-Musta'in was never able to stem the Christian advance. His contemporary, the king of Aragon, Sancho Ramirez (1063-1094), besieged Tudela in 480/1087, but, although a crusading expedition from Normandy and the principalities of southern France also took part, failed to seize it. He returned to attack the Frontier, however, and this time succeeded in capturing Monzón (Munt *Shūn*) in 482/1089. He also laid siege to the city of Huesca in 486/1093, but died the following year before he was able to capture it.

Sancho Ramirez was succeeded by his son Pedro I (1094-1104), who continued with the siege. Al-Musta'in hurried there to relieve it, but was badly defeated at the battle of Alcaraz (*Dhu 'l-Qa'da* 489/November 1096), upon which the city fell into the King of Aragon's hands. In 494/1101, Pedro I finally captured Barbastro, and after his death his brother, Alfonso I, known as "the Warrior" (1104-1134), continued the campaigns against the Muslims. In 503/1110 he inflicted a severe defeat on al-Musta'in at the Battle of Valtierra, in which the Banū Hūdīd king was killed. He was succeeded by his son, 'Abd al-Malik 'Imād al-Dawla, but when the inhabitants of Saragossa learned that he was having dealings with the Christians, they drove him out of the city, and invited the Almoravids to take his place. The latter entered in 503/1110, but were unable to keep it following the fall of the surrounding Frontier cities. Alfonso the Warrior laid siege to Saragossa from 508/1114 to 512/1118, taking it, finally, in the latter year, and the Banū Hūdīd kingdom in the Upper Frontier came to an end.

We have seen how Toledo, from the start of the Revolt on, was ruled by an old Berber family, the Banū *Dhī 'l-Nūn*, who had inherited the leadership of the Santaver region. The first to assume charge of Toledo was Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Dhī 'l-Nūn*, surnamed "al-Zāfir", who governed the city from 427/1036 to 435/1043, with his vizier, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī. He was succeeded, on his death, by his son, Yaḥyā, called "al-Ma'mūn" (435/1043-468/1075).

There were numerous wars between the latter and the rulers of the neighbouring petty states: first with Sulaymān al-Musta'in b. Hūd (435/1043-437/1046), then with al-Mu'taḍid of Seville, and with Ibn Aftās; each of these sought the help of his Christian neighbours, so leading to the destruction of their states. Al-Ma'mūn spent so lavishly upon building projects that it became proverbial. After his death in 468/1075, his grandson Yaḥyā b. Ismā'il, surnamed "al-Qādir", governed the kingdom (468/1075-478/1085). An evil ruler, he slew his vizier, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī, who had also served his grandfather, and this caused the people of Toledo to revolt, upon which al-Qādir fled to Cuenca. The citizens then invited 'Umar al-Mutawakkil b.

al-Afṭas, who entered the city and remained there for ten months. Al-Qādir, however, wrote to seek the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, reminding him of his own grandfather's favour to him when he was a refugee in Toledo at the time of his war with his brothers, Sancho and García, and Alfonso, seizing this opportunity, came to meet him and advanced with him on the city. They entered Toledo as al-Mutawakkil hurriedly withdrew, but the Castilian king presently occupied it, compensating al-Qādir with the throne of Valencia, and sending an army with him to support him. Al-Qādir accordingly settled down in Valencia, remaining there till 485/1092, but Toledo was lost to the Muslims for ever—in fact, it henceforth became Alfonso VI's base.

Badajoz was ruled by the Banū 'l-Afṭas, Berbers long settled in al-Andalus, from the Miknāsa tribe living in the Valle de los Pedroches, to the north-west of Córdoba. Their ancestor was 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, who was known as "Ibn al-Afṭas" and had been one of the assistants to Sābūr, governor of the western region, stretching from Badajoz to Santarem (apparently Sābūr himself was one of the Slavs who had served al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir during the outbreak of the Revolt and the downfall of the Caliphate). When Sābūr died, Ibn Maslama seized control of affairs, taking possession of the whole western region (comparable, today, to the Spanish province of Extremadura and the greater part of Portugal). He received the title of "al-Manṣūr", and ruled from 412/1022 to 437/1045.

He was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad, surnamed "al-Muẓaffar" (437/1045-456/1064), and many wars took place between this king and his neighbours al-Mu'tamid of Seville and al-Ma'mūn of Toledo, in the course of which, in 456/1064, Fernando I, king of Castile, seized the city of Coimbra, which had been in Muslim hands since its reconquest by al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir in 375/985. In spite of this, however, al-Muẓaffar paid the king of Castile a yearly tribute of 5,000 dinars.

Before his death, al-Muẓaffar had divided his territory between his two sons, Yaḥyā, surnamed "al-Manṣūr" (II), who took Badajoz, and 'Umar, surnamed "al-Mutawakkil", who took Evora. However, strife broke out between the two brothers after their father's death, and when Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr died in 460/1068, his territories went to his brother, who ruled until 487/1094. Although he continued to pay tribute to Alfonso VI of Seville, the latter, in 472/1079, seized the city of Coria, the first fortress the Muslims had conquered in the Tagus River basin, and al-Mutawakkil accordingly sought the help of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn to expel the Christians from his territory—yet despite the famous Battle of Zallāqa, in which the Almoravids defeated Alfonso VI, 'Umar al-Mutawakkil continued his affiliation with the Christians; and when Ibn Tāshfīn decided to depose the kings of the petty states, al-Mutawakkil hung onto his kingdom by once more applying to Alfonso for help, even, in 486/1093, ceding to him such major bases as

Santarem, Lisbon and Cintra. This treachery led the Almoravids to depose and kill him in 487/1094.

The 'Āmirids were triumphant in the east of al-Andalus, and we thus find, in Almería, the Slav Khayrān al-'Āmirī, who seized and ruled the city from 403/1012 to 419/1028, and was succeeded by the Slav Zuhayr, from 419/1028 to 429/1038. War then broke out between Zuhayr and Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, ruler of Granada, ending in Zuhayr's death, whereupon the inhabitants of Almería invited their neighbour, 'Abd al-'Azīz, surnamed "al-Manṣūr". When Mujāhid aspired to dominate Almería, 'Abd al-'Azīz went out to reach a settlement with him, leaving as his deputy his son-in-law and vizier, Ma'n b. Ṣumādīḥ, who, however, immediately betrayed him, proclaimed himself ruler and governed from 432/1041 till his death in 443/1051, to be succeeded by his son Muḥammad, surnamed "al-Mu'taṣim", who reigned till his death in 484/1091. The Almoravid army in fact entered the city when he was at the point of death. The rule of the Banū Ṣumādīḥ was thus ended, and Muḥammad b. Ma'n's son, surnamed Rafī' al-Dawla, fled to the Banū Ḥammād of the Ṣinhāja in central North Africa.

In Valencia, the Slavs Mubārak and Muẓaffar enjoyed stable rule together from the outset of the Revolt until 410/1019, when power was transferred to Labīb, ruler of Tortosa. However, when the inhabitants of Valencia learned of his cooperation with his Christian neighbours in Barcelona they became inflamed, and, there being a large concentration of 'Āmirid supporters there, they determined to call in 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr al-'Āmirī, making him ruler of their principality in 412/1021 with the title "al-Mu'tamin". His rule was a long one, extending to his death in 452/1061. Peacefully inclined, he refrained from taking part in the wars between the petty state rulers, so that his kingdom enjoyed a remarkable degree of peace and stability. He was succeeded by his son, 'Abd al-Malik, surnamed "al-Muẓaffar", who was still very young. The old ruler's vizier, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, therefore assumed the direction of the state, but affairs became unsettled under him, and Fernando I, king of Castile, took advantage of the situation to attack Valencia in 455/1063, inflicting a cruel defeat on its inhabitants at the battle of Paterna (Baṭirna). When rebellion began to stir among the common people of Valencia, 'Abd al-Malik's father-in-law, Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī 'l-Nūn, hastened to send an army from Toledo to defend him. It appears, however, that al-Ma'mūn decided, in 457/1065, to depose 'Abd al-Malik and incorporate Valencia into his own kingdom, and this situation lasted until 467/1075, when, following the death of al-Ma'mūn in that year, control of the city returned to the vizier Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. He managed affairs wisely, until, in 478/1085, Alfonso VI seized Toledo, deposing al-Qādir, the grandson of Ma'mūn b. Dhī 'l-Nūn and compensating him with Valencia. Al-Qādir then governed

Valencia until 485/1092, when the inhabitants rose up and killed him under the leadership of the *qādī*, Ja'far b. Jahhāf, who thereupon took charge.

However, the city's continuing state of confusion was a temptation to the adventurer, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid (in Arabic, *Ludhriq*, known as al-Sīd al-Qanbīṭūr), a daring Castilian warrior who had been active in the service of two kings of Castile, Sancho and Alfonso, and also in that of Aḥmad al-Musta'in, king of Saragossa. The time being seemingly opportune, he attacked Valencia, and took it, after a rigorous siege, in 487/1095. He then demanded the treasures of al-Qādir b. Dhī 'l-Nūn from the *qādī* Ibn Jahhāf, whom he accused of misappropriating them, and burned alive for this reason. The Cid ruled Valencia until his death in 492/1099, but his wife, Lady Jimena (*Shimāna*) remained there for three further years, until forced to withdraw with her husband's soldiers when the Almoravid general, Mazdalī b. Sulunkān, laid siege to it in 495/1102. Jimena had appealed for help to Alfonso VI, who hastened to her aid, but concluded that it was impossible to retain the city in the face of the siege, and therefore advised setting fire to the city and withdrawing. Valencia was under Almoravid control from this time onward.

Denia and the Balearic Isles constituted one of the largest kingdoms in the east of al-Andalus under the rule of the 'Āmirids, and was under the sole command of Abū 'l-Jaysh Mujāhid, surnamed "al-Muwaffaq", from the beginning of the Revolt until his death (400/1009-436/1044). In 405/1014, Mujāhid summoned the Umayyad *faqīh* 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mu'ayyī, proclaiming him caliph in opposition to Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam al-Musta'in, and in the following year made a naval expedition to the Island of Sardinia, occupying the greater part of it, although this finally failed due to the destruction of his ships. Mujāhid was a skilful military leader and statesman, and governed his large kingdom so well that it became, thanks to his commercial activities, one of the greatest and richest of the petty states. On his death the kingdom was inherited by his son 'Alī, surnamed "Iqbāl al-Dawla" (436/1044-468/1076), who was disposed to peace with his neighbours and concerned with the expansion of his commercial revenue. This aroused their greed, and in 468/1076 his neighbour and relative by marriage, al-Muqtadir b. Hūd of Saragossa, occupied Denia and exiled 'Alī to Saragossa.

Following his deposition, the Balearic Isles became independent under their governor, Aghlab, surnamed "al-Murtaḍā", who ruled over them until his death in 486/1093. Thereafter the government of the islands was transferred to Nāṣir al-Dawla Mubashshir b. Sulaymān (486/1093-508/1115). In the latter year the Island of Majorca was attacked by the fleet of a Christian coalition made up of Catalonia, the Franks and the Pisans (ahl Bīṣha), which occupied the island of Ibiza (Yābisa), then Majorca itself, slaughtering many of the inhabitants, demolishing some quarters of the city and looting it. During the siege, Nāṣir al-Dawla wrote to 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Sultan of the Almo-

ravids, seeking his assistance, and, when Nāṣir al-Dawla subsequently died towards the end of 509/beginning of 1116, the Sultan sent a large fleet to the Islands. The Christians then decided to withdraw with the plunder they had taken, having occupied Majorca for several months. From this time onward the Balearic Isles passed into the hands of the Almoravids.

In Tortosa, to the north of Denia on the Mediterranean coast, a succession of 'Āmirid Slavs were in control. The first to rule it was Labīb (412/1021-427/1036), followed by Muqātil, who was an ally of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mu'taman, the ruler of Valencia, and by Sulaymān al-Musta'in of Saragossa, the length of whose rule is not precisely known, although it appears that it extended up to about 437/1046. He was succeeded by a Slav named Nabil, who ruled until about 452/1060, when he was compelled to abdicate in favour of al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd, ruler of Saragossa.

Murcia, which lay between the kingdoms of Almería, Valencia, Denia and Granada, was coveted by these rulers. At the beginning of the Revolt it was governed by the rulers of Almería, first by Khayrān (406/1016-419/1028), then by his comrade Zuhayr (419/1028-429/1038). Then, after the murder of Zuhayr, Murcia was transferred to the rule of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mu'taman, then of his son, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muza'ffar (429/1038-457/1065), although it was actually governed, in the name of these rulers, by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir, until his death in 457/1063, when he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad (457/1063-470/1078). In this latter year Murcia submitted to al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, ruler of Seville, by the agency of his vizier, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Ammār, who deposed Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir and gave the Friday sermon in the name of Ibn 'Abbād. Ibn 'Ammār aimed in fact to make himself the independent ruler of Murcia, but al-Mu'tamid's vizier, 'Abd Allāh b. Raṣḥīq, tricked Ibn 'Ammār and arrested him, and Murcia then remained under Ibn 'Abbād's control until the Almoravids deposed him.

Between Valencia and Toledo lay a kingdom on a plateau bearing the name of the Banū Razīn (today called Albarracín), a family descended from an old Berber lineage; this family in fact ruled the kingdom, which, for all its small size and the scarcity of its resources, was able to preserve its independence from its powerful neighbours. It was governed from the outset of the Revolt by Hudhayl b. Khalaf b. Razīn (403/1012-436/1045), followed by his son, 'Abd al-Malik, whose reign lasted almost sixty years (436/1045-496/1103). The latter was more fortunate than the other petty state kings, in that the Almoravids did not touch him. He was succeeded, on his death, by his son Yahyā, who was deposed by the Almoravids after less than a year (496/1103-497/1104).

There remain the Berber petty states, the great majority of which were confined to the south-eastern corner of the Peninsula. From the outbreak of the Revolt, the Berbers rallied to the Banū Ḥammūd family, which was descended from the Idrīsīd Alawīs who ruled Morocco. We have seen how

some members of this family took the office of caliph in Córdoba during the Revolt, and when the Umayyad Caliphate was abolished, some of the Banū Ḥammūd settled in Málaga and Algeciras. Successive Ḥammūdīs ruled this area, beginning in 427/1035, when Idrīs b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd “al-Muta’ayyid” became ruler over it, remaining in power until his death in 449/1057. The last of them, Muḥammad II b. Idrīs “al-Musta’lī”, died there after Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, king of Granada, deposed him in 465/1072. As for Algeciras, it was governed by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd (427/1035-439/1048), followed by al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, who ruled until 450/1058, when ‘Abbād b. Muḥammad al-Mu’taḍid, king of Seville, seized it and so put an end to Ḥammūdī rule.

The most powerful Berber state, however, was that of the Banū Zīrī of the Ṣinhāja in Granada. The first ruler was Zāwī b. Zīrī (403/1012-410/1019), followed by his nephew, Ḥabbūs b. Māksan b. Zīrī (410/1019-429/1038), succeeded in turn by his son, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs (429/1038-465/1073). Their last king was ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluqqīn b. Bādīs (465/1073-483/1090), who was deposed by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and exiled to Aghmāt.

There were, in addition, a number of tiny Berber states whose rulers were from the Zanāta tribe, such as Carmona, Morón, Ronda and Arcos. These were fortresses of little strength, but their rulers succeeded, nevertheless, in remaining invincible for a time due to their inaccessibility. Finally, however, they could not withstand al-Mu’taḍid’s offensive in which he wrested these fortresses from the hands of their rulers between 450/1059 and 460/1068.

VI. THE ALMORAVID STATE (483/1091-541/1147)

In the latter part of the 4th/10th century there lived in the far south of the Maghrib, in the desert stretching to the Senegal River basin, a group of Ṣinhājī tribes called “the desert Ṣinhāja”, the most important of which were the Jidāla, the Massūfa, the Lamtūna, the Turgha, the Lamṭa and the Jazūla. They had been driven south by the Zanāta, who had forced them to take refuge in the desert regions along the Atlantic coast (corresponding, today, to Mauretania, Mali and Río de Oro (al-Sāqiya al-Ḥamrā’)). These desert people lived a harsh life based on pastoralism and a little farming, and, while they had accepted Islam, this had not had any profound effect on their lives; they remained bedouins, characterised by ignorance and anarchy.

At the end of the 4th/beginning of the 11th century, the leader of these tribes was Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Jidālī, who, in about 426/1035, set out to perform the pilgrimage, returning by way of Qayrawān. There he attended a session conducted by the famous *faqīh* Abū ‘Umrān al-Fāsī, and requested the latter to send one of his disciples to teach the members of his tribe and instruct them in their religion. Abū ‘Umrān accordingly wrote to a disciple of

his named Wajjāj b. Zalū, who had settled in the Sūs region. When Yaḥyā met Wajjāj, the latter picked out one of his students, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Jazūlī, who had accumulated considerable learning in al-Andalus, to go back with him into the Sahara and carry out his assignment of teaching the Jidāla. The Lamtūna also followed him, with their chief Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar, and the latter became the leader of the movement after the death of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn then commanded the *amīr* Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar to leave the Sahara for Sijilmāsa. At that time Dar‘a and its inhabitants were under subjection to the Maghrāwa tribe of the Zanāta, and Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar and his followers conquered these territories, though Yaḥyā himself was killed in one of the battles. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn then appointed Abū Bakr b. ‘Umar leader in succession to his brother, and the latter expanded his authority northward to the lands of the Maṣmūda, occupying Aghmāt in 450/1058. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn was subsequently killed, in 451/1059, in one of his wars with the Barghawāta tribe of the Tāmisnā region, upon which Abū Bakr b. ‘Umar became the sole leader. With the expansion of his dominion, he embarked on the building, in 462/1070, of a new capital, Marrākush (Marrakesh), and this became the base for the state to which Ibn Yāsīn had given the name “al-Murābiṭūn” (the Almoravids), on account of the Islamic holy war he had urged upon them.

In 463/1071 Abū Bakr b. ‘Umar heard of the revolt of the Jidāla in the desert and their slaughter of the Lamtūna, and decided to proceed against them after appointing his nephew, Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, as his successor. Shortly afterwards he was killed in a war with the blacks in the southern Sahara. Yūsuf b. Tāshfin’s dominion now expanded with the conquest of the city of Fez, then of Tlemcen, and his control finally came to embrace the whole of Morocco and a section of central North Africa, upon which he took the name of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*.

Meanwhile, conditions in al-Andalus were going from bad to worse. The Andalusis heard of the rise of this new state in North Africa, and of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin’s concern for Islamic holy war, and the first of the petty state kings to seek the Almoravids’ aid was ‘Umar al-Mutawakkil b. al-Aftās, ruler of Badajoz, following Alfonso VI’s seizure of the city of Coria in 472/1079. The sense of danger grew when this same Castilian king wrested Toledo from Muslim hands in 478/1085—a shattering blow, which filled the petty state kings and their subjects with alarm, for the position of Toledo, in the centre of al-Andalus, foreshadowed the severance of the Upper Frontier from the southern regions and the isolation of each section from the others.

Al-Mu’tamid b. ‘Abbād also wrote to seek Yūsuf b. Tāshfin’s assistance, but the Almoravid *amīr*, after consultation with his men, stipulated that Ibn ‘Abbād should hand over Algeciras to him, so that he might cross to it from North Africa. Then, when al-Mu’tamid, al-Mutawakkil and ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluqqīn al-Zirī of Granada sent emissaries reiterating the request for him to

come, he accepted the invitation and crossed the strait to Algeciras with his armies, proceeding from there to Seville, where al-Mu'tamid and 'Abd Allāh b. Buluqqīn received him. They then went together to Badajoz, where al-Mutawakkil met them, and the army made its way towards Toledo. The moment Alfonso VI received news of this, he hastened to collect a large army, with which he went to meet the Muslims, and a fierce battle was fought at a place called Sagrajas (al-Zallāqa), three parasangs (about ten-and-a-half miles) from Badajoz, on Friday 12 *Rajab* 480/October 23 1087. It ended in a crushing defeat for the Castilian king's army and the flight of the wounded Alfonso with 500 of his knights. The result of this victory was the recovery, by the Muslims, of a number of cities previously occupied by Alfonso, including Lisbon and Santarem, and the cessation of the payment of tribute by the petty state kings to the neighbouring Christian kings. It may be said indeed that, thanks to this victory, Islam, which had been on the verge of extinction in al-Andalus, had been given a new lease on life.

For all this, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn did not capitalise on the victory as might have been expected, in that he did not continue his advance to recover Toledo. He may have concluded from the course of the battle, which had been extremely fierce, that the matter was much too difficult for him to rush into this hazardous venture, and he must also have recognised the weakness and defeatism prevalent among the Andalusis and the selfishness and mutual hatred existing among the petty state kings. It is also related that, following the victory, news reached him of the death of his eldest son and heir, Abū Bakr, so that he was obliged to return in haste to the Maghrib.

This situation did not escape the notice of the Christian leaders, who now returned to attacking the Muslim positions, particularly in the east of al-Andalus, where strife had broken out in Murcia between al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād and Ibn Rashīq. The Cid also continued to attack the area, and in addition the Castilian, García Jiménez, who occupied the mighty fortress of Aledo (Layī) near Lorca, raided the Murcia region from there. This fortress, set on a lofty mountain and housing some 13,000 warriors, inflicted severe damage on the neighbouring Muslims, and it was this which prompted al-Mu'tamid—who regarded the stronghold as his property—to cross over to North Africa to meet Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, and request him to return to al-Andalus so as to recover the fortress. Deputations of *fuqahā'* also visited the Almoravid *amīr* one after the other, urging him to hurry to save al-Andalus.

Yūsuf did, in fact, equip an army, with which he crossed the strait a second time, in the summer of 480/1088, calling the petty state kings to meet him to lay siege to Aledo. Al-Mu'tamid, 'Abd Allāh al-Zirī and his brother, Tamīm, ruler of Málaga, al-Mu'taṣim b. Ṣumādīh, ruler of Almería, and Ibn Rashīq, ruler of Murcia, all came, but these *amīrs* at once began to "wash their dirty linen" in the presence of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, each starting to accuse and defame his peers in order to curry favour with the *Amīr al-Muslimīn*.

One of them even gave evidence of treason, namely that Ibn Rashīq was secretly sending supplies to the Christians sheltering in the fortress. The siege dragged on without result, and Yūsuf b. Tāshfin's attempts to mediate between the *amīrs* were to no avail. At last, growing impatient at the length of his stay and the failure of the siege, he decided to leave, filled with a sense of loathing for the petty state kings, one and all, and chagrin at the affront to his military prestige.

Shortly after Yūsuf's return to North Africa, he began to receive letters from the Andalusī people and *fuqahā'*, calling on him to depose the petty state kings, whom they accused of betraying the cause of Islam, especially after they had returned to parleying with their Christian neighbours and once more manifested a readiness to pay tribute. The *fuqahā'* backed up their requests with *fatwas* from Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī regarding the legality of the occupation of al-Andalus and the overthrow of these rulers.

In 483/1090 Yūsuf b. Tāshfin crossed the sea to al-Andalus for a third time, this time taking up residence at Córdoba. He then sent a summons to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zīrī, having learned of the latter's agreement with the Castilian general, Alvar Fañez, the deputy of Alfonso VI, to pay tribute in return for protecting him from the Almoravids. 'Abd Allāh did not appear, but sent emissaries whom Yūsuf treated harshly, announcing his intention of deposing 'Abd Allāh on account of his collaboration with the Christians. The people of Granada then immediately proclaimed a revolt, which facilitated Yūsuf b. Tāshfin's task of deposing him and exiling him, with his brother, to Aghmāt in North Africa. 'Abd Allāh was thus the first of the petty state kings to be deposed.

The Almoravid army now entered Almería where al-Mu'taṣim b. Ṣumādh was on his death-bed, and, realising full well that al-Mu'tamid and al-Mutawakkil had been in correspondence with Alfonso VI, requesting him to defend them, Yūsuf b. Tāshfin sent an army to Seville, which it occupied after fierce resistance by al-Mu'tamid. The deposed king of Seville was then also dispatched to exile in Aghmāt, in *Rajab* 484/September 1091, and the Andalusī capitals successively fell into Almoravid hands thereafter. The last of these was Badajoz, whose ruler, al-Mutawakkil, appealed to Alfonso VI, surrendering Lisbon, Santarem and Cintra (cities which had been recovered following the Battle of Zallāqa) as the price for his help. This led the people of Badajoz to revolt against him. However, he resisted the Almoravids so vigorously that Yūsuf b. Tāshfin was obliged to order not merely his deposition and exile, but rather his death, as a punishment for his treason. The depositions of the petty state kings continued until, by the end of the year, none remained except the Banū Hūd, rulers of the Upper Frontier, and Aghlab al-Murtaḍā, who governed the Balearic Islands. In these cases, as we have mentioned previously, he refrained from action out of fear that they

would surrender control to their Christian neighbours, and because they had not been remiss in the holy war against the enemy.

From the time of these depositions, the defence of Islam in the Peninsula became the responsibility of the Almoravids, and al-Andalus became simply a province in an Almoravid empire extending from the Ebro River in the north to the Senegal River in western tropical Africa to the south. The task was made difficult by the corruption of Andalusi political and economic mores, together with the arrogance of the Christian forces, which were supported by the European states beyond the Pyrenees, and the prestige of the Almoravids was shaken after their failure to capture the Aledo fortress. In 487/1094 the Cid attacked Valencia in the heart of the Muslim territories, and captured it the following year, with the Almoravid generals unable to recover it. The pressure of the kings of Aragon on the Upper Frontier also increased, resulting in their occupation of Monzón in 481/1089, Huesca in 489/1096 and Barbastro in 494/1101.

The Almoravid generals spared no effort, nevertheless, to regain what the Christians had seized and to preserve the Andalusi territory remaining in their hands. In 486/1093 Yūsuf b. Tāshfin undertook his fourth crossing to al-Andalus to check on conditions, accompanied by his two sons, Tamīm and 'Alī, the latter of whom he appointed as heir to the throne on his return to Marrakesh. In 495/1102 Mazdalī, Yūsuf's nephew, recovered Valencia after the Christians had withdrawn from it.

Yūsuf b. Tāshfin died in 500/1106, to be succeeded by his son 'Alī, who reigned till 537/1143, and gave the same attention to al-Andalus as his father had. From the outset of his rule he entrusted the government of the large Andalusi cities to well-qualified, competent generals and governors from among his relatives, and during the early year he crossed over to inspect the various districts. In the course of this journey he took over the small principality of the Banū Razīn (Albarracín), but confirmed the Banū Hūd on the Upper Frontier. Probably one of the most important things 'Alī b. Yūsuf did during his early years was to reform economic conditions in al-Andalus, providing the country with a good measure of prosperity and stability.

In *Ramaḍān* 501/May 1108 the Almoravids gained a great victory over Castile at the battle of Uclés, which was second in importance only to that of al-Zallāqa. Their forces had advanced to this stronghold in the Santaver region, which Alfonso VI had occupied along with other fortresses following his conquest of Toledo, led by two of *Amīr* 'Alī's brothers, Tamīm and Muḥammad (known as "the son of 'Ā'isha") and by the general 'Abd Allāh b. Fāṭima, these being 'Alī b. Yūsuf's governors in Granada, Murcia and Valencia. When the Almoravids began the siege of Uclés, Alfonso sent a large army to succour the city, under his only son, Sancho, who was in his fifteenth year, accompanied by two of his leading generals, Alvar Fañez and García Ordoñez, and 10,000 cavalry. Following an initial defeat, the Mus-

lims then counter-attacked and inflicted a severe defeat on the Christians. Sancho was killed in the battle, as were García Ordoñez and the other Castilian generals, and the Muslims occupied Uclés. The defeat was a severe blow to the Castilian king, who died less than a year afterwards (*Dhū 'l-Hijja* 502/September 1109).

‘Alī b. Yūsuf himself assumed command, in July of the same year, of the campaign against Talavera, on the Tagus River west of Toledo; then, having stormed the city, he advanced on Toledo, besieging it for three days and destroying the surrounding area. When the city refused to submit, he withdrew after seizing some of its fortresses, including Canales.

Although the Muslims heaved a brief sigh of relief following the death of the Castilian king, they still had to face a no less ferocious monarch, namely Alfonso I, “the Warrior”, of Aragon, whom we have seen harassing the cities of the Upper Frontier with his attacks, and inflicting a severe defeat on al-Musta‘īn b. Hūd at Valtierra, in which the Hūdid ruler was killed. The latter was succeeded by his son, ‘Imād al-Dawla ‘Abd al-Malik, who decided to establish close connections with Alfonso, but the people of Saragossa thereupon rose up against him, driving him out and bringing the Almoravid general, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj, ruler of Valencia, to the city, so that Saragossa and the cities of the Upper Frontier now become part of the Almoravid kingdom. When Alfonso then advanced against Saragossa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj and his son, Abū Yaḥyā, sallied forth to meet him, but the battle ended in the defeat of the Muslims and Abū Yaḥyā’s death. The war went on, swaying this way and that, until the king of Aragon succeeded in taking Saragossa after a four-year siege (508/1114-512/1118), along with most of the other cities of the Upper Frontier. The Almoravids attempted to recover Saragossa, but Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, the brother of Sultan ‘Alī, having advanced on the city, suffered a severe defeat at the battle of Cutanda in 514/1120, and Alfonso simultaneously seized control of Rueda (Rūtā), Ricla (Rikla), Borja (Burja) and Tarazona (Ṭarasūna), followed by Calatayud (Qal‘at Ayyūb) and Daroca (Darūqa).

Prior to this, a coalition of the navies of Catalonia, Pisa and the Franks had, as previously mentioned, occupied the islands of Ibiza and Majorca, visiting slaughter and destruction on them (508/1115-509/1116). However, the Almoravids recovered the islands, so extending their authority over them, and in 508/1114, the *amir* Mazdalī, ruler of Córdoba, was killed after a campaign in which he had ravaged the land around Toledo. The Muslims suffered a further major defeat in the same year in the battle of El-Congost de Martorell (Albürt), in which Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj, going to attack Barcelona, was killed, and the following year Muḥammad b. Mazdalī was also killed, along with a number of the other leading Almoravid generals.

In 519/1125-520/1126, Alfonso the Warrior launched an expedition against al-Andalus, leaving Saragossa at the head of a large army, cutting

through the territory of Valencia and Murcia, then moving south, passing close to the provinces of Córdoba and Granada, until he reached the Mediterranean coast, where he encamped at Vélez-Málaga. This expedition lasted fifteen months, in the course of which, so it is estimated, 14,000 Mozarabs enlisted in the Warrior's army. The Almoravid generals evinced a curious languor during this campaign, none of them venturing to oppose it either on its way through Muslim territory or on the way back—an indication of the Almoravids' growing weakness, which destroyed the Andalusī people's confidence in their ability to defend the country. Rumblings and revolts thus broke out against them, instituted by certain local leaders, while the *faqīh* Abū 'l-Walid b. Rushd, *qādī* of the Cordoban Muslim community, issued a *fatwā* calling for the banishment of the remaining Mozarabs to the Maghrib, so that they might be under the eyes of the Sultan.

A further defeat befell the Almoravids a few years later, in 523/1129, in the east of al-Andalus at the village of Cullera (Qulyāra) near Valencia, with about 12,000 Muslims either killed or taken prisoner. Following this defeat, 'Alī b. Yūsuf ordered his secretary, Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl, to send a letter to his Lamtūna generals, rebuking them most severely for their slackness.

These last details will show how weak the Almoravid state in al-Andalus had become, especially during the later years of 'Alī b. Yūsuf's reign. One of the most important causes of this deterioration was the rebellion proclaimed against the Almoravids from 515/1121 on, in the mountains of Sūs in the south of the Maghrib, by Muḥammad b. Tūmart al-Mahdī, the initiator of the Almohad movement. This movement quickly spread among the Maṣmūda tribe, forcing the Almoravids to concentrate the efforts of their best generals on expeditions to take the Almohad strongholds and so put an end to the revolt—a diversion which meant a weakening of their forces combating the Christians in the Peninsula. They nevertheless spared no effort to repel the attacks directed at them by the valiant king of Aragon, and also by Alfonso VII of Castile, grandson of Alfonso VI (by his daughter Urraca) and known as "Rex Parvus" (al-Sulaytīn, a diminutive form of *sulṭān*, "sultan"), who reigned from 1126 to 1157. This king had revealed considerable warlike energy from his early youth, with repeated forays against Seville and the west of al-Andalus in 523/1129, 527/1133 and 533/1139.

The Almoravids were not, for all that, completely impotent: despite losing many of their bravest generals in these wars, they continued the struggle, and won major victories up to the final year of their rule over al-Andalus, their warlike vigour being particularly evident from the time 'Alī b. Yūsuf made his son, Tāshfīn, governor of al-Andalus toward the end of 523/1129. Tāshfīn—under whom the Almoravid state finally disintegrated—possessed considerable courage and ability. In *Shawwāl* 524/the summer of 1130, for instance, he himself led a campaign to besiege the fortress of Azeca (al-Sikka) in the Toledo region, taking it by force and capturing its

commander, Tello Fernández, along with a number of his comrades, after killing many of his men.

Among the Almoravid victories during Tāshfin's rule was the battle of Fraga (Ifrāgha) in 528/1134. Fraga, one of the cities the Muslims had retained on the Upper Frontier, was besieged by Alfonso the Warrior, and was on the verge of surrender when the people sent to Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Ghāniya al-Ṣaḥrāwī, Tāshfin's governor of Valencia and Murcia. The latter brought his best soldiers to meet the king of Aragon, and inflicted on him a bitter defeat which was a contributory cause of the insanity from which he subsequently suffered, before dying at Heueta in 1134, a few months after the defeat. In the same year Tāshfin won two victories over the armies of Castile, one at Badajoz near the place where the battle of Zallāqa had taken place, and the other at a place now called El Vacar ('Aqabat al-Baqar), on the Córdoba-Badajoz road. In 530/1136 Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya took the city of Mequinenza (Miknāsa) from the Aragonese, and Ramiro II el Monje, Alfonso the Warrior's brother and successor to the throne (1134-1137), succeeding neither in repulsing the Muslims nor in recovering the city. Then, in *Rabi' I* 531/December 1136, Tāshfin defeated a Castilian army near Escalona (Ishkalūna), and took the town by force.

The war between the Almoravids and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon was, then, one marked by alternate victory and defeat. It was clearly the Almoravids themselves, together with their soldiers from the Maghrib, who bore the main brunt of the struggle, fighting on behalf of Andalusī subjects whose own fighting spirit had now died out. This did not, though, prevent the Andalusis from complaining or attempting to revolt against their Almoravid rulers, and they also nourished a sense of superiority over the Almoravids, regarding themselves as subject to a people less civilised than themselves. This hidden rancour often appears in the writings of their authors and poets, who, for all the admittedly scandalous deeds of that period, felt a nostalgia for the period of the petty kings.

One reason, no doubt, for the irritation the Andalusis felt towards the Almoravids was the latter's practice of entrusting many state matters to their *fuqahā'* advisers, many of whom were characterised by narrow-mindedness and rigidity. This was seen first, in *Muḥarram* 503/August 1109, in 'Alī b. Yūsuf's compliance with the advice of the *qāḍī* of the Cordoban Muslim community, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdīn, and that of his *fuqahā'* associates, that he should burn al-Ghazālī's book *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. They also counselled him to investigate the Sufis, such as Ibn al-'Arīf (d. 23 *Ṣafar*, 536/September 27 1141) and his disciples, Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqī, Abū Ḥakam b. Barraḡān al-Ishbīlī and Ibn Qasī al-Shīlbi. These Sufis enjoyed a wide popularity among the masses, and their persecution, together with the burning of the *Iḥyā'*, aroused popular aversion to Almoravid rule. We thus witness, during the last days of their state, a religio-political revolt proclaimed

by Ibn Qasī in the Algarve region, and known to history as "the revolt of the *murīdūn* (i. e., Sufi novices)".

For all their efforts, therefore, to defend Islam in al-Andalus, the final years of 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn's rule were marked by numerous revolts against the Almoravids in many parts of the Peninsula. Most of these were, curiously, led by *qādis*, such as Ḥamdīn b. Ḥamdīn in Córdoba, Abū 'l-Ḥakam b. Ḥassūn in Málaga, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in Valencia, Ibn Abī Ja'far al-Khushanī in Murcia and Aḥmad b. 'Iṣām in Orihuela (Ūriyūla), and some also by local leaders ambitious for power, such as Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Mardanīsh and his father-in-law Ibrāhīm b. Hamuṣhk.

When 'Alī b. Yūsuf died in 537/1143, he was succeeded by his son and heir Tāshfīn (537/1143-539/1144), one of the most courageous men and best statesmen among the Almoravid kings, but unlucky, too, in that the Almohad revolution under the leadership of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, had reached dangerous proportions by his time, and that there were revolts among the Andalusis. 'Abd al-Mu'min, in a war of nerves, mounted continual raids in the area between Fez and Tlemcen. Tāshfīn had built a stronghold near Oran, using it as his headquarters to combat 'Abd al-Mu'min's pursuit of him, but the Almohads besieged this, and, in an attempt to escape when the siege had become critical, Tāshfīn fell with his horse from the top of the fortress, and was found below, dead, by the besiegers. This event occurred on 26 *Ramaḍān* 539/February 22 1145. Tāshfīn's son Ibrāhīm succeeded him, but his paternal uncle, Iṣḥāq, opposed the succession, and this strife heralded the fall of the empire. In *Muḥarram* 541/June 1146 'Abd al-Mu'min besieged Marrakesh, with Ibrāhīm b. Tāshfīn inside, and, when he had stormed the city, captured the last of the Almoravid princes and slew him forthwith. Thus ended this state which had begun so powerfully, had raised the banner of *jihād* for the sake of Islam, then collapsed suddenly while still in its youth.

VII. THE ALMOHAD STATE

The Almoravid state had come into existence in the 5th/11th century due to the efforts of the religious propagandist, 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Jazūlī; now, a century later, another state appeared, that of the Almohads, owing its existence to another propagandist, Muḥammad b. Tūmart, known as the "Mah-dī". While the first came into existence among the Ṣinhāja tribes of the Sahara, creating from them a tremendous political power, the second accomplished something similar with the Maṣmūda tribes who lived in the Atlas Mountains in southern Morocco.

Muḥammad b. Tūmart, the founder and spiritual shepherd of this state, possessed a strange, complex, contradictory personality. He was born somewhere between 471/1078 and 474/1081 among the Berber Hargha tribe,

which was part of the Maṣmūda confederation, and although his family was poor, it appears to have been of noble origin. From childhood on he felt he was destined to undertake some great mission. Spurred on by ambitions to seek learning, he went to Córdoba, where he studied for a while, before travelling to the East in about 500/1107. In Alexandria he met the Andalusī *faqīh* Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī, and it is said, though this is doubtful, that he also encountered the *imām* al-Ghazālī. His teachings indicate, at any rate, that he was influenced by the trends of thought current in the east, such as Aṣḥ'arism, which was a mediating school between Sunni and Mu'tazilī thought, and he was influenced, too, by the Sufi movements, and, through his stay in Egypt, by some Shi'ite ideas. He also appropriated from the Fāṭimids of Egypt their expertise in methods of propagandisation and secret organisation.

Ibn Tūmart spent ten years in the East, beginning his return journey through the cities of North Africa in 511/1117. In the course of this journey he began to sense the role he must play, this being reflected in his bold calls for the changing of forbidden actions he witnessed, which prompted the rulers of some of the cities he passed through to drive him out or maltreat him. Near Tlemcen he met up with 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, a young man in search of learning, whom he invited him to become one of his followers. From this time on, the lives of the two men were linked, with 'Abd al-Mu'min becoming his closest disciple and his successor in the movement. In Marrakesh, the capital of the Almoravid state, Ibn Tūmart began to challenge forbidden actions, publicly attacking the *fuqahā'* and the Sultan's men. 'Alī b. Yūsuf, however, paid little attention to him, being content to drive him out of the city.

In 515/1121 he arrived at Ījillīz, in the home territory of his own Hargha tribe, where he began to make his movement public and proclaim himself the "Mahdī" (described in the prophetic tradition as one who would "fill the world with justice just as it had been filled with injustice"). The number of his followers increased, and the armed revolt against the Almoravids began the following year. He did not hesitate to eliminate, physically, anyone who questioned his authority, using for this purpose one of his most loyal comrades, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥsin, surnamed "al-Bashṣhīr", who was charged with the task of "discrimination" or "sifting" (*tamyīz*)—in other words, passing sentence of death on all opponents. He likewise created a system for the movement, dividing his supporters into categories: the Ten, the Fifty, the Household, the Seekers, etc. In this he appears to have been influenced by the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimid movement, and also by his claim that he was the "infallible *imām*" (*al-imām alma'ṣūm*). After three years, the Mahdī moved to Tinmallal to the north-west of Ījillīz, and this city became his new place of residence from which the movement spread to the rest of the Berber tribes in the Atlas Mountains.

The Almoravid state now sensed the danger of this movement, which Ibn Tūmart had named "Almohads" (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*, that is, "the Unifiers", meaning those who have preserved the true Islamic doctrine of unity). At the same time he called the Almoravids *al-Mujassimūn* ("the Anthropomorphists"). 'Alī b. Yūsuf now directed several attacks against Tīmallal and the tribes which followed Ibn Tūmart, but they failed to put an end to the revolt—the power of Ibn Tūmart rather grew, and he decided to challenge the Almoravids openly by besieging their capital, Marrakesh with 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī in command of the army. The battle, known by the name "al-Buḥayra", took place at the gates of Marrakesh in *Jumādā I* 524/April 1130, and the Almohads suffered a severe defeat. A few months later the Mahdī died, but not before he had left his followers a book of rules, *A'azz mā yuṭlab*, and appointed his disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī al-Kūmī as his successor.

'Abd al-Mu'min pursued his war with the Almoravids over the following years, until the final confrontation with Tāshfin b. 'Alī at Oran, and less than a year after Tāshfin's death in 539/1145, 'Abd al-Mu'min had captured the Almoravid capital of Marrakesh.

In al-Andalus the news of the Almohad movement encouraged the rebels to expedite the fall of the Almoravid state there, especially since their prestige had declined following their defeats, in North Africa by the Almohads themselves and in al-Andalus by the Christian forces. The later years of the Almoravids thus witnessed what we might call "the second period of the petty states", in which al-Andalus reverted to division, with every leader becoming independent in the area he controlled, rather as had been the case prior to the Almoravids' arrival. Most of these leaders wrote to 'Abd al-Mu'min declaring their adherence to the Almohad movement. The mystic Ibn Qasī, who had been the leader of "the revolt of the *murīdūn*" in the west, was the first to send his endorsement to him as he was besieging Tlemcen in 539/1145, and he was followed by the naval commander, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Maymūn, who was the first to preach the Friday sermon, in Cádiz, in 'Abd al-Mu'min's name. Some of the Andalusī leaders sent emissaries to 'Abd al-Mu'min when he was besieging Marrakesh in *Muḥarram* 541/June 1146, these including the *qāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn, who had conquered Córdoba, and Abū 'l-Ghamr b. 'Azzūn who had revolted in Jerez (*Sharīsh*). In fact we see Ibn Qasī assuming the responsibility of travelling to Marrakesh to ask 'Abd al-Mu'min not to be content with this moral support on the part of some Andalusī *amīrs*, but rather to send an army which would ensure the elimination of Almoravid authority in al-Andalus and the subjugation of the country to his movement.

'Abd al-Mu'min complied with this request, sending a large army, in the summer of 542/1147, led by Barrāz al-Massūfī, who occupied the cities of Tarifa and Algeciras. Moving westward, he then accepted the allegiance of Abū Ghamr b. 'Azzān and Yūsuf al-Bitrūjī, ruler of Niebla, and took posses-

sion of Mértola, giving it over to Ibn Qasī, subject to the governor of Silves. After this he proceeded to Béja and Badajoz, where he accepted the homage of their ruler, Sidrāy b. Wazīr, then, following the submission of Tejada (Ṭalyāṭa) and Aznalcázar (Ḥiṣn al-Qaṣr), and a mission to 'Abd al-Mu'min by the people of Seville, headed by the *faqīh* Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, the disciple of al-Ghazālī and al-Ṭurṭūshī, he made his way to Seville with further reinforcements at the beginning of the following year. In the spring of 543/1149, the Almohad caliph sent further forces to Córdoba, obliging Alfonso VII to raise his siege of the city, and the Cordobans then sent an embassy to 'Abd al-Mu'min declaring their allegiance to him.

Alfonso VII, king of Castile (ruled 1126-1157) dedicated himself from the outset of his reign to assailing the Muslim territories; and, with Tāshfin b. 'Alī and the Almoravid generals standing against him, a number of battles were fought in which the two sides were alternately victorious. From the time the Almoravid state fell into decline, Alfonso intensified his attacks on al-Andalus, taking advantage of the prevailing disturbances and revolts, and he was assisted in his expeditions by Sayf al-Dawla Aḥmad al-Mustanṣir b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Aḥmad al-Musta'in b. Hūd (called "Zafadola" in the Christian chronicles). In 542/1147 Alfonso VII managed to occupy Almería, and the Almohads were unable to retake it because 'Abd al-Mu'min was busy preparing the great expedition in which he was to seize control of Ifrīqiya, so completing his dominion over the whole of the Maghrib from Tripoli to the Atlantic and driving the Normans from the cities they had taken in North Africa from 543/1148 on. He did, however, before undertaking this expedition, order his generals to make preparations for the recovery of Almería, and we do in fact find an Almohad fleet leaving Ceuta to lay siege to the city for seven months before it was finally taken in *Jumādā* II 552/July 1157. The Almohad army now pursued the remnants of Alfonso's forces to Baeza (Bayyāsa) and Ubeda (Ubbadha), and the Castilian king died, while fleeing, on 13 *Rajab* 552/August 21 1157.

'Abd al-Mu'min's Tunisian expedition was crowned by the taking of al-Mahdiyya from the Normans on 10 *Dhū 'l-Hijja* 554/January 21 1160. Then, in *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 555/November 1160, he followed this expedition by advancing to Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriq), or the Mountain of the Victory (Jabal al-Faṭḥ), where he spent two months inspecting the fortifications he had ordered to be built there. In *Rajab* 557/July 1162 the Almohads recovered Granada, which Ibn Hamshuk had occupied the previous year with the help of a Christian army, inflicting a crushing defeat on Ibn Hamshuk himself, Ibn Mardanīsh, who was his ally and relative by marriage, and the Christians who were with them. This was known as the battle of al-Sabika, after the name of the plain overlooked by the Alhambra Palace of Granada.

'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī died in *Jumādā* II 558/May 1163, having thus built a mighty empire stretching from the western Egyptian frontier to the

Atlantic Ocean, together with the remnants of al-Andalus still in Muslim hands. He was a great statesman who established secure conditions throughout a far-flung empire surpassing that of the Almoravids and embracing dissimilar peoples and races which he succeeded, through his powerful personality, in bringing together in harmony.

He was succeeded by his son Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, who had been his governor over Seville, and accordingly, from the beginning of his caliphate (558/1163-580/1184), concentrated his attention on al-Andalus. His immediate task was to rid himself of Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Mardaniṣh, who had taken possession of most of the eastern Andalusi cities, and in *Dhū 'l-Hijja* 560/late 1165, an Almohad army made its way from Seville to Murcia under the leadership of the Caliph's brothers al-Sayyid b. 'Umar and 'Uṭhmān. There they met Ibn Mardaniṣh in Faḥs al-Jallāb, a plain ten miles from Murcia, and crushingly defeated him.

While the Almohads were thus consolidating their authority in the east of al-Andalus, danger was threatening the western regions, for the Portuguese had now emerged as a political power to be reckoned with, and a daring individual had arisen there in the person of Geraldo Sem Pavor ("the Bold"), whom historians compare with the Cid. In the same year—560/1165—this adventurer attacked Evora and Trujillo (Turjāla), then occupied Cáceres (Qasarash), Montánchez (Muntanjish), Serpa (Sharba) and Jurumenha (Julmāniyya). All these were in the vicinity of Badajoz, and so posed a threat to it.

At this time two Christian kingdoms were contesting control of western al-Andalus: the kingdom of León, ruled by Alfonso VII's son Fernando II (1157-1188), which had separated from Castile; and the new-born kingdom of Portugal, ruled by Alfonso Henriquez II, whom the Arabic sources call Ibn al-Rīq. As for Geraldo the Bold, he was an adventurer operating on his own account, although he allied himself, in his later campaigns, with Alfonso Henriquez, and took part in the siege of Badajoz alongside him. When news of the siege reached Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, he immediately sent an army to save the city. He had signed an armistice with the king of León, who considered the Portuguese interference an assault on his authority, and the Almohad army thus cooperated with Fernando in opposing the Portuguese—in fact Alfonso Henriquez and Geraldo were both taken prisoner. Other battles continued to be fought between the Almohads, the Portuguese and the king of León, and by 565/1170 the Almohads had succeeded in recovering most of their territory and removing the danger to Badajoz.

In *Shawwāl* 566/June 1171, Caliph Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min came in person to Seville, then moved on to Córdoba, where he equipped an expedition which penetrated into Castilian territory and reached the banks of the Tagus River, returning with much booty. Then, returning to Seville, he embarked on his great building projects, including a number of stately palaces, fortifications, city towers, a lakeside park (Mutanazza al-Buḥayra), the arched

bridge of Triana and the erection of the Great Mosque of Seville. He appeared to enjoy living in this city where he had spent his youth, remaining there for four years, until 572/1176. The whole region of Murcia was subjugated during this period, especially after the death of Ibn Mardanišh in *Rajab* 572/March 1172. The latter had been supported in his revolt by the Castilians, and Yūsuf accordingly equipped a large expedition, which he led in person, with the objective of occupying Huete. After three months, however, the city remained untaken, though he laid everything waste as he passed. Finally the Caliph was forced to lift the siege and to return to Murcia.

Between 569/1174 and 573/1178 there were campaigns both by the Almohads and by Fernando II. The Almohads recovered Béja which the Portuguese had conquered in 567/1172, and worked to rebuilt it. Then, in *Rajab* 572/January 1177, Alfonso VIII of Castile besieged Cuenca, capturing it in *Rabiʿ* II/October, and Castilian and Portuguese raids continued against al-Andalus until Yūsuf decided to equip a large expedition against Portugal. Military operations began with the dispatch of a large fleet from Ceuta, under the command of ʿAbbās al-Ṣiqillī, to Silves, where, in 577/1182, the Almohads won a great victory over the Lisbon fleet anchored in the harbour, so avenging their defeat of the previous year. Then, in 579/1184 Yūsuf prepared a major expedition against the city of Santarem, which he led in person. After a siege of a few days, however, the Caliph concluded that it was impossible to capture the city, particularly after learning that Fernando II had raised his siege of Cáceres and was moving towards Santarem to relieve it. Thus, for all the thorough preparations, the expedition failed, and during the return trip to Seville the Caliph took sick—his health had always been poor—and passed away in mid-*Rabiʿ* II/late July 1184.

Yūsuf was succeeded in the caliphate by his son, Yaʿqūb, surnamed “al-Manṣūr”, and one of the first concerns of the new caliph was to try to put an end to the Banū Ghāniya rebellion. Muḥammad b. Ghāniya al-Massūfi al-Ṣaḥrāwī had been governor of the Balearic Isles on behalf of the Almoravids when their state collapsed, and he remained loyal to their movement, refusing to give his allegiance to the Almohads as most of those ruling over areas of al-Andalus had done. Muḥammad b. Ghāniya was succeeded by his son, Ishāq, but neither ʿAbd al-Muʿmin nor his son Yūsuf were able to attend to the matter, and when ʿAlī b. Ishāq became ruler of the islands, he was not content merely with refusing to recognise Almohad authority, but, in 579/1184, sent his naval forces to seize the port of Bougie (Bijāya) in central North Africa. From that time on, the Banū Ghāniya became a thorn in the side of the Almohad state, until the latter finally seized the islands in 509/1203, after bloody fights which had dyed the desert of North Africa red. This war occupied the efforts of Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr for the first four years of his reign.

He now turned his attention to al-Andalus, but in the slow, sluggish way typical of Almohad campaigns: the expedition took a whole year to prepare

(583/1188-584/1189), and did not finally get under way till late 585/early 1190. The Christians used this time to strengthen their positions and secure new ones. Sancho, who had succeeded his father Alfonso Henriquez on the throne of Portugal, made the first move, advancing swiftly to besiege the city of Silves, with the help of the Crusader fleet which had called at Lisbon on its way to Palestine. After a siege of three months, Sancho occupied Silves in *Rajab* 585/September 1189, while, at the same time, Alfonso VIII of Castile undertook another expedition against the western cities and Seville. Caliph Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr failed to reach Silves until five months after its surrender, but in the course of the expedition he seized a number of places under Portuguese control, including Torres-Novas, while another army commanded by the Caliph's paternal cousin al-Sayyid Yaḥyā b. 'Umar undertook the siege of Silves. The Caliph fell ill, however, and supplies became difficult to obtain, forcing a withdrawal to Seville before Silves could be occupied.

In *Rabī' II*/April 1191 al-Manṣūr led a new expedition which besieged and captured Alcaçer do Sal (Qaṣr Abī Dānis), then moved on to Silves which was at last taken three months later. After this victory, and the conclusion of a truce with the Christian kings, he returned to North Africa. However, when the truce had expired Alfonso VIII of Castile again attacked the Seville region, prompting al-Manṣūr to equip yet another large punitive expedition. He did in fact cross to al-Andalus, taking up residence at Seville, and in *Rajab* 591/June 1195 he moved on to Córdoba, then went north to confront the Christian coalition of Castilian, Aragonese and Portuguese forces, under the leadership of Alfonso VIII, in the plain of Alarcos (al-Ark). There, on 9 *Shā'bān* 591/July 19 1195, a fierce battle ended in a crushing defeat for the coalition. This Almohad victory was no less important than that gained by the Almoravids at the battle of Zallāqa, in that it established the Muslim lines in the Río Guadiana basin through the recovery of many of the western fortresses. The following year, 592/1196, al-Manṣūr headed another campaign in which he cut through the west, then the territory of Castile, laying siege to Toledo and occupying many of its fortresses. Then, in *Shā'bān* 593/the summer of 1197, he led another expedition north into Castilian territory and besieged Talavera, Maqueda (Makāda), Toledo, Oreja (Ūriliya) and Madrid, penetrating as far north as Guadalajara. He then descended to Huete, Uclés and Cuenca, before returning to Córdoba and finally to Seville. This was the last expedition in which Muslim armies reached these northern regions. Al-Manṣūr's death took place on 22 *Rabī' I* 595/January 22 1199, so ending the era of great statesmen in al-Andalus.

He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (ruled 595/1199-610/1213), who began his reign with a struggle against the Banū Ghāniya, seizing control of the Balearics from them in 599/1203. He then began to equip an expedition against the Castile of Alfonso VIII, who had broken the

truce agreed after his defeat at Alarcos. In *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 607/May 1211 al-Nāṣir's forces crossed the strait to Tarifa, advancing from there to Seville, and in *Dhū 'l-Hijja* 608/June 1212 the Muslims recovered the fortress of Salvatierra (*Shalbaterra*), which the Castilians had taken in 594/1198. Alfonso then called the kings of Christian Spain to battle, being joined by Sancho, called "the Strong", king of Navarre, and by the king of Aragon, Pedro II. The battle began victoriously for the Muslims but changed thereafter, ending finally in disastrous defeat. This battle, fought on 8 *Ṣafar* 609/July 17, 1212, is known in Arabic by the name *al-'Iqāb* ("the punishment"), and in Spanish as "Las Navas de Tolosa". Al-Nāṣir was forced to flee to Jaén, and in fact more of his soldiers were killed in flight than died during the battle itself. This defeat, the worst suffered by the Muslims, is considered to represent the real end of Muslim power in al-Andalus. Muḥammad al-Nāṣir died of grief shortly afterwards, in *Sha'bān* 609/January 1213.

Al-Nāṣir was succeeded by his son, Yūsuf, surnamed "al-Mustaṣṣir" (610/1213-620/1223), and it was during his rule that the disintegration and swift collapse of the Almohad empire began. Among the revolts breaking out against them in the Maghrib, the most serious was that of the Banū Marīn, who were destined to create a state there, while in al-Andalus major bases began to fall one after another, although the process was delayed for a few years by the death of Alfonso VIII in 1214, and by the fact that the truce concluded between him and the Muslims after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa was still in effect. As soon as the truce ended, however, in 614/1217, hostilities again broke out, and the situation of the Almohad state was made all the graver by the family struggle over the caliphate following al-Mustaṣṣir's death. At this time Castile was again uniting with León under the sovereignty of Fernando III, called "the Saint" (1217-1252), following the death of the latter's father, Alfonso IX, king of León, in 1230. In the years 626/1229-627/1230, Fernando had managed to seize a number of Andalusī cities, including Montánchez, Mérida, Badajoz and Elvás, so that almost the whole of the western front, with its main bases, had been overrun, and he next turned his eyes toward the other Andalusī cities in the middle of the southern region, for the Muslim defensive lines from the Río Guadiana to the Río Guadalquivir valley had now fallen, and the Almohad state was torn by strife and revolts. In his first campaign in 622/1225 he occupied Andūjar (Andújar) and other places in the Córdoba region, then he seized Ubeda in 630/1233, and Medellín (Madallín), Alanje, Santa Cruz (*Shant Uqrūj*) and Magacela (Umm *Ghazāla*) in 631/1234, all of these in the west of al-Andalus.

The fragmentation of the Almohad state now led to the seizure, by a number of local Andalusī leaders, of the cities and provinces under their control, so initiating what might be called "the third period of the petty states". The most outstanding of these leaders was Ibn Hūd al-Judhāmī, who was descended from the Banū Hūd rulers of the Upper Frontier during the period of

the petty states proper. There were also Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, sur-named "Ibn al-Aḥmar", Zayyān b. Mudāfi of the line of Ibn Mardaniṣh, 'Aziz b. Khaṭṭāb and a number of minor rebels. Fernando combined use of military force with diplomacy in his dealings with these leaders, making alliances with some of them against others as his interests dictated.

On 22 *Shawwāl* 633/June 29 1236, Fernando occupied Córdoba, and in 641/1244 made attacks on Granada, forcing its ruler, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Aḥmar, known as al-Shaykh, to make a truce with him, and indeed to assist him in the siege of Jaén, which he took after a few months in *Rajab* 643/December 1245. Then, on 5 *Shā'bān* 646/November 23 1248, he took possession of Seville and the areas to the south as far as Cádiz.

The king of Aragon and Catalonia, Jaime I ("the Conqueror"), who succeeded his father Pedro II in 1213, had undertaken the task of wresting the cities of eastern al-Andalus from the Muslims. He was no less determined and zealous than Fernando III and, during his long reign (1213-1276) succeeded in seizing some of the richest and most critically important of the Muslim lands. He began with Tortosa in 622/1225, then turned to the island of Majorca, which he subdued after a long siege in 626/1229-627/1230, followed by the island of Ibiza in *Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 632/August 1235. As for the third island, Minorca, its governor, Sa'īd b. Ḥakam made peace with the king of Aragon and so guaranteed its independence for another half century—it did not in fact fall until the time of Jaime I's grandson, Alfonso III, in *Dhū 'l-Hijja* 686/January 1287. No sooner had Jaime finished with Majorca than he turned his attention to the kingdom of Valencia, whose capture took thirteen years (630/1233-643/1245). A conflict was raging at this time among the leaders of eastern al-Andalus: Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, one of the Almohad *amīrs*, Zayyān b. Mudāfi', the grandson of Ibn Mardaniṣh, and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd. Jaime advanced with some mercenaries, and began to capture the strongholds and fortresses of Valencia, together with the cities within its jurisdiction, and in *Ṣafar* 636/October 1238 Valencia itself surrendered, along with Denia and Cullera, to be followed by the fall of Alcira (Jazīrat Shuqr) and Játiva in 646/1248.

Only the kingdom of Murcia now remained between eastern and southern al-Andalus, and this was an object of dispute between Castile and Aragon, with both states claiming a prior right to its conquest. The inhabitants of Murcia, though still independent, had announced their submission to Prince Alfonso, heir to Fernando III of Castile, and when Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr (Ibn al-Aḥmar) tried to unite the Muslims from the cities which had become subject to Christian rule and so launch a general revolt, Alfonso sought the help of Jaime I, whose daughter, Violante, he had married. Jaime hastened to his aid, and a long war saw Jaime capture Elche (Iṣh) and Alicante (Laqant). In 659/1261 Murcia surrendered to Alfonso, who had succeeded his father in 1252.

Castile and Aragon had now completed the conquest of all the Muslim territories in western, central and eastern al-Andalus, and all that remained in Muslim hands was the kingdom of Granada, whose muddled affairs Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr began to try and straighten out. He proclaimed himself king of those Muslims remaining in the southern areas, though diplomatic requirements would have obliged him to acknowledge his subordination to the king of Castile, in accordance with his treaty concluded with Fernando III at Jaén in 645/1247.

The Almohad empire was slowly dying beneath the blows of the youthful Marinid state emerging from the rubble of their caliphate. Abū Dabbūs, the last of the Almohad caliphs, died on 1 *Muḥarram* 678/August 31 1269, about a century and a half after the beginning of alMahdī b. Tūmart's movement.

VIII. THE BANŪ 'L-AMḤAR (NAṢRID) KINGDOM IN GRANADA (636/1238-897/1492)

We have seen how the battle of al-'Iqāb, or Las Navas de Tolosa, in 609/1212 marked the beginning of the disintegration of the three Muslim fronts, western, central and eastern, in al-Andalus. We have observed, too, just how swift and violent the Christian devastation of these fronts was, with the Portuguese descending in the west, Fernando III of Castile in the centre and Jaime I, "the Conqueror", in the east. After the fall of the large Andalūsī cities, it seemed that the days of Islam were numbered in the Peninsula, since what was left in Muslim hands comprised no more than a tenth of the former area. Strangely, however, this remnant managed to survive for two and a half centuries, thanks to the efforts of a leader who, with his descendants, reorganised it, saved it from their powerful neighbours and skilfully preserved it over the following periods.

The leader in question was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, whose lineage went back to the well-known Companion, Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Khazrajī, and he was more intelligent and also adopted sounder policies than the other Andalūsī leaders who took part in the civil strife during the late Almohad period. His family which had settled early in the Jaén region, where he was born in the small village of Arjona (Arjūna). He recognised the practical inevitability, in the wake of the sweeping Christian advance, of bowing his head to the storm, and accordingly entered into an agreement with Fernando III of Castile—the treaty of Jaén (643/1246), which may be regarded as the birth certificate of the kingdom of Granada. By the terms of this treaty he acknowledged his subordinate position to the king of Castile, and was even, in fact, ignominiously obliged to take part in Fernando's siege of Seville by supplying him with a troop of his cavalry until it was captured in 646/1248, and to pay a large tribute. However, by virtue of these conditions, Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Aḥmar, was also able to enjoy years of quietness in

which he rearranged his cards and guaranteed peace for the towns remaining under his control, within defensible boundaries. He made no attempt to stem the overwhelming Castilian tide in which Alfonso X swept away the cities of Jerez, Medinasidonia, Nebrija (Nabrishsha) and Arcos in the year 661/1263, for he knew he could not defend these.

Muhammad I ruled until 671/1273, and was thus a contemporary of two Spanish Christian kings of Castile, Fernando III (1217-1252) and his son, Alfonso X, el Sabio ("the Wise") (1252-1284). Although he had made a truce with Castile, acknowledging his subordinate position during the reign of Fernando and the early part of that of Alfonso, this did not nevertheless represent a fixed stand on the part of himself and his successors. Rather, the kings of Granada would adopt a flexible policy, alternating between a truce when their opponents were powerful and the use of force if they perceived their neighbours to be weak. They would often, too, work to sow dissension among their Christian neighbours, or interfere in their internal affairs, exactly as their opponents did; and if they found themselves incapable of resisting them, they would seek the aid of their brother Muslims in North Africa. Thus their political conduct was a mixture of force and diplomatic action, which permitted them to strike a delicate balance with the surrounding powers. This was the basic reason for the prolongation of the Banū 'l-Aḥmar's power in Granada, for all the apparent initial indications of its imminent end.

In 671/1273 Muhammad I died, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad II, surnamed "al-Faqih", and it was he who smoothed the way for the state, established its regulations, and ended the revolt which had taken place in the country. During his time the Marinid state emerged as a new power in North Africa, following the collapse of the Almohad empire, and the Banū 'l-Aḥmar sultans began to use it in the game of political balances they were practising with regard to Christian Spain. When Christian pressure increased, they would ally themselves with the Marinids, as their brothers in the faith, but frequently broke with the alliance when they saw the latter interfering in the their country's internal affairs. Thus Muhammad II appealed for help from the Marinid sultan Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, who did in fact cross the strait, but only after a prior stipulation that Ibn al-Aḥmar should cede Tarifa, Ronda and Algeciras to him so that he could protect his rear—a repetition of what had occurred when Yūsuf b. Tāshfin crossed two centuries earlier. The Naṣrid sultan now became suspicious, especially after the Marinids had interfered in the affairs of "Los Escayuela" (the Banū Ashqilūla), an ancient noble family of Christian origin which had intermarried with the Banū 'l-Aḥmar, although they had often rebelled against the Granada sultans. With the help of this family, the Marinid leader launched a *jihād* into Castilian territory, inflicting a major defeat on the Castilian army near Ecija, in which the Christian commander, Don Nuño de Lara was killed. Then, in 677/1278 Sultan Abū Yūsuf crossed

again, landing at Málaga whose rebellious Los Escayuela leaders welcomed him. This time he penetrated Castilian territory as far as the precincts of Seville.

In 1282 Prince Sancho proclaimed a revolt against his father, Alfonso X, and the king sought refuge with Abū Yūsuf, meeting him in his camp near Ronda and laying his crown in pawn to him. The Maghribi sultan then furnished him with 100,000 gold pieces and attacked Castilian territory, besieging Córdoba. On his fourth crossing in 684/1285, the Sultan raided the city of Jerez and the precincts of Seville, subsequently making peace with the Sultan of Granada on condition that a Maghribi military division should be stationed permanently in the kingdom under the leadership of a Marīnid commander bearing the title "Shaykh al-ghuzāt". This office performed great services for the kingdom of Granada, although it was, at the same time, a base for Marīnid interference in its internal affairs. The alliance between the two Islamic states did not, however, prevent Sancho IV, "the Valiant" (1284-96), who had succeeded his father to the kingdom of Castile, from occupying the city of Tarifa in 691/1292, to which Muḥammad al-Faqīh replied, in 694/1295, by invading the Jaén region and occupying Quesada (Qījāta), this being followed by the occupation of Alcaudete (al-Qabdhāq) in 699/1299. In 700/1301 he made a treaty of alliance with Jaime II, king of Aragon.

Muḥammad III, known as "al-Makhlū", ruled Granada from 701/1302 to 708/1309. In his view his country's interest lay in a truce with Castile, which was signed in 702/1303, and his relations with the Marīnids thereupon immediately worsened. He took advantage of the unrest in the Maghrib in the last days of the Marīnid sultan Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf to seize the port of Ceuta in 705/1306 and interfere in North African affairs, and this in turn emboldened him to abrogate Granada's traditional alliance with the king of Aragon and attack Valencia. Jaime II of Aragon then entered into agreements with Fernando IV of Castile, and, in 708/1309, with the Marīnid sultan, and these three states joined to attack Granada. The Sultan seized back Ceuta at the same time as the Aragonese besieged Almería, and in the following year (709/1310) Fernando seized Gibraltar, while his navy laid siege to Algeciras, although he was unable to take it. The new Granadan sultan Naṣr (708/1309-713/1314) now re-allied himself with the Marīnids, ceding Algeciras and Ronda to them in return, and the resulting revolt by the people of Granada led to his being ousted.

He was succeeded by Ismā'il b. Faraj (713/1314-725/1325), a contemporary of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-1350), who had come to the throne as a young child, with two princes, Don Juan and Don Pedro, acting as regents. These regents now considered it opportune to interfere in Granada on the excuse of backing the deposed sultan, who had taken refuge in Guadix (Wādī Āsh) and dispatched a large expedition to this end. However, in *Rabī'* II 719/June 1319, when they had reached La Vega, the spacious grassy plain

in which the city stood, the Christians were disastrously defeated in battle and the two regents killed. This was followed by the Granadan sultan's seizure of the fortress of Huéscar (*Ashkar*), where he used gunpowder in the course of the siege, then of the city of Martos (*Märtush*). Castile was thus forced to seek a truce, particularly after an internal struggle had broken out between the competitors for the regency to the throne.

Ismā'il's assassination was followed by the succession of his son, who ruled only a short time (725/1325-733/1333), but did attack Castile, capturing the two cities of Cabra (*Qabra*) and Priego (*Bagha*). However, dissension broke out in 727/1327 between the Sultan and the *shaykh al-ghuzāt*, 'Uthmān b. Abī 'l-'Alā', upon which the king of Castile, in 730/1330, seized the opportunity to besiege the fortress of Teba (*Itāba*). When Granada sensed the danger, it decided to return to an alliance with the Marīnid sultan, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān (731/1331-752/1351), the greatest and most powerful of the Marīnid kings. He gave over Ronda and Marbella (*Marballa*) to Granada, and the kings of Granada and North Africa then took part together in the siege of Gibraltar, recovering it from the Castilians in 733/1333. Shortly afterwards Muḥammad IV was killed.

He was succeeded by his brother, Yūsuf I (733/1333-755/1354). During the early years of his rule, the truce with Castile continued in force, but the peace was broken in 740/1340 when the Marīnid Abū 'l-Ḥasan crossed to the port of Tarifa to join Yūsuf I in a siege to recover it. Alfonso XI of Castile and his father-in-law Alfonso IV of Portugal hurried to the rescue, and a fierce naval battle took place on 8 *Jumāda I* 741/October 30 1340, known as the Battle of the Río Salado (or the Battle of Ṭarīf), which ended in a crushing defeat for the Granadan and Maghribi fleets. This reverse is considered to be the most crucial and far-reaching after that of Las Navas de Tolosa, since it was followed by Alfonso's twenty-month siege of Algeciras, with the collaboration of several European powers. After heroic resistance, the city finally fell in *Ṣafar* 745/March 1344.

These victories encouraged the Castilian king to return to the siege of Gibraltar in 750/1349, and the city was on the verge of falling into his hands when the plague, which had now spread everywhere, saved the kingdom of Granada from further disaster, Alfonso dying in 1350. Following the naval battle of Río Salado, the Castilian armies had advanced against Alcalá la Real (*Qal'at Banū Sa'id*) and Priego, taking them in 742/1341.

Once more it appeared that the days of Muslim Granada were numbered, with Tarifa and Algeciras, the largest bases connecting it with North Africa, now lost. However, the situation soon changed radically following the death of the Castilian king and the accession of Muḥammad V b. Yūsuf I in Granada. This sultan surnamed "al-*Ghanī bi-Llāh*", is regarded as the greatest of the kings of Granada and also had the longest reign—from 755/1354 to 793/1391, except for three years (760/1359-763/1362) when he lost the throne following a plot to depose him, and lived in exile in the Maghrib.

With regard to Castile, Muḥammad V began his rule by strengthening the bonds of friendship with its new king, Pedro I, known as "the Cruel" (1350-1369). Indeed this friendship was transformed into a strong alliance by which the Granadan king sacrificed the traditional friendship tying Granada to the kingdom of Aragon, as strife broke out between the king of Castile and Pedro IV of Aragon. The Granadan sultan was skilful in exploiting this struggle to safeguard his own kingdom, even to the extent of interfering directly in the affairs of Christian Spain, this policy being implemented by his vizier, the famous encyclopaedic writer, Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, and his chamberlain, Abū 'l-Naʿīm Riḍwān. When war broke out between the two Christian kingdoms, Muḥammad al-Ghanī bi-Llāh hastened to help his ally, the king of Castile, supplying him with an army with which he attacked the Murcia area in 763/1362. Then, in 767/1366, war broke out between Pedro I and his brother, Enrique de Trastámara, who was demanding the throne of Castile, and Muḥammad again took the opportunity to send forces to the aid of his ally. These forces raided Utrera (Uṭrā), attacked Jaén and Ubeda, and besieged Baeza; they even laid siege to Córdoba, and almost took it in 769/1368. Thus he exploited the strife of the two brothers for the benefit of his country, capturing many border areas between his own kingdom and the Córdoba and Jaén regions. Among his most important acquisitions was Algeciras, taken in late 770/July 1379. Realising, however, that he would be unable to keep it permanently, he withdrew after ten years, leaving it in ruins. When the war between Enrique and Pedro ended in the latter's murder in 770/1369, Muḥammad worked to conclude terms with the new king, and in *Shawwāl* 771/May 1370 an eight-year truce was agreed between Granada, Fez and Castile. The following year another truce was signed with Aragon.

During these years disorder had crept into the Marīnid state in Fez, permitting Muḥammad to interfere openly in that country's affairs, to the extent of becoming arbitrator in the appointment of the Marīnid sultans. He also occupied Gibraltar, and abolished the office of *shaykh al-ghuzāt*, thus ending the Maghribi military presence in his country. Thanks to the wise policy of Muḥammad V, Granada enjoyed a lengthy peace it had never before experienced, permitting the Naṣrid sultan to undertake many building projects, including the construction of the greater part of the *Qaṣr al-Hamrā'*—the Alhambra—and to give attention to culture and the sciences. During his reign the kingdom also enjoyed great economic prosperity with the strengthening of friendly relations between it and the Muslim kingdoms of the Maghrib and the east: the Zayyānid state in Tlemcen, the Ḥafṣids in Tunisia and the Mamlūks in Egypt.

The reign of Muḥammad al-Ghanī bi-Llāh may be regarded as the Granadan kingdom's last period of efflorescence. His successors were in general weak princes, incapable of maintaining his combination of brilliant diplomatic activity coupled with the use of force when necessary. The situation

did not, however, change too much over the quarter of a century following his decease (793/1391-820/1417), in which Granada was ruled by three sultans, Yūsuf II, Muḥammad VII and Yūsuf III, due to the fact that their contemporaries ruling Castile were themselves weak and engaged in internal wars, either with rivals for the throne or with rebellious nobles.

The only event worth recording during the early years of the 9th/15th century was the fall of the city of Antequera into the hands of the Castilians, when Juan II (1406-54) was ruler of Castile. The latter had begun his reign as a baby of two years old, and was placed under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Prince Fernando, a resolute, energetic man, and the commander of the famous expedition which seized Antequera, one of the best fortified sites in the country. Its capture occurred in *Jumādā* II 813/September 1410 after a five-month siege, and resulted in the regent being accorded the title Fernando of Antequera.

In 834/1431, however, war broke out anew between the two states, and an expedition led by the minister Alvaro de Luna left Castile to invade Granadan territory, reaching the outskirts of the city itself. A fierce battle was fought there, known as "La Higuera" (al-*Shajara*), and the Castilians won a great victory, which they did not, however, exploit, but rather withdrew afterwards to their own country. Apart from these events, peace continued to reign between Granada and Castile throughout the days of Juan II.

The situation in Granada was, then, relatively stable through the first half of the 9th/15th century. However, Castilian attacks became increasingly ferocious during the rule of Juan II's son Enrique IV (1454-1474), especially in its early years. There were repeated expeditions against Granada between 859/1455 and 861/1457, and this at a time when internal strife and rivalry for the throne were increasingly dangerously within the Naṣrid kingdom. The crucial event of these years, undoubtedly, was the Castilian occupation of Gibraltar in *Ramaḍān-Dhū 'l-Qa'da* 866/the summer of 1462, which cut the final thread tying al-Andalus to the lands of North Africa from which help had previously come. The Marīnid state was in any case moving swiftly towards disintegration and collapse, and the Banū 'Abd al-Wād in Tlemcen and the Ḥafṣids in Tunisia were also growing weak. The Granadans sent an embassy to Egypt, requesting aid from its Mamlūk sultans, but Egypt was actually in no better state than Granada. The only Muslim power with the capacity to offer aid was the youthful Ottoman state, which had captured Constantinople in 857/1453 and emerged as the greatest Muslim power in the eastern Mediterranean. The Ottomans, however, were too busy with their conquest of Muslim lands in the East to pay any attention to al-Andalus.

Matters were made worse by the outbreak of war among the princes of the ruling Granadan house. In 878/1474, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (865/1461-887/1482) revolted against his father, Sultan Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, and the Banū Sirāj, a noble family with a great deal of influence in the poli-

tical life of Granada, rallied around the son, with the result that the Sultan was deposed and exiled, dying the following year. Later, however, strife broke out between Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and the Banū Sirāj themselves, who raised the banner of revolt against him, especially when he abandoned his free-born wife—the daughter of Muḥammad IX, the last of the great kings of the Banū Aḥmar—and made a slave-girl, the Christian captive Thurayya, his companion. The rebels called for the elevation to the throne of the Sultan's brother, Muḥammad b. Sa'd, surnamed "al-Zaghal", but this revolt, which took place in Málaga, was stamped out by Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī. He was by nature a sturdy fighter, and, taking advantage of the disturbance and revolts sweeping through Castile at this time, he sent yearly expeditions there during the reign of Enrique IV, until his death in 878/1474.

Enrique having died without a son to succeed him, the Castilians now chose to give the rule of the kingdom to his sister, Isabella, who, in October 1469, had married the prince of Aragon, Fernando, the latter succeeding to the throne of Aragon following the death of his father Juan II in 1479. Thus the thrones of Castile and Aragon were united, and the energies of the two states brought together to tear to pieces the remnants of the Muslim kingdom of Granada.

The struggle between Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and his brother, Muḥammad al-Zaghal having now grown more intense, the former requested a truce with the monarchs of Castile and Aragon. They, however, stipulated that he should acknowledge his subordination to Castile and pay a huge tribute, which he refused. Border incidents then occurred, with both states mounting campaigns, and in *Muḥarram* 887/February 1482 the Castilians occupied the city of Alhama (al-Ḥāma), followed by Loja (Lūsha) a few months later. These defeats incensed the people of Granada against Abū 'l-Ḥasan, who fled to Málaga, and the rebels put his son, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, on the throne of Granada in his place. Abū 'l-Ḥasan and his brother Muḥammad then succeeded in repulsing Castilian attacks on Málaga, winning a crushing victory in the battle of Ajarquía (al-*Sharqiyya*) near the Málaga Mountains in *Ṣafar* 888/March 1483, and Abū 'Abd Allāh, wishing to vie with his father and uncle, led out an expedition to attack the Córdoba region, but was defeated near Lucena (al-Yusāna) and carried captive to Fernando, king of Castile. The king, deciding to make him his tool, set him free and set him up as *amīr* over Guadix.

Satisfied at this outcome, Fernando was willing to cease the fighting, but his wife, Isabella, was determined to prosecute the war to the very end. In 890/1485, Abū 'Abd Allāh occupied Almería, but was soon driven out and fled to Castile. Abū 'l-Ḥasan now died, and his brother al-Zaghal was proclaimed sultan in his place, since, for the people of Granada, he represented the radical party bent on war. From 890/1485 to 892/1487, the Castilian expeditions grew increasingly violent, their objective being first to occupy

the mountains of Ronda, where the most active centres of resistance were, then Málaga and its coastline, and finally, La Vega, the Plain of Granada. In *Rajab* 890/June 1485 the Castilians did indeed occupy Ronda and the coastal strip as far as Málaga, and the following year they invaded La Vega.

In the same year Abū 'Abd Allāh returned to the eastern region with the help of the Castilians and in *Rabī' I-Jumādā* II 891/the spring of 1486 he captured the Albaicín (al-Bayāzīn) quarter of Granada. He then began to parley with his uncle—having apparently realised the error of his ways, for he decided to recognise his authority and join his side in resisting the Castilian incursion. This, however, infuriated the Queen of Castile, who now threw the whole weight of her army against the Granada plain. Between *Jumādā* II-*Rajab* 891/May and June 1486 he managed to seize control of Loja, Moclín (Muqlīn), Montefrío (Munt Farīd) and Colomera (Qulumīra), taking Abū 'Abd Allāh captive again. Al-Zaghal's position in the Alhambra having become critical, he was forced, in 892/1487, to withdraw to Almería, while Aḥmad al-Thaghī led resistance to the invasion of Málaga. The siege of Málaga, which began in *Jumādā* II-*Shā'bān* 892/the summer of 1487, was resisted for about four months, with unparalleled courage, so that the Castilians actually considered withdrawing because of the number of their casualties. The queen, however, was determined to continue the war. In *Muḥarram* 895/December 1489 Baza (Baṣṭa) surrendered after a six-month siege, and al-Zaghal was forced to capitulate, after obtaining quite lenient terms.

Nevertheless, resistance continued in Granada. Throughout the whole of 896/1491 the two Catholic sovereigns were preoccupied with tightening the siege, and, in *Jumādā* II-*Rajab*/May, a new city, Santa Fé, began to be built on the Granada plain as the general headquarters of the besieging forces. In the latter part of *Muḥarram* 897/November 1491, Abū 'Abd Allāh started secret negotiations for surrender, and terms were agreed on extremely lenient conditions for the inhabitants of Granada. The forces of the two Catholic monarchs began their occupation of the Alhambra Palace on the night of 29 *Ṣafar* 897/January 1 1492, and the pair entered the city on 5 *Rabī'*/January 6. Thus fell the last stronghold of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, closing a page of history, and leaving Spain to embark on a new phase of her life.

The treaty of capitulation contained many guarantees, ensuring, for the inhabitants of Granada, the security of their persons, possessions and other rights, and respect for their religious rites. However, the arrival of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in November 1499 heralded the violation of all those provisions in both letter and spirit, the belief of this bigoted priest that the Muslims of Granada must be obliged to accept the Christian religion leading to a revolt in the Albaicín quarter. However, the revolt only increased the harshness and cruelty of the Cardinal and the occupying forces. Another revolt broke out in the the Alpujarras (al-Buṣḥarrāt) sector, but was quelled with the same severity.

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GRANADA: A CASE STUDY OF ARAB URBANISM IN MUSLIM SPAIN

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I. THE URBAN FABRIC

To anyone familiar with how Islamic cities looked, Granada before 2 January 1492 would have appeared a classic example of the archetypal Islamic city. When, some time after 403/1012-404/1013, Zāwī b. Ziri (407/1016-416/1025) settled on a site for his new capital, the population of Madīnat Elvira transferred *en masse* to the new site on the banks of the Darro, creating thereby a purpose-built Islamic city free of disruptive antecedent. It is this factor that differentiates Granada from places like Córdoba or Damascus, where an Arab urban framework had to be grafted on to a Roman infrastructure, but relates it to other places, like Baghdad or Cairo. Until the transfer of population, Granada had been largely a Jewish settlement, indeed was known as Gharnāṭat al-Yahūd (Granada of the Jews). In fact, the immediate antecedent of the Alhambra was a castle on the site of the present Alcazaba built by Badīs's Jewish vizier, Samuel b. Naḡhrālla, between 446/1052 and 448/1056 to protect the area where his co-religionists lived.

The city to which we mistakenly refer today as a single one was in the Middle Ages two: a royal city called Madīnat al-Ḥamrā' on the Sabika hill and a bourgeois city, Madīnat Gharnāṭa, lying beneath it on the plain and extending over the surrounding hills. Between the two there existed a complementary relationship entailing a division of functions. Since the royal city is the subject of a monograph presently in course of preparation, we propose to ignore it here, save where it impinges on our understanding of how the bourgeois city functioned. Confining the parameters of our study to Madīnat Gharnāṭa means excluding such extramural features as rustic villas like the Generalife and the Alixares, which, unlike cemeteries (which could be either intra- or extra-mural) have nothing to do with Madīnat Gharnāṭa. Equally, it is misleading to refer to Granada as the capital of the sultanate; the capital city was the Alhambra, and Granada bore only the same relation to it as Paris did to Versailles down to 1789. Under the Naṣrīds, Granada had no connexion with government. The founder of the dynasty which inaugurated Granada's golden age, Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar (629/1238-671/1273), lodged at first in the old Zirid casbah, but within a few months of his arrival he decided to transfer the regnal and bureaucratic functions to the Sabika hill and constructed an aqueduct (Saḡayat al-Sulṭān) to facilitate its urbanisation.

After the transfer, the Zīrid casbah became the Old Casbah (al-Qaṣaba 'l-Qadīma) to distinguish it from the New Casbah (al-Qaṣaba al-Jadīda) opposite. Since, however, the Alhambra and Granada were separate municipalities, the two fortresses were more usually referred to as Qaṣabat *Għarnāṭa* and Qaṣabat al-Ḥamrā'. The term Qaṣabat al-Ḥamrā' occurs frequently in Arabic texts, and it is important not to confuse it with Madīnat al-Ḥamrā', of which it was merely one part.

Ibn Khaldūn refers to the state as an organism, a dictum that is equally applicable to the Islamic city. Indeed, the Islamic city may best be understood in terms of an organism. The mosque constitutes its heart, the vital centre whence spiritual nourishment flows outward to energise the whole. Nor should we think of the mosque as restricted to a liturgical function; rather, it lay at the centre of a complex system of charities providing everything from free food to free burial through its control of estates in mortmain (*awqāf*). Following this analogy, the *sūqs* correspond to the entrails, where the digestive apparatus of the urban organism is located; whilst the khans situated close by would correspond to the mouth, where the city ingests both raw materials and finished goods.

An Islamic city normally marks a point on a trade route, perhaps extending for thousands of miles over barren land or desert, with caravanserais located at regular, 30-mile (one day's camel ride) intervals along the route. The last caravanserai is stationed within the urban perimeter and changes its name to khan; it serves as a distribution point, distributing finished goods to the bazaars and raw materials to the city's workshops. Since the premises in the bazaar area were generally *awqāf* to the *jāmi'* mosque, rents, as they came in from the lessees, enabled the mosque to function in a diversity of roles in relation to the society it served. This symbiotic relationship between commerce and religion indicates that Islamic life, of which the Islamic city is a microcosm, operates within a value system whose internal coherence allows it to function as a circulatory system complete in all its parts. Sacred and profane components co-exist in a web of complex relationships, and the built environment comprises both civic and religious buildings. Granada exhibited all of these characteristics, and diverse components can be identified from textual sources and, in some cases, from extant structures. No understanding of the city would be complete that did not take into account the social landscape, of which the built environment is a reflection.

Thus, if the traveller were a Christian, to come suddenly from Gothic space into Islamic space must have been a shock: as Islam has no civic society, there were no monuments to civic pride like the Podestás of medieval Italy. A civic society evolved in Europe as an alternative to the power of the church, a state of affairs which the fusion of Church and State in Islam precludes. In Islam there is only the *jamā'a* ("congregation [of Islam]"), participation in which is limited to believers. Thus the chief judge in Granada

was known as the *Qāḍī 'l-Jamā'a*. Outside the *jamā'a* there are only *kuffār* ("misbelievers"), some of whom, the *dhimmis*, enjoy privileged status guaranteed by statute.¹ A civil society is incompatible with absolute power, and in Islam state absolutism reflects the absolute sovereignty of God, Who rules by proxy through revealed law (*sharī'a*).

Typically, an Islamic city expands around a core which is usually a citadel (*qaṣaba*) or fortress (*qal'a*) containing the royal palace (*qaṣr*), and a *madīna*, or commercial quarter, which grows up under its tutelary protection. Granada was no exception; its nucleus was the Old Casbah on the right bank of the Darro. Marmol says that immigrants from Elvira first settled the level ground lying beneath the Cenete [quarter] as far as [the site of] the Plaza Nueva, where the hill on which the Old Casbah stands slopes down to the plain.² The growth of Granada was accretional as the influx of refugees (*muhājirūn*) from elsewhere in Spain necessitated the constant addition of suburbs (*arbāḍ*) to the nucleus. As the suburbs were accretional around a core, this meant that the walls protecting both core and accretions formed concentric rings. Triple lines of fortification enclosed a city where no domestic, and few public, buildings exceeded two storeys, so that little would have been visible to a traveller approaching the city but white walls regularly punctuated with defensive towers and irregularly with gates. Except where the contoured hills revealed a cascade of white houses, nothing but minarets showed above the line of the walls. Only the terracotta roof tiles, some of which would have been glazed,³ and patches of greenery relieved the pale monotony. A Moroccan townscape like *Shāwin* gives a better idea of how Granada looked in its prime than does the drab city of today.

Within the *madīna*, urbanisation was dense; where it was looser, in the *arbāḍ*, green spaces and built-up areas alternated. These patches of greenery marked the presence of the suburban villas referred to by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who says that within the enceinte the number of such places belonging to the royal house alone did not exceed twenty.⁴ The regular pattern formed by concentric rings of fortification was upset by the need to adapt to the terrain as well as by the asymmetry of one very large suburb in the form of a trapezoid. This was the combined suburbs of the old Jewish settlement, the Potters' Suburb (Rabaḍ al-Fakhkhārīn), and Rabaḍ Najd (Suburb of the Plateau). This part of town held extensive royal properties (*mustakhliṣāt*), still in part existing. The Cuarto Real de San Domingo amalgamates the adjacent properties of the former al-Manjāra al-Kubrā and al-Manjāra al-Ṣuġhrā (respectively the Greater and Lesser Orchards). Of the latter only a portion survives (in the south-west corner of the present enclosure), but the palace of the Greater Orchard still exists, and has recently been purchased by the state to be turned into a museum, with a park laid out on the site of the orchard. Dating from the last quarter of the 7th/13th century, it is contained within a tower which formed part of the city's perimeter wall and which corresponds typologically to the Tower of Comares in the Alhambra.

Apart from villas (*munan*), whether royal or privately owned, the only other open spaces, not counting domestic and mosque courtyards, were the squares (*raḥbāt*). As well as the business zone, the *madīna*, subordinate foci of activity operated all over the city wherever a *raḥba* provided scope for socialisation and commerce. Two *raḥbas* survive in the Albaicín, at points where gates linked the Old Casbah to the suburb spread out in its shade. One may be found outside the Bāb al-Ziyāda, which linked an extension (*ziyāda*) of the Old Casbah to the Albaicín. The Bāb al-Ziyāda still exists under its baptismal name of the Arco de las Pesas, and the *raḥba* occurs at the point where the archway opens off the Plaza Larga, which was formed in 1576 as an amplification of the Arab *raḥba*. The other one, less clearly defined, lies at the back of the San Salvador church, formerly the *jāmi'* of the Albaicín. Though now renamed Plaza del Abad, it was till recently known as Plaza del Bibalbonut, which is the Arabic Raḥbat Bāb al-Bunūd ("Square of the Gate of the Standards"). Indeed, of all the *arbāḍ* the Albaicín best retains the original configuration of the Arab city, whilst its *cármenes* (from *karm*: "vine") are the lineal descendants of an Arab prototype (house with garden). The reason for this must be sought in its isolation. The level portion of the Arab city, the *madīna*, was the first to disappear; elsewhere, hills, valleys and ravines impeded the developers; moreover, the central zone was the first to be colonised by the Spaniards, pushing the Muslims out to the suburbs. The latter were not hispanised until after the expulsions.

However narrow and tortuous the streets, with houses often meeting overhead to exclude the sky, they were not bereft of greenery: trees grew alongside mosques and oratories, as we know from their names, like the Rābiṭat al-Tūt ("Oratory of the Mulberry") in the al-ʿĀṣī quarter or the Masjid al-Jauza ("Mosque of the Walnut Tree") in the Albaicín, or the bath of the same name (Ḥammām al-Jauza), which still stands on the banks of the Darro. Built of a very hard concrete, this bath has resisted the ravages of time better than other Arab structures of the same kind. Street names also yield clues to species that could be found growing there, e.g., Zanaqat Saqayat al-Ḥabba, "the Street of the Fountain of the Cherry Tree", or the whole quarter of Fajalauza in the Albaicín (which takes its name from Fajj al-Lauza, "the Hillock of the Almond Tree").

Both *madīna* and *arbāḍ* were divided into quarters, each of which boasted a neighbourhood mosque (*masjid*), whilst every *rabaḍ* had its own congregational mosque (*jāmi'*). But Münzer's calculation of over two hundred mosques in Granada probably took in a third kind.⁵ Often, if the quarter were small, a *rābiṭa*, or oratory, took the place of a *masjid*. Eremitical monasticism was not peculiar to Spanish Islam, but was characteristic of it. A *rābiṭa* was a small mosque tenanted by a *murābiṭ*, who, after his death, would be enshrined in it. These buildings were mostly *qubbās* opening off the street. The numerous private foundations attest to the extravagant piety of the Spanish Muslims. A small sepulchral building surviving *extra muros* gives

an idea of what such intramural oratories must have been like. Untouched by the hand of the restorer, this 15th-century *rābiṭa* is known as the Ermita de San Sebastián, which is at least an improvement on a bar, the purpose for which it was used down to the mid-19th century. Situated on the banks of the Genil, it is close to the Alcázar Genil, whose fate it has mercifully been spared. It has a sixteen-sided cupola resting on four squinches, with the ribs radiating from a star at the apex of the vault.⁶ Small, simple and practically innocent of decoration, these buildings would have resembled their North African counterparts of the present day.

Urban quarters were of two kinds, large (*ḥāra*) and small (*darb*). A *darb* tended to be inhabited by members of a particular guild (*ṣinf*), accounting for quarters like al-Qarrāqīn, where the cobblers specialising in the manufacture of cork-soled shoes toiled. In such cases the local mosque would take its the name from the confraternity that used it, e.g., Masjid al-Qaṭṭānīn, the Mosque of the Cotton Merchants. The difficulty is that in Granadine Arabic *darb* and *ḥāra* are interchangeable, likewise *ḥāra* and *rabaḍ*, so it is often difficult to tell which a text is talking about, and the practice of referring to a quarter by the name of the guild whose members tenanted it, e.g., al-Dabbāghīn (the tanners), compounds the confusion. Moreover, a *ḥāra* can be as small as a single street, in which case *ḥāra* preceding a proper noun denotes a street. *Ḥawma*, a term peculiar to Maghribi Arabic, is synonymous with *ḥāra*.

In addition to mosque or oratory, a quarter would normally rejoice in such amenities as a bakery or communal oven, where women would take the dough for baking, as may be seen in the East till this day, and an inn (*funduq*) patronised by travellers trading in the commodity peculiar to the quarter. This khan, where caravaners would put up whilst exposing their merchandise for sale in the courtyard, was both the terminus of a trade route and a point of distribution. As much warehouses as hotels, their relation to the Roman *horrea* is clear.

Other terms necessary for an understanding of Naṣrid urbanism are the words denoting different kinds of street. A *zanaqa* is a named street, a *ṭarīq* an anonymous one; but the principal thoroughfare of a quarter is always *mamarr*. *Zuqāq* indicates a lane, whilst *raṣīf*, which normally means a paved way, in Granada signifies a street built up on the one side only, such as a street skirting the edge of an escarpment or the streets flanking the banks of the Darro; hence the Acera (from *al-raṣīf*) del Darro, which retained its original form as late as 1936. The overwhelming majority of streets were *cul-de-sacs* interrupted at intervals by diminutive arches spanning the way, a charming feature but one which was eminently practical, as it enabled the houses to prop one another up. Houses were small, the rooms long and narrow, but practically all had cisterns and plumbing. Inside, they were scrupulously clean. Most houses had running water. Water supply was of two

kinds: for drinking and for sewage disposal; even Münzer, from hygienic Germany, marvels at what he saw.⁷ The streets were congested, and every quarter was a knot of labyrinthine alleyways. Spanish Muslims wore very bright colours, which must have appeared to advantage against the lime-washed walls, almost as if they were flowers. Marmol says: "So close were the houses of this city in Moorish times, and the streets so narrow, that one could reach from one window to another with one's arm, and there were quarters where mounted men could not pass with their lances [upright] in their hands, and tunnels linked houses one to another, making them easier to defend; and the Moriscos say that this was done on purpose for the city's safety."⁸ Münzer says that the houses were so intricate and complicated within that they resembled wasps' nests.⁹ Most of the houses met overhead and two donkeys could not pass each other except in the main streets, which were four or five cubits wide, and there two horses could pass each other.¹⁰ Many of the streets and the smaller quarters had gates so they could be closed off at night, and after the evening prayer the city would close down till dawn. Andalusī cities bore little resemblance to their noisy Middle Eastern counterparts of today that never sleep.

II. THE MADĪNA

We are lucky in that the principal thoroughfare of the Arab city, the Zanaqat Ilbīra (Calle de Elvira) still survives and is more or less deserted because the parallel Gran Vía has drawn away all the business. Zanaqat al-Ilbīra ran all the way from a still-extant gate (Bāb Ilbīra) in the north to the Raḥbat al-Ḥaṭṭābīn, the Square of the Woodcutters, now the Placeta de San Gil, in the south. Visiting the city in 1526, the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagiero describes the street as quite wide and long and debouching in "a square not very big, whereunder passes the Darro in a vault", whilst, leading off the same square to the right—he means after issuing from Zanaqat Ilbīra—one finds "another street, straight and full of all classes of artisans which is called the Zacatīn, and it is reasonably wide".¹¹ (Straightening out and widening had been carried out by Hernando de Zafra, acting on the orders of Ferdinand and Isabel, before Navagiero's visit.)

This street, now curtailed to half the length it enjoyed in Arab times, forms our introduction to the commercial quarter, of which it was the principal artery. The name comes from the vendors of second-hand clothes (*saqqatīn*), who traded there, but it was in fact a vast emporium purveying all manner of things from rushware to hosiery. Its commercial importance was enhanced by two khans one of which opened off the street whilst another standing opposite, though its entrance lay elsewhere, formed part of the street frontage. This last was one of the two khans confusingly known as Funduq Sa'īda. (The other was located where the Cafe Suizo—subsequently

Cafe Granada—functioned till recently, and gave its name to a street, the Calle Alhóndiga, from *al-fundūq*). The Zacatín ran all the way from the *raḥba* at the heart of the wood-cutters' quarter to the Bāb al-Ramla but was truncated, post-conquest, by the progressive amplifications of the Plaza de Bibarrambla at its western extremity and, in the 19th century, by the construction of the Gran Vía, which severed the *zanaqa* at the other end. Arabic texts do not refer to a *raḥba* at Bāb al-Ramla, but we can infer one from a Spanish source of 1595 which refers to "the new square of Bibarrambla".¹² This can only have been an extension of an existing *raḥba*, because *raḥbas* were to be found at the back of gates formed by the open space so created before the street (or streets) had an opportunity to contract. (Parenthetically, *bāb* becomes *bīb* in Spain; Andalusī colloquial was characterised by use of the *imāla*.) This particular gate, Bāb al-Ramla, the Gate of the Sand [bank], somehow managed to endure till 1873-84, when it succumbed to the fashionable mania for development—not, however, before that indefatigable Scotsman David Roberts had had a chance to record its appearance.¹³ The pieces were salvaged and deposited in the Provincial Archaeological Museum, where they languished till 1935, when Torres Balbás rescued them.¹⁴ He re-erected the gate in the Alhambra wood, where it now stands incongruously amidst trees.

To the south of Elvira Street, where the Gran Vía brutally cut through the ancient city, a line of unmemorable architecture replaces the aristocratic quarter of Abū 'l-Āṣī, where stood the Palace of Sitti Maryam and other notable structures. Wantonly demolished in 1901, some arches survived in a local museum.¹⁵ One Arab house from this quarter survived till recently at No. 3, Placeta de Villamena.¹⁶ The quarter extended westward from Elvira Street as far as the civic heart of the city, where the Great Mosque stood. From here a street led, where the main entrance into the Royal Chapel now stands, across what is now the cathedral floor, to the south transept, this last occupying, approximately, the site of the *raḥba* of the quarter. Nearby stood the Inn of the Genoese (*Fundūq al-Jannūbīn*), where the Genoese merchants lodged. Here Münzer saw, painted in fresco but much deteriorated, numerous German coats of arms, and reports having heard that that of Nuremberg could once be seen among them, likewise that of the Mendel family (obviously Jewish) of Genoa.¹⁷ The Genoese controlled most of the sultanate's foreign trade. Enjoying special privileges guaranteed by charter, they eschewed politics and traded with anyone and everyone irrespective of régime. The site of their khan is appropriately occupied by a bank, the prestigious Caja General de Ahorros, opposite which stood the Arab house in the Placeta de Villamena. The *fundūq* was obviously a chamber of commerce of sorts, and the vestigial heraldry on its walls brings forcibly to mind how Victorian civic pride would require the inclusion in a town hall's *décor* of all the cities and countries with which the town traded. It were unwise, though tempting, to pursue such analogies too far; though Granada was an integral

part of the Mediterranean trade web, in an Islamic state law (i.e., legality), not commerce, was paramount and dominated the *qaḍā'*, the focus of civic power.

The quarter of Abū 'l-Āṣī was one of six in the *madīna*, but mostly the *madīna* was taken up with more important matters than residential accommodation, juxtaposing civic, commercial and religious authority. The twin purposes of Islamic settlement (*tamḍīn*) were to generate wealth by commerce and to express the resultant prosperity in an appropriate cultural form: hence the juxtaposition of bazaar and university quarter.

Both operated in the vicinity of the Great Mosque (al-Masjid al-A'ẓam). The throbbing heart of the city was the mosque square (Raḥbat al-Masjid al-A'ẓam). Al-'Umarī says that here were the spice merchants ('aṭṭārūn) and the notaries' offices as well as the house and office of the Chief Judge (*Qāḍī 'l-Jamā'a*), which explains the presence of notaries' offices.¹⁸ On it or on the adjoining streets were more than fifty shops, most of them *awqāf* to the mosque, although some were private property. Five khans opened either off the square or off nearby streets. Here was the city's university (*madrassa*), flanked on one side by the spice inspector's office and on the other by one of the two khans called Funduq Zaid. Here too were the city's principal *sūqs*. It seems however to have been the famed Alcaicería that most fascinated Navagiero:

Walking down the street of the Zacatín, before reaching the square [of Bibar-rambla], on the right through a little doorway one enters the place called the *Alcazería*, which is an enclosed space between two doors and with many little streets crammed on all sides with shops, where Moriscos may be seen selling silks and endless specimens of craftsmanship and variety of objects, being a mercery, or rather a *Rialto*, [as it would be called] amongst us, because, of a certainty, there is an infinite variety of things, and, above all, of woven silks.¹⁹

Bermúdez de Pedraza was no less enthusiastic about what he saw in the Alcaicería:

Inasmuch as this city was where most silk was assembled on account of the widespread silk culture in its Alpujarra[s], which led Rhazes to call it the land of *sirgo*,²⁰ that is to say, silk, the Arabs set up therein a market place where silk from all over the kingdom was sold called Cayzer, corrupted in our tongue to Alcaicería. Lucio Marineo²¹ refers to it as a small city, in my opinion correctly, because it is like a square city surrounded with a wall and ten gates with chains so that no one can enter on horseback, with so many streets and lanes that it resembles the Cretan Labyrinth, and it is even necessary to tie a thread to the door so as to be able to find the way back. Its shops are innumerable, wherein is sold every kind of silk, woven and in skein, plus gold, wool, linen, and merchandise made from them. It has an *alcalde* appointed by the *alcalde* of the Alhambra, who is entrusted with its security day and night; he opens and closes it each day and is responsible for keeping it clean.²²

Although the Alcaicería no longer resembles these descriptions, one still enters it through the doorway, opening off the Zacatín, used by Navagiero, whom it reminded of the Rialto in his native Venice. Navagiero cannot have counted properly: ten gates admitted to this city-within-a-city when Bermúdez

de Pedraza was there, one more than in Arab times, for the Spaniards had by then sealed off one of the entrances from the Zacatín and opened two in its stead. In the Islamic era, there were nine, which were closed at night and at the time of Friday prayers. Bermúdez was also accurate in his etymology: *al-qaysariyya* is from *qayṣar*, king, and signifies the royal market, being the private property of the sovereign. The sultan apart, in Granada silk reigned supreme because of the proximity of the silkworm farms in the Alpujarras mountain range to which Bermúdez refers; sericulture was the basis of the sultanate's industrial prosperity. Antoine de Lalaing tells us that Granadine silk was exported to Italy, which explains the Genoese connexion.²³ The Alpujarras at this time were covered with mulberry trees; silk cocoons, since they weighed so little, could be transported at negligible expense to Granada by mule-back, besides which many villages possessed looms. Silk was Granada's major export.

The Alcaicería constituted a distinct urban nucleus with a complete autonomy: besides being physically isolated, with gates admitting to the interior, it had three squares, two mosques, clubs (*andiya*) for guild members, warehouses, and no less than three custom houses, one of them *extra muros*. Even as certain quarters of the city were known by the name of the guild which practised there, so the Alcaicería was divided into clearly demarcated zones for (a) silk mercers, (b) vendors of wool, mohair and cotton and (c) money-lenders and changers, all grouped according to profession after the Islamic fashion. The Alcaicería was a miniaturisation of the Islamic city, a town within a town (the *madīna*) within another town (*Gharnāṭa*), complete with judicature, administrative apparatus, including an inspectorate, and, over all, a resident sub-*qāḍī* appointed by the *qāḍī* of the Alhambra. The Alcaicería was really an extension of the Alhambra, an extramural department of the royal city administered by proxy. The reason its *qāḍā'* was a royal appointment was because the Alcaicería was royal property, like the estates to which Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers and differed from them only in being an industrial estate. Unlike the shops on the main square, the revenue from which went to support the mosque, Alcaicería rents were paid into the royal exchequer. As crown property, the Alcaicería passed, along with the royal city and all the royal palaces and domains, to the Spanish crown after the capitulation. The *qāḍī* discharged the routine functions of a *muḥtasib*: by day, he collected the rents and attended to maintenance; by night, he patrolled the area accompanied by two guards and guard-dogs. The *qāḍī* lodged in the Alcaicería, likewise the dogs, who had their kennels there.

In plan the Alcaicería was approximately a rectangle, with its streets forming a grid pattern of a regularity unusual in Granada. These narrow lanes, bursting with activity, broadened out in places to form diminutive squares. Lanes and squares were paved in mosaic. They were lined with boutiques, for the most part single-storeyed, built of wood decorated in red

ochre, and many so tiny the shopkeeper sat outside.²⁴ Although protected by a wall, the booths, separated by party walls of brick but otherwise entirely constructed of wood, were vulnerable to fire, and where the arsonists of 1490 (see below) failed it seems someone succeeded in 1843, for at 2.00 a.m. on 20th July of that year the Alcaicería caught fire, the flames raging unchecked for eight days. This way a unique piece of industrial archaeology was irretrievably lost. In the rebuilding, streets were straightened whilst others were suppressed. The conflagration accounted for only 52 establishments out of almost 200 counted by Marineo Sículo.²⁵ Either some enterprises were spared or had closed or amalgamated, for López's plan, dated 1787, shows 153 shops.²⁶ Either way, the Alcaicería's progressive diminution reflects Granada's economic decline after the conquest; by 1750, silk production was down by two thirds.

The silk wholesalers congregated in a lane stretching from a gateway on the north side of the enclosure to a square. The gate was called Bāb al-Jallisūn because it admitted to the lane where the silk mercers (Arabic *jallisūn*, giving the Spanish *gelices*) operated. The square was used for auctions by the wholesalers, whose offices were located in the lane; the retailers had their outlets elsewhere, chiefly in the main street of the Alcaicería (Mamarr al-Qaysariyya), which ran from the Great Mosque to the New Inn, crossing the Darro by means of a bridge after issuing from a gate that opened on to the Zacatín, this being the main entrance into the Alcaicería. Running north and south, this important road bisected the area into eastern and western portions, the former reserved for commerce in silk and the latter for lesser commodities. From the square referred to issued another lane, which led eastward toward an even smaller square near which stood the custom house for silk and the headquarters of the silk administration. Each textile, silk, linen and wool, had its proper customs but the latter were housed outside the enclosure.²⁷ The custom house for silk survived the conflagration and was still visible toward the end of the last century at No. 5, Calle del Tinte, the former Darb al-Qaṭa', the eastern limit of the Alcaicería. Even the jib from which the scales for weighing the silk was suspended still projected from the wall, and there was a fragmentary Kūfic inscription. The site was, till recently, occupied by the offices of *Patria*. Silk was a royal monopoly. The raw silk was delivered baled or in hank and weighed on the scales, the price collected going to the exchequer. Whatever applied to Granada also applied to the Alcaicerías of Málaga and Almería, the joint profit forming one of the crown's main sources of revenue.²⁸ As with 'Abd al-'Aziz's annexation of the Hijaz in 1924-25, Ferdinand and Isabel were motivated by more than just religious considerations.²⁹ The first square gave access to a third lane running east and west on which was situated the mosque of the silk mercers' guild. Wool and linen merchants shared a mosque, besides which they had their own clubs, all located in the western part of the enclosure where dealers in

wool, mohair, linen and cotton traded. Besides silk, the eastern part also accommodated numerous *bureaux de change* in the Street of the Money Changers, the *Simāt al-Thiqa* (literally, "Street of the Trustworthy Persons").³⁰

The Alcaicería lay in rational proximity to the city's principal khans as well as the principal *sūqs*, and one, the New Inn (*al-Funduq al-Jadīd*), which was the warehouse for corn, still survives under the unromantic appellation of the Corral del Carbón. The elaborate stalactite portal belies a sober, utilitarian interior. This severely functional building is unusual in having three storeys, which, unlike most Naşrid architecture, do not even pretend to be arcuate; a galleried courtyard provided space for sale and barter.³¹

Already an ancient monument by the time the city fell, the Great Mosque occupied the site of the present Sagrario on the Cathedral Square, which means it lay adjacent to the Alcaicería. The main entrance lay to the rear of the Sagrario. We know the exact site due to a curious circumstance. During the siege, one night at dawn on 8 December, 1490, just two years before the city fell, a Christian knight with six accomplices penetrated the defences by following the course of the riverbed. Stealthily traversing the silent streets, they made their way undetected to the mosque square. There the knight, Hernán Pérez del Pulgar, took possession of the building in the name of the Virgin and attached a parchment to that effect to the door with his dagger. They intended to set fire to the Alcaicería, hoping thereby to strike at the nerve-centre of the city's economy, but were discovered before they could do so. Somehow they contrived to escape. In recognition of his valour the Emperor Charles V accorded Pulgar the privilege of being buried at the scene of his exploit. A ledger slab marking his grave may be seen behind a grille in a small chapel to the left as one leaves the Sagrario to enter the Royal Chapel.³²

The Great Mosque dated from the foundation of the city by Zāwī and Ḥabbūs in the *īā'ifa* epoch, and must have been a very solid structure to have lasted for seven hundred years: it was not finally demolished till 1704. Travellers remarked on the beauty of the building: it was visited by al-'Umārī from Egypt in the 14th century, by al-Malaṭī, also from Egypt and by Münzer in the 15th, and, after its conversion to Christian use, by François Bertaut from France in the 17th. Put together, their several accounts allow us to form a picture of the building.

In 510/1116-17 the mosque was refounded by al-Ma'āfirī, who was an important benefactor to the city, for he also built a bath to the north of the mosque, on the courtyard side. Columns, capitals and doors were brought for the purpose from Córdoba. Interestingly, about a dozen of the capitals—two bore the date 340/951-2—turned up on nearby building sites in the 19th century and when the Gran Vía was opened. The mosque had eleven aisles distinguishable by their separate roofs, with the aisle on the *qibla* axis wider than the rest. There was also a transversal aisle flanking the *qibla* wall. The

arrangement of the columns followed Almohad precedent, with the two side aisles wider than all but the central one. There were 120 columns, richly decorated. Total capacity was evidently between two and three thousand, because Münzer, who witnessed the Friday service in 1494, estimated the congregation at around that number and says they overflowed on to the street.³³

The courtyard, on the north side, had a deep well in the middle and a minaret off to one side. A roof covered the ablutions fountain. Court and minaret predeceased the main structure, being demolished in 1588 to make way for the south-east corner of the cathedral. Built of dressed stone from the Malaḥā³⁴ quarries with the courses laid in Caliphal style (two headers and one stretcher), the minaret closely resembled the extant minaret of the Mosque of the Penitents (Jāmi' al-Tā'ibīn), now the Church of San José, in the Albaicín. It followed the primitive Islamic model standard in the Maghrib, i.e., in two stages with intermediate balcony. Each stage was crenellated, and, surmounting a diminutive cupola, was the famous weathercock. This was Granada's talisman, a prophylactic against gales.³⁵ The standard Andalusī finial consisted of three large spheres separated by two small ones and transfixed by a spear, as may be seen atop the crossing of Santa Ana, formerly the Mosque of Ibn Tawba, one of the two mosques serving the quarter of Almanzora (al-Manṣūra), the quarter which gave access to the Alhambra in Arab times. The finial atop the church is a replica, the original having been moved to the Alhambra museum. The lower stage of the Great Mosque's minaret stood about 16 metres high.³⁶

The mosque's amenities included a separate ablutions facility housed in an auxiliary building (Miḍā'a or Dar al-Wuḍū') to the north-east and a primary school (*maḥḍara*), which was contiguous with the mosque. Münzer says the Dār al-Miḍā'a contained a tank twenty paces long, doubtless equipped with faucets, with cubicles containing privies with running water ranged about the tanks.³⁷ The school separated the mosque from the *Qāḍī's* office (the municipium, where the *qaḍā'*, or civil administration, was installed). Facing them across the square was the most elegant building in the *madīna* and perhaps in all the city, the al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya. This monumental structure was founded in 750/1349-50 by the scholar sultan Yūsuf I (733/1333-755/1354).³⁸ Although an instance of royal munificence, the inspiration behind its foundation was the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) Riḍwān. Made over to the town council in 1500 by Ferdinand and Isabel as a seat for their operations (Casa del Cabildo), it remained more or less intact till the 18th century, when it was demolished and a Baroque town hall built in its place in 1722-29. Since the latter's functions are now housed elsewhere, the site has reverted to its old name, being known as "la madrasa". Fragments of the lintel and the twin foundation inscriptions survived and are preserved in the Provincial Archaeological Museum.³⁹ Fortunately, the *madrasa's* mosque

(*qibliyya*) was spared, although the *mihṛāb* has been amputated because it protruded into the rear of a shop on the Zacatín. Formerly the geminated windows to right and left admitted light from gardens outside because the oratory formed a protrusion, but these windows are now sealed off and the gardens have long since been built over. An octagonal wooden roof supported on four squinches crowns the exquisite stuccowork of the walls. For long neglected, when restoration belatedly took place in 1976 under the direction of Prieto Moreno, no attempt was made to repair the damp-affected stuccowork or even to procure the right colour of marble for the floor. The *madrasa* had two storeys, with an *aula magna* on the upper one, beautifully decorated and with a dado of tile mosaic like what one finds in the Alhambra. The arcades of the courtyard were composed of *muqarnas* arches supported on marble columns. The library of this, Granada's university, was taken out and burned by Cardinal Cisneros in the Plaza de Bibarrambla in 1499. One of the most distasteful pieces of scholarship ever penned must be the essay in which Ribera refuses to condemn this piece of pyromania.⁴⁰

III. SUBURBIA AND CEMETERIES

Space precludes all but the most cursory coverage of the rest of the city; out of Granada's six suburbs⁴¹ and seven cemeteries⁴² we choose perforce one of each, not because they are typical but because their importance does not allow them to be passed over in silence. Suburbs ranged from the diminutive (Rabaḍ al-Ramla, the Suburb of the Sand[bank], i.e. the banks of the Darro) to the huge (Rabaḍ al-Bayyāzīn, the Suburb of the Falconers, today known as the Albaicín). This suburb exceeded the *madina* in extent, being so big in fact that it constituted a separate urban entity with its own judiciary, like the Alhambra and the Alcaicería. Also like the Alhambra, it had its own *sharī'a* (the Andalusi term) for 'Īd gatherings. A *sharī'a* (esplanade) is only possible where the terrain offers a level space suitable for community prayers. The Albaicín's *sharī'a* was the area bounded by the three churches of San Cristobal, San Gregorio and San Bartolomé.⁴³ This large area, a plateau, can easily be made out looking west from the Puerta de las Moraitas (Bāb al-Unaidar). The large Plaza de San Bartolomé remains the only part of the former *muṣallā* not built over. The *qāḍī*'s jurisdiction took in the Old Casbah and Rabaḍ al-Akhsharish besides the Albaicín proper, so the Albaicín suburb was really an agglomerate of three. The Albaicín proper was the vast area which the famous vizier Riḍwān, a convert to Islam who served under three sultans, enclosed with a wall at the orders of Yūsuf I about 750/1350. The Akhsharish separated the Old Casbah from the river. Although it has lost its congregational mosque, the Jāmi' al-Jurf, this quarter retains a fragment of a very early mosque. This is the 6th/12th century (Almohad period) minaret of the Mosque of the Penitents (Jāmi' al-Tā'ibin), today the bell-tower of the Church of San Juan de los Reyes. The mosque was demolished

about 1520, when the persecution was at its height, but the minaret was retained to support a belfry. This minaret, which is a sort of miniature Giralda, is one of two surviving minarets in Granada. The other, likewise in the Albaicín, is that of the *Masjid al-Murābiṭīn* (Mosque of the Hermits), which had been dedicated as a church (to San José) by 1494, when Münzer climbed its minaret. The same traveller refers to an olive tree in the courtyard equal in size to an oak.⁴⁴ The Mosque of the Hermits was the *jāmi'* of the Old Casbah, which means that the Albaicín counted three mosques of congregational status. According to Torres Balbás the Mosque of the Hermits dated from the time of Zāwī or of his nephew Ḥabbūs.⁴⁵

The *jāmi'* of the Albaicín likewise survives in part. Münzer describes it as smaller but prettier than the Great Mosque.⁴⁶ It had nine aisles as against the latter's eleven and 86 marble columns as against the latter's 120, and measured 42.40 x 32.20 metres. The *ṣaḥn*, with a well in the middle, survives as a sort of narthex to the Church of San Salvador, which covers the site of the *ḥaram*. When Münzer saw it, this courtyard was planted with lemon trees. The central aisle was wider than the rest, whilst the two side aisles were narrower. There survive the arches communicating the first three aisles with the courtyard on either side. The mosque was consecrated as a church by Cardinal Cisneros in violation of the terms of surrender in 1499, the year the persecution began, and was made a parish church in 1501, when *ṣalāt* became a penal crime. The adjacent area was the focus of activity for the Albaicín, a scaled-down version of the *Raḥbat al-Masjid al-A'zam* in the *madīna*. Opposite the mosque stood a primary school and a khan. In the *Raḥbat al-Ziyāda* were markets and ateliers occupied by weavers, silk spinners and locksmiths. Nearby, till not long ago, stood the largest bath in the city; it took up all the space now occupied by the first four houses on the left side of the Calle del Agua, formerly the Calle del Baño, a translation of *Zanaqat al-Ḥammām*. Behind the bath stood the *funduq* for lime; *fanādiq* functioned as warehouses as well as hotels.

Houses in the Albaicín were remarkable for their beauty. Bermúdez de Pedraza estimated the population of the suburb at 10,000 inhabitants, and says that the houses are "delightful, embellished with damascened work, with courtyards and orchards, beautified with pools and fountain basins with running water", adding that its Great Mosque was "most sumptuous, as can be seen today from what remains of it in the collegiate church of San Salvador".⁴⁷ (This was written after the mosque's conversion but prior to its demolition.) The Albaicín also boasts the best preserved Arab house in Granada, at No. 16, Calle del Horno de Oro, close by the Darro. There are other Arab houses in the Albaicín, but the tragedy of the 20th century has been the virtual demise of the Morisco house: when Jesús Bermúdez prepared his doctoral thesis on the subject of the Morisco house there were twenty; their number is now reduced to six.

Perhaps the crowning glory of the Albaicín was the Māristān. The establishment of hospitals for the scientific treatment of the insane is the pride of Islam. The *māristāns* of Aleppo and Edirne are well-known, but Muḥammad V (755/1354-760/1359 and 763/1362-793/1391) had Almohad foundations in Fez and Marrakesh closer to home to inspire him. Construction occupied twenty months, from *Muḥarram* 767/September-October 1365 to *Shawwāl* 768/June 1367. The rectangular plan with arcades around a central courtyard and pool is a versatile one, used promiscuously in the Maghrib for khans, *madrasas*, monasteries and hospitals. The ground-floor arcades were arcuate and those on the upper floor trabeate. Decoration was confined to the vestibule. Before it was demolished in 1843 Enríquez prepared excellent sketches, plans and elevations of the building.⁴⁸ The foundation inscription may be seen in the Alhambra Museum, whilst the two lion fountains that discharged into the pool of the Māristān now discharge into that of the Partal.⁴⁹ Fountains and garden may have been part of the therapy, as in Edirne.

Both the Old Casbah and the Albaicín had their cemeteries *intra muros*, and the Cemetery of the Foreigners (Maqbarat al-*Ghurabā'*) and the Cemetery of the Beekeeper (Maqābir al-*ʿAssāl*), which were extramural to begin with, became intramural when the Rabaḍ al-Fakhkhārīn was incorporated into the city's defensive system, but there was one cemetery that partook of the characteristics of both, intra- and extra-mural at the same time. This was the Cemetery of al-Faqīh Sa'd b. Malik, which dated from the 7th/13th century. It grew up around the tomb of that learned poet and jurist, who was born in 558/1163. The cemetery extended all the way from the Elvira Gate as far as the Hospital Real and the modern railway station. When the old bull-ring was built, near where the monument to the Immaculate Conception now stands, innumerable Muslim bodies were uncovered. Münzer, who saw it in 1494, says it was twice as big as that in Nuremberg, where he lived.⁵⁰ It was also known after the gate outside which it lay, Jabbānāt Bāb Ilbira. (On anyone beholding it for the first time this colossal gateway produces an extraordinary impression: it is organic architecture, seeming to grow naturally out of the ground.) In spite of its extramural location the cemetery was really another suburb, a mortuary suburb, for it had its own perimeter wall, gates and defensive towers protecting the gates. The gates represented various routes into the city that converged within the cemetery. Seco de Lucena conjectures that low walls may have separated roads from burial space.⁵¹ The Spanish Muslims followed the Roman practice of extramural sepulture, flanking the highways with tombs that served as an inescapable *memento mori* but which also served to remind people that they formed part of a continuous process of history, linking past with present. One might expect such an area to be a preferred one for ascetics, and this part of town was rich in hermitages. Besides one intramural, the Rābiṭa Bāb Ilbira, there were three within the cemetery: the Rābiṭat al-Qaṣṣār (it is not known who al-Qaṣṣār was), the picturesquely named Rābiṭat

al-Qalaqa ("the Oratory of the Sleepless One") and the Rābiṭat al-Ḥaura ("the Oratory of the Poplar"). The presence of other structures is confirmed by Münzer, who says that the graves of the rich were "enclosed in a square, like the gardens, made of walls of rich stone".⁵² Each grave is formed, says the same source, of four stone slabs covered over with bricks and so narrow there is barely room for the body to fit inside; and when this has been done it is filled level with the ground.⁵³ Although not formally landscaped, the Ibn Malik Cemetery was picturesque, planted in its oldest part with olive trees and graduated as the land fell away toward the west. Besides olive trees there was the ubiquitous myrtle. It was here, in the newer part of the cemetery, that Münzer witnessed the beautiful ceremony he describes in his book: after a burial, seven women dressed in white bestrewed the filled-in grave with myrtle branches while an Imam, facing the *qibla*, chanted from the Quran.⁵⁴

But the Muslims had not long to wait for Nemesis. Hardly was the ink dry on the treaty before it was broken. A bare six years after the German traveller's visit all Muslim cemeteries in the former kingdom were closed as part of a campaign to extirpate Islam.⁵⁵ That of Ibn Malik was parcelled out into building lots. Two years after the order for the closure of the cemeteries Queen Isabel even passed a law against geminated windows! Geminated windows, a feature of Naṣrid architecture, may seem innocuous: the purpose of the edict only becomes apparent when one realises that such windows were provided with *maṣhrabiyyas* and therefore served the purpose of *ḥijāb*. Mosques could always be baptised as churches; not so cemeteries: for the next two centuries not a building went up in Granada but did not make use of these quarries literally at the city's doorstep. Numerous churches, e.g., San Jerónimo, San Cristobal and San Domingo, bear testimony in their façades to the ease with which access could be had to dressed stone in post-conquest Granada. The greatest indignity the Alhambra ever suffered was to have its walls repaired with plundered Muslim tombstones. Until Contreras's restoration even the Court of Comares was paved with gravestones. The supply was well-nigh inexhaustible, for the Cemetery of Ibn Malik, vast as it was, was no bigger than another cemetery on the other side of town, which Münzer describes as being six times the extent of the main square in Nuremberg.⁵⁶ Seco de Lucena was of the opinion that the Cemetery of the Foreigners (Maqbarat al-Ḡhurabā') formed part of the Cemetery of the Potters' Gate (Jabbānāt Bāb al-Fakḥkhārīn) and that the Cemetery of the Beekeeper (Maqābir al-ʿAssāl) was but an extension of this last, so all three conjoined must have matched that of Ibn Malik in extent.⁵⁷ However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb states that the Cemetery of the Beekeeper formed part of that of Ibn Malik.⁵⁸

So passed into history a land of grace and plenty. Referring to the reign of Yūsuf I, Condé enlarges on the Sultan's interest in public works and the influence his example had on other sectors of the population.⁵⁹

IV. THE RURAL CONTEXT

Whatever Yūsuf I started Muḥammad V completed. Having inherited a prosperous economy from his father, during his reign Granada attained an unparalleled prosperity. Hurtado de Mendoza reports that at the time of Yūsuf, Granada numbered around 70,000 dwelling places,⁶⁰ but it should never be forgotten that Granada was a city after the Islamic fashion, i.e. much bigger than it seems. The city, comprising a core area and suburbs, was itself a core. Navagiero says:

As much as on the plain as on the hills, there are to be found, albeit invisible on account of the trees, so many little Moorish houses scattered here and there, that if they were brought together would form a city equal in extent [to Granada]. And even though the majority are so small, they all have their waters, their roses, musk roses and myrtles, and a complete refinement, proving that when the Moors were in charge, this land was much more beautiful than it is today. At present the houses are going to ruin and the gardens are destroyed, because the Moriscos are declining in number rather than increasing, and it is they who work and plant this land with the multitude of trees which one sees here. For the Spaniards, and not here in Granada alone, but equally in the rest of Spain, are the reverse of industrious; they neither plant nor till the soil, preferring to devote themselves to other pursuits, like going off to war or to the Indies to make their fortune rather than by way of work.⁶¹

Navagiero was evidently unfamiliar with the sprawling nature of Muslim cities, with their numerous satellite conurbations. Had he read Clavijo's description of Samarqand in 1404 (not however published till 1582), he would have understood better: Samarqand is, says Clavijo, "not much bigger than the city of Seville, which is walled likewise, but outside the city there is a huge number of houses, which in many places come together so as to form [whole] quarters, since the city is entirely surrounded with numerous orchards and vineyards extending in places for a league and a half, in others two leagues, interspersed with populous streets and squares where many people live and sell bread and wine and meat, besides other things; thus the populated area without the walls exceeds that within the walls, and in these orchards which are extramural are the largest and noblest houses; and the Lord [Tamerlane] has there his palaces and noblest dwellings; likewise the notables of the city have their estates and houses. And so numerous are the orchards and vineyards round about the city that to anyone approaching the city it seems but a mountain of high trees with the city in their midst".⁶²

This could be a description of Granada, or indeed any Hispano-Muslim city.⁶³ Precisely the same point is made by Münzer: "At the foot of the mountains, on a good plain, Granada has, for almost a mile, many orchards and leafy spots irrigable by water channels; orchards, I repeat, full of houses and towers, occupied during the summer, which, seen together and from afar, you would take to be a populous and fantastic city, particularly toward the north-east, [where] for a full league or more, we saw these orchards, and

there is nothing more wonderful. The Saracens like orchards very much, and are very ingenious in planting and irrigating them to a degree that nothing surpasses."⁶⁴ Granada before the fall was a paradise. Had the fictive traveller with whom we started gone there in 1491, his approach would not have been through the treeless landscape that impinges on the eye of the traveller today, a consequence of five centuries of soil erosion compounded by *latifundismo*; rather, it would have been through the landscape which Navagiero describes:

All the slope where lies that part of Granada [toward the Cartuja], and equally the area on the opposite side, is most beautiful, filled with numerous houses and gardens, all with their fountains, myrtles and trees, and in some there are large and very beautiful fountains. And even though this part surpasses the rest in beauty the other environs of Granada are the same, as much the hills as the plain they call *the Vega*. All of it is lovely, all extraordinarily pleasing to behold, all abounding in water, water that could not be more abundant; all full of fruit trees, like plums of every variety, peaches figs, quinces, clingstone peaches, apricots, sour cherries and so many other fruits that one can barely glimpse the sky for the density of the trees. All the fruits are excellent, but, amongst them, those they call *guindas garrafales* (a variety of large cherry) are the best in the world. There are also pomegranate trees, so attractive and of good quality that they could not be more so, and incomparable grapes, of many kinds, and seedless grapes for raisins. Nor are wanting olive trees so dense they resemble forests of oaks.⁶⁵

Of this list, which reads almost like a seedsman's catalogue, practically all an enervated soil can now support is the olives; yet so rich was the soil, says Münzer, that it yielded two crops a year.⁶⁶ Those who knew Granada at this time walked in Eden. Marmol's account echoes Navagiero's:

Outside the city, in the Vega, there are large orchards and plantations irrigated with the water of canals led off the two rivers referred to [the Darro and the Genil], which also operate many flour mills; so that everywhere Granada abounds in water from rivers or from springs. From the houses the view is a happy and delightful one at all seasons of the year. If one look toward the Vega, one sees so many plantations and cool spots and so many settlements [scattered] amongst them that one feels satisfied; if one look toward the hills, the same ...⁶⁷

These quotations pose an interrogation no sophistry can answer. In one sentence Lane-Poole said it all: "... for a while Christian Spain shone like the moon, with a borrowed light; then came the eclipse, and in that darkness Spain has grovelled ever since."⁶⁸

What is remarkable in all this is the retention of Arab forms of administration. The Alcaicería was administered in exactly the same way after the conquest as before it; the Alhambra retained its own *alcalde*, hence its separate municipal status, even so late as 1717. Besides being a tribute to the efficacy of the Arab system, this shows that the Spaniards were afraid of tampering with the economy of the conquered sultanate. But, try as they might, they could not make it work; the estates surrendered to the Spanish crown lasted not even a century. To quote Lane-Poole again: "... in 1591 the

royal domains were sold, because they cost more than they could make them yield! In the time of the Moors the same lands were gardens of almost tropical luxuriance."⁶⁹

Politically, Granada ceased to exist: it was simply annexed to the kingdom of Castile and properties peculiar (*mustakhliṣ*) to the crown automatically passed into Isabel's hands; patrimonial properties were deemed forfeit and used to settle Castilian nobility, the need for land to use in patronage having been a major factor in inducing Ferdinand and Isabel to launch the war in the first place, as a dilation of Castile's frontiers to accommodate an importunate nobility. The pressure on Arab land increased as the 16th century progressed. Many *mustakhliṣāt* had been alienated in the 15th century; from 1559 onward, agents went round checking on title deeds in order to claim lands for the crown. Lands were confiscated and resold as a source of revenue; but, though this was effective as a temporary expedient, the long-term damage done to the national economy was incalculable as husbandry went into decline. Cash crops like silk were subject to the same pressures as foodstuffs like wheat; eventually, Spain committed economic suicide.

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¹ The only *dhimmi*s in Granada were Jews, because latterly the only Christians living inside the state's boundaries were slaves. Hieronymus Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal*, Granada, 1987, pp. 38-39, gives the number of Christian slaves in the city (in the 15th century) as 7,000. This edition is a reprint of the Madrid edition of 1951, with a new preface added. References are to the second edition of this reprint, published by Ediciones TAT in the same year as the first but with different pagination.

² *Apud* Francisco Simonet, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos. Descripción del reino de Granada sacada de los autores árabigos*, Madrid, 1872, p. 253. "Cenete" is from the Arabic *sanad* ("slope", "acclivity"). This is the first part of Granada to have been re-islamised, especially the stret called Caldería Nueva, which is inhabited exclusively by native converts.

³ Since the use of glazed roof-tiles by the Arabs in Spain has been disputed (Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, Granada, 1982, I, 178), and as in the excavations of the Alixares Palace Gómez Moreno could find no evidence of their existence, exploration of the site revealing only tiles whitewashed in the hollow and one small tile decorated in red ochre, it behoves us to quote the evidence from the Alhambra archives (A. A. Leg. I-47-6). An order for repairs following the gunpowder explosion of 1590 says: "Assi mismo se trestajarán todos los tejados del cuarto de los Leones que hay muchas goteras en ellos echándoles sus tejados que faltaren del color que tienen aora que son blancas y verdes." ("Likewise must be changed the roofs of the royal houses, especially the apartment of the Lions, because there are many leaks in them, replacing the roof-tiles where the colour is presently missing with [others] that are white and green.") See Cristina Viñes Millet, *La Alhambra de Granada: tres siglos de historia*, Córdoba, 1982, p. 212. The edition cited of Gómez-Moreno's famous guidebook is the facsimile reproduction of the first edition, issued on the centenary of its original appearance.

⁴ *Al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fi 'l dawla al-Naṣriyya*, Cairo, 1347/1972, p. 15.

⁵ Münzer, *Viaje*, p. 37.

⁶ Plan, section and elevation in Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Rábitas hispanomusulmanas", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 475-91. See also Villanueva Rico, María del Carmen, "Rábitas granadinas", *Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 3, 1954, pp. 79-86.

⁷ *Viaje*, pp. 47, 48.

⁸ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁹ *Viaje*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹¹ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹² *Apud* Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes, *La Granada nazarí del siglo XV*, Granada, 1975, p. 69. The present writer wishes to record his debt to this work by his late teacher, without which it would not have been possible to produce even this brief synthesis. Professor Seco's work supercedes the *Plano de Granada árabe*, Granada, 1910, a pioneer work by his father which has not lost its utility; indeed, Professor Seco, when working on his own book, remarked to the writer: "It is only now I am beginning to realise how accurate it is." Citing the text of 1595, Professor Seco ignores an earlier source of 1500. A royal charter of Ferdinand and Isabel dated 20 September of that year conveys the former *madrasa* to the citizens of Granada for use as seat of the city council (*cabildo*) till then housed in a dwelling on the Square of Bibarrambla. See the facsimile edition by Luis Moreno Garzón, published by the Ayuntamiento de Granada, Granada, 1984. On Hispano-Arab urbanism in general, see L. Torres Balbás, 'La medina, los arrabales y los barrios', *Al-Andalus*, 18, 1953, pp. 149-77; likewise the same author's 'Plazas, zocos y tiendas de las ciudades hispanomusulmanas', *Al-Andalus*, 12, 1947, pp. 437-76.

¹³ *Sketches in Spain*, London, 1837, pl. 9. Rafael Contreras (*Estudio descriptivo de los monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba o sea la Alhambra, el Alcázar y la Gran Mezquita de occidente*, Madrid, 1878, p. 336) reveals that private interests secured the partial demolition of the gate in 1873, consummated eleven years later.

¹⁴ L. Torres Balbás, 'La Puerta de Bibarrambla de Granada', *Al-Andalus*, 4, 1931, pp. 195-98.

¹⁵ The arches have now been installed in the Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán in the grounds of the Generalife (not yet open to the public).

¹⁶ See Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, 'Los restos de la casa árabe de la placeta de Villamena en Granada', *Al-Andalus*, 12, 1947, pp. 161-64. A description of the house prior to its demolition can be found in Gómez Moreno, *op. cit.*, I, 319-20, under its other name, the Casa de los Infantes.

¹⁷ *Viaje*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁸ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, trans. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1927, p. 233. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, interpreting 'aṭṭārūn as "perfumers"', is of the opinion that they operated beside the mosque because they sold the substances used in embalming and so would need to be close to where funeral prayers (*janāza*) were said. It is correct that in Islam the trades form a hierarchy, those most closely associated with religion, like bookselling or stationery, being the closest to the mosque, but the argument appears unsound on two grounds: most *janāzas* would be held in the mosque of the quarter where the deceased resided; and 'aṭṭār usually signifies a spice merchant. It should be noted, though, that this does not preclude his being a perfumer, trading in aromatic substances like rosewater (used for the *ghusl*) and frankincense (for censuring the *lahd* prior to the act of deposition), both of which of course had ordinary domestic uses besides their employment in funerary ritual.

¹⁹ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Navagiero's letters written during his embassy to Charles V are one of our best sources for how Granada appeared in Arab times.

²⁰ In text *firgo*. *Sirgo* is an old Castilian word for "silk".

²¹ Lucio Maríneo Sículo's account of the Alcaicería in his *Libro de las cosas memorables de España* (*apud* Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-36) resembles that of Bermúdez, who appears to be quoting from him at this point whilst adding from his own observation.

²² Simonet, *ibid.*, p. 271. Bermúdez's history of Granada is another invaluable early source. His *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid, 1608) was expanded and published as the *Historia eclesiástica, principios y progresos de la ciudad y religión católica de Granada*, Madrid, 1638.

²³ "Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501", in *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, ed. M. Gachard, Brussels, 1876, p. 205.

²⁴ Contreras, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-42.

²⁵ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁶ Reproduced in Seco, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 64.

²⁷ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, Granada, 1934, pp. 82-83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁹ The disingenuous epistle Ferdinand and Isabel addressed to the Pope adducing high-minded motives for initiating the war against Granada is worth quoting: "We neither are nor have been persuaded to undertake this war by desire to acquire greater rents nor the wish to lay up treasure; for had we wanted to increase our lordships and augment our income with far less peril, travail and expense, we should have been able to do so. But the desire we have to serve God and our zeal for the holy Catholic faith has induced us to set aside our own interests and ignore the continual hardships and dangers to which this cause commits us; and thus can we hope both that the holy Catholic faith may be spread and Christendom quit of so unremitting a menace as abides here at our gates, if these infidels of the kingdom of Granada be not uprooted and expelled from Spain." (Quoted by José Goñi Gaztambide, "La Santa Sede y la reconquista de Granada", *Hispania Sacra*, IV, 1951, pp. 28-34.) The epistle is significant as showing that Ferdinand and Isabel had no intention of abiding by the terms of any treaty they might sign with the Granadines, but its main interest resides in the sordid motives its authors were at such pains to conceal; Granada was at this time experiencing an economic revival due to Europe's growing appetite for silk and specie; as well as silk the Naṣrīds controlled part of the Saharan gold traffic in the Maghrib.

³⁰ This brief account of Granada's Alcaicería has been condensed from three sources: L. Torres Balbás, "Alcaicerías", *Al-Andalus*, 14, 1949, pp. 431-55; Manuel Garzón Pareja, "Una dependencia de la Alhambra: la Alcaicería", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 8, 1972, pp. 65-76; and Seco, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-76. These studies make use of Indalecio Ventura Sabatel's article and accompanying plan prepared just before the conflagration of 1843, "La Alcaicería", *Boletín del Centro Artístico de Granada*, 5, 1890, pp. 131-32. Sabatel's father was a shopkeeper in the Alcaicería before the fire.

³¹ See L. Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas y el Corral del Carbón", *Al-Andalus*, 11, 1946, pp. 447-80.

³² The anomalous direction in which the body lies, with the feet pointing west instead of east, would seem to indicate that the door of the mosque lay that way. The inscription, which is obviously contemporary, reads in translation: "Here lies buried the magnificent knight Fernando de Pulgar, Lord of the Salar, who took possession of this Holy Church, this being a city of Moors. Her Majesty ordered he be given this burial place. He died [the] XI of August of [the] year MDXXXI." The slab is unusually narrow, almost like a Muslim grave.

³³ *Viaje*, p. 45.

³⁴ Malahá, from Arabic *milḥ* ("salt") is where the salt mines were.

³⁵ This weathercock was far from being the only specimen of figural representation in Granada. Apart from the well-known instances of the Fountain of the Lions and the two lions formerly in the Māristān, there was another weathervane atop a turret in the palace of Ḥabbūs in the Old Casbah. Made of bronze, it represented a knight on horseback, armed with a lance and bearing an inscription on his shield. "Weathercock", in Arabic, is *dik al-riḥ* ("cock of the wind"), and this provided the palace with the name by which it was popularly known, the Casa del Gallo (*Dār al-Dik*). Again, this figure was talismanic, going back to the days of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs and the foundation of the city. See Mármol, *apud* Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-52; al-'Umari, p. 229.

³⁶ This account of the mosque merely epitomises an excellent study by Torres Balbás, "La mezquita mayor de Granada", *Al-Andalus*, 10, 1945, pp. 409-32.

³⁷ *Viaje*, p. 42.

³⁸ The *madrasa* was one of the few bibliographical themes not essayed by Torres Balbás, but there is an extensive bibliography on the subject from the pen of Padre Darío Cabanellas. See his "Inscripción poética de la antigua madraza granadina", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 26/2, 1977, pp. 8-26; "La madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 24, 1988, pp. 29-54; and "La antigua madraza granadina y su ulterior destino en época cristiana", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Granada*, I, 1990, pp. 27-49. These were preceded by A. Almagro Cárdenas, "El mihrāb de la almadraza granadina recientemente descubierto", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 27, 1895, pp. 490-98. (In Spanish *mihrāb* is used as a synonym for "mosque".)

³⁹ Text in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris, 1931, p. 159.

⁴⁰ Julián Ribera y Tarragó, "Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana", in *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid, 1928, I, 181-228. See p. 227: "La conducta del ilustre cardinal Cisneros y de nuestros inquisidores no merece por mi parte ningún reproche, ni tiene ningún motivo para mi indignación." Three hundred medical MSS cynically spared the *auto da fe* were sent to Alcalá to enrich Ximénes's library there.

⁴¹ Rabaḍ al-Fakhkhārīn; Rabaḍ al-Ghurjī; Rabaḍ al-Ramlā; Rabaḍ al-Tawwābīn; Rabaḍ al-Bayyāzīn and Rabaḍ al-Akhsharāsh (I am counting Aitunjar, Arroḡan and Coreiyo (Castilian renderings of unknown Arabic originals) as component parts of the Akhsharish and Qauraja—the amplification of the Old Casbah—as part of the Casbah and therefore not a quarter at all).

⁴² Rauḍat al-Faḡīh Sa'd b. Malik; Maqbarat al-Ghurabā'; Maqābir al-'Assāl; Jabbānāt Bāb al-Fakhkhārīn; Rauḍat Numail; al-Qabra min al-Qaṣaba al-Qadīma; Qabrat al-Rauḍa min al-Bayyāzīn.

⁴³ L. Torres Balbás, "'Muṣallā' y 'ṣarī'a' en las ciudades hispanomusulmanas", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 167-80.

⁴⁴ *Viaje*, pp. 42, 45.

⁴⁵ "El alminar de la iglesia de San José", *Al-Andalus*, 6, 1941, pp. 435-38.

⁴⁶ *Viaje*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁴⁸ Reproduced in Torres Balbás, "El māristān de Granada", *Al-Andalus*, 9, 1944, pp. 481-98. A plan is given on p. 488.

⁴⁹ Text in Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-77.

⁵⁰ *Viaje*, pp. 38, 42. There is a discrepancy here. On p. 38 Münzer says the cemetery is twice as big as "all Nuremberg", but on p. 42 it is twice as big as the cemetery of Nuremberg. We have settled for the latter because the cemetery of Nuremberg, in which Dürer is buried, is very large, as befits a city of Nuremberg's importance at this time.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵² *Viaje*, p. 42.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42. On cemeteries see Carlos Vilchez Vilchez, *Cementerios hispanomusulmanes granadinos*, Granada, 1986.

⁵⁵ 1499 was the turning point in the fortunes of the Moriscos, for, with the arrival in Granada in that year of the queen's confessor, Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros, Muslims came under the loving care of the Inquisition. On 12 February, 1501, a pragmatic was issued ordering the expulsion from the former sultanate of all over the age of eleven who did not accept baptism. The assault on religion was followed by the assault on language. In 1525, Charles V forbade the use of Arabic names or even the wearing of jewellery containing Arabic writing (to prevent the wearing of *maṣāḥif*). The following year the same enlightened monarch closed all the baths. In 1567, speaking or writing Arabic became a penal offence: Arabs were given three years in which to learn Spanish. But in 1569, before the three years were up, a decree was passed, expelling the Moriscos from the former kingdom of Granada. The expulsions continued till 1571, but were not totally effective; even after further deportations in 1587, some 10,000 Moriscos were still living in Granada.

⁵⁶ *Viaje*, p. 38. By "main square" Münzer means the *Hauptmarkt*.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁵⁸ *Al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, Cairo, 1395/1975, III, 464.

⁵⁹ *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Madrid, 1820-21, part 4, ch. 22.

⁶⁰ *Guerra de Granada*, ed. Bernardo Blanco-González, Madrid, 1979, p. 99. Mendoza's estimate furnishes a basis for an approximate estimate of Granada's population. A conservative estimate of ten persons to a household yields a total population of 700,000, which has to be doubled, in view of Navagiero's remarks, to take in an extramural population equal in size to the intramural one. We do not know whether Mendoza included the Alhambra in his estimate. If he did not, then room has to be made for another 40,000, the figure at which Marineo Sículo puts the Alhambra's population. Münzer (*Viaje*, p. 46) says that Granada was probably the biggest city in Europe or Africa. To support so large a population the hinterland must either have been very large or very fertile; hence the importance of taking the rural context into account

when dealing with the urban economy, dependent as it was on the hinterland for food. With a population this size the scale of barter or exchange must have been enormous.

⁶¹ Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

⁶² Ruíz González Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Madrid, 1943, p. 206.

⁶³ Cf. L. Torres Balbás, "Los contornos de las ciudades hispanomusulmanas", *Al-Andalus*, 15, 1950, pp. 437-86.

⁶⁴ *Viaje*, p. 46.

⁶⁵ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁶⁶ *Viaje*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁶⁸ *The Moors in Spain*, London, 1893, p. 280.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

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“THE ORNAMENT OF THE WORLD” MEDIEVAL CÓRDOBA AS A CULTURAL CENTRE

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“The capital city of Córdoba, since the island of Andalus was conquered, has been the highest of the high, the furthest of the far, the place of the standard, the mother of towns; the abode of the good and godly, the homeland of wisdom, its beginning and its end; the heart of the land, the fount of science, the dome of Islam, the seat of the *imām*; the home of right reasoning, the garden of the fruits of ideas, of the earth and the banners of the age, the cavaliers of poetry and prose. Out of it have come pure compositions and exquisite compilations. And the reason for this, and for the distinction of its people before and since, as compared with others, is that the horizon encompasses none but the seekers and the searchers after all the various kinds of knowledge and refinement. Most of the people of the country are noble Arabs from the East who conquered it, lords of the troops of Syria and Iraq who settled there, so that their descendants remain in each district as a noble race. Hardly a town lacks a skilled writer, a compelling poet, who, had he praised it, the least would have been great.”

So wrote the anonymous author of the *Al-dhakhīra 'l-saniyya* from the vantage-point of North Africa in the later middle ages. It is the purpose of this chapter to trace how such an encomium could have been penned and to explore how far it can be justified in modern eyes. The story begins, of course, long before the Islamic period and lasts long after it; but these epochs will here be no more than the prelude and the postlude to the era of Córdoba's heyday under the Umayyad dynasty.

This city—whose originally Iberian name is preserved in Latin Corduba, Visigothic Kordhoba, Arabic Qurṭuba—was a Phoenician foundation, then becoming the Carthaginian Baetis, identified by some with the Biblical Tarshish. Situated in southern Spain (Andalusia, Arabic *al-Andalus*) on the northern bank of the River Guadalquivir (Ar. *al-wādī 'l-kabīr*, “the great river”) it is to this day the capital of the province of Córdoba. It was taken by the Roman general Marcellus in 152 B. C. and quickly colonised by Roman citizens; as Colonia Patricia it became the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. Under Augustus, when Córdoba was one of the judicial centres of Baetica province, were built the Via Augusta, which marked the north-south axis of the square *madīna*, and the great 16-arched bridge, whose span of 223 metres still survives, though with substantial Moorish alterations, notably those made by the city's Umayyad governor, al-Samḥ, in

102/721. The two Senecas, Hadrian and Trajan were all natives of Córdoba; so too was Bishop Hosius (ca. 255-358), a leading opponent of Arianism and president of the first Nicene council. In imperial times, then, Córdoba was a commercial and cultural centre of some importance.

In the following century it was a centre of the revolt against the Gothic ruler Agila, who reigned from 549 to 554—a prelude to brief Byzantine hegemony—and of the religious struggles between Arians and Catholics around 570. Then, in 571, Córdoba fell to Lewigild, King of the Visigoths, and under this dynasty it became an important administrative centre.

Its pre-Islamic history alone suggests that Córdoba owed its political importance to its favoured setting, and its subsequent history confirms this. To north and south the broad flat plain of Córdoba is bordered by mountain ranges, the Sierra Morena and the Sierra Nevada respectively; and the serpentine course of the Guadalquivir, which in antiquity was navigable right up to the city, makes the approaches to Córdoba still more readily defensible. Its agricultural hinterland produced wheat, olives and wine in abundance, with lead and other mines nearby.

The capture of the city in 92/711 by Mughith al-Rūmī, a manumitted slave, at the head of an Arab and Berber Muslim army, began a new chapter in its history. The lenient treatment accorded to the Christians on this occasion augured well for the future. That future was assured when between 98/716 and 101/719 al-Ḥurr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī, the fifth of twenty-three Umayyad governors of al-Andalus (their tenure of office averaged less than two years apiece), transferred the seat of government from Seville to Córdoba, one of the four major centres of early Arab immigration into the Iberian Peninsula. Al-Andalus—at least until the 4th/10th century—was racked by the tribal rivalries which the Arabs had imported from the Hijaz and Syria, and this disunity was very soon to have portentous consequences. The wholesale massacre of the Syrian Umayyad house by the Abbasids of Baghdad had failed to extirpate that family entirely, and a sole surviving Umayyad prince, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya, managed after many adventures to reach Spain. It took him five years—a solid tribute to a determination which he himself voiced: “I will not indulge in any distraction, be it of the sight or of the heart, until Spain is within my grasp.” Taking advantage of the endemic tribal disputes already mentioned, he overthrew Yūsuf al-Fihri, the last governor of al-Andalus but the longest in office, in 138/756, and made Córdoba the capital of his new emirate. It became known as “the navel of al-Andalus”.

He founded the Alcázar on the ruins of the Visigothic palace, perhaps hoping thereby to emphasise a continuity of secular authority. More significantly, in a decisive move which deliberately copied the actions of his Umayyad ancestors in Syria, he used half of the church of St. Vincent as a mosque, leaving the other half free for Christian use—an unmistakable

symbol of confessional tolerance. As in the case of the Great Mosque of Damascus, the Muslims eventually bought the Christians out (in 168/784), demolished the church (169/785) and then built their Great Mosque on its site (170/786). It is only fair to add, however, that the authenticity of this circumstantial account, with its suspicious parallelism to the early history of the Damascus mosque, rests on somewhat dubious evidence—a corrupt 7th/13th-century version of the 3rd/9th-century text of al-Rāzī. But there seems no reason to doubt that the mosque was indeed built on the site of a church.

In 170/786 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān extended the ramparts of the city (themselves of Roman foundation), which eventually comprised 132 towers and 13 gates, enlarged the Roman bridge, improved and fortified the city’s aqueduct and replaced the Visigothic administrative building by his own *dār al-imāra*. The tradition of major building works thus inaugurated was to characterise the entire dynasty, and it is notable that Córdoba profited quite disproportionately from this royal attention: gardens, bridges, baths, fountains, palaces and mosques proliferated in the years to come. Two miles outside the city he built himself a country villa—evocatively named Munyat al-Ruṣāfa after his caliphal grandfather’s favourite Syrian town—whose garden was stocked with Syrian plants, including exotic imports like peaches, pomegranates and (so legend asserts) the first palm tree in Spain, to which he composed a nostalgic ode:

In the midst of Ruṣāfa has appeared to us a palm-tree in a Western land far from the home of palm-trees. So I said, this resembles me, for I also live in distant exile and separated by a great distance from my children and family. Thou hast grown up in a foreign land and we are both exiled and far from home.

While ‘Abd al-Raḥmān followed Visigothic precedent in the division of al-Andalus into provinces, he made Córdoba the administrative, political, military, religious and cultural capital. Here too was the seat of the *qāḍī ‘l-quḍāt*, the supreme judge of Muslim Spain. The judges of Córdoba, such as Ibn Bashīr, were justly renowned—and for their wit and humanity, not only for their probity, as is shown by al-Khushanī’s 4th/10th-century *History of the Judges of Córdoba*. At that time, too, there was a kind of ombudsman—a special judge (*ṣāhib al-maẓālim*) to hear complaints against public officials. Thus in the course of his 32-year reign ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I consolidated the primacy of Córdoba in al-Andalus.

It was not long, however, before the internal tensions of the Muslim state exploded there. The southern suburb (*rabaḍ*) of the city—the ancient Secunda (Arabic *Shaqunda*)—had been settled by Christian converts to Islam, the so-called Muwallads, who were treated as inferior social and fiscal gradations among these believers, depending on whether their ancestors’ conversion to Islam had been voluntary or imposed. The pleasure-loving al-Ḥakam I (180/796–206/822) and his bodyguard—so foreign that they knew

no Arabic—became the targets for several violent revolts between 189/805 and 198/814 in which Berber theologians played a leading part, though the crippling taxes levied on the ruler's behalf by the detested commander of the guard, the Christian *comes* (Count) Rabi', proved the immediate trigger of the major insurrection, the so-called Battle of the Suburbs. This resulted in the total demolition of the quarter in 202/818—it subsequently became a necropolis—and the deportation of its people to Morocco, Egypt and eventually Crete, which they controlled for almost a century and a half. This same al-Ḥakam I is credited with wide-ranging innovations in the system of government which may explain some of the popular hostility towards him. As al-Maqqarī notes, he

was the first monarch of this family who surrounded his throne with a certain splendour and magnificence. He increased the number of *mamlūks* until they amounted to 5,000 horse and 1,000 foot ... he increased the number of his slaves, eunuchs and servants; had a bodyguard of cavalry always stationed at the gate of his palace and surrounded his person with a guard of *mamlūks* ... these *mamlūks* were called *al-khurs* owing to their all being Christians or foreigners. They occupied two large barracks, with stables for their horses.

Relations with the Christians were also strained at times. As Alvaro, the Bishop of Córdoba, remarked in about 235/850, his co-religionists preferred Muslim to Christian writings, "building up great libraries of them at enormous cost ... hardly one can write a passable Latin letter to a friend, but innumerable are those who can express themselves in Arabic and can compose poetry in that language with greater art than the Arabs themselves". A reaction was inevitable, though its form was unexpected. The Christians were only too well aware of the strict limits that controlled any aggression they might feel against Islam, and this in itself was frustrating. Psychological and social tension created a highly volatile situation. Inflamed by an ascetic priest named Eulogius, a small group of Christians—clergy and laity, male and female—who were linked by friendship or by family ties began to court the death penalty by reviling Islam in public. Although the Muslim authorities were manifestly unwilling to take extreme measures and offered reasonable compromises, the would-be martyrs left them no choice but to let the law take its course. 'Abd al-Rahmān II thereupon induced the reluctant Spanish bishops to convene a council which, in 237/852, condemned these fanatics and repudiated their claims to perform miracles or to be true martyrs, for their deaths were self-sought and their bodies suffered the normal process of decay. The movement ended with the execution of Eulogius himself in 245/859; it had claimed some fifty martyrs.

This *odium theologicum* was the catalyst for quite other resentments to do with discriminatory taxes, loss of privileges, the mocking of the clergy, the anxiety naturally felt by any religious minority under the rule of another faith, and the fear of losing culture and language (not just vernacular Latin

but the language of Roman literature) along with religion. But the influence of these Mozarabs (from Arabic *musta'rib*, "he who adopts Arabic language and custom") grew nonetheless. Many were committed to the alternative culture out of self-interest, for knowledge of Arabic could procure for them a career closed to those who spoke only Latin. Nevertheless, the Spanish dialect of Latin maintained itself from generation to generation, usually on the distaff side—for Muslim men frequently married Christian women. Bilingualism was therefore commonplace. In the wake of this sanguinary episode, quantities of monks left Córdoba and its surrounding areas to seek refuge in the Christian north. Many brought with them Islamic influences in architecture and in manuscript painting, as witnessed by many northern churches and by the Beatus codices. The attempt to create a church absolutely opposed to the Muslim government rather than co-existing peacefully with it had failed.

The 3rd/9th century as a whole saw a steady decline in the power of the Umayyad Emirate, with the secession of most of the areas conquered by 'Abd al-Rahmān I. Muwallads, Mozarabs and Berbers were prominent in these revolts, which resulted in the Emirate contracting to the immediate neighbourhood of Córdoba itself by 300/912. Nevertheless, the 3rd/9th century also laid the foundations for Córdoba's golden age. It saw the establishment of a mint and a *ṭirāz* factory for the manufacture of fine textiles, the rebuilding of the Alcázar, and near-doubling of the state revenues to a million *dīnārs*. Ambassadors were also exchanged with Constantinople, a sure sign of the growing prestige of the Emirate. Political changes were under way too, as evidenced by the influential figure of the chief eunuch Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr, whom Eulogius described as "the proconsul of the keys, who at the time administered the whole of Hispania"—a clear sign that the harem system of the eastern Islamic world was fully established by the early 3rd/9th century. The power of the eunuchs flourished mightily in the following century. Lavish royal patronage was extended to artists, philosophers and scientists. One of these, 'Abbās b. Firnās, invented a metronome, discovered how to make glass (or crystal?) and fashioned a celestial globe which he could at will make clear or cloudy. He also constructed a flying machine made of feathers attached to light frames, though when he used it he came rather painfully to grief.

Similar consolidation was effected in the religious and social spheres. A disciple of Mālik b. Anas, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, established the Mālīkī legal rite which henceforth dominated al-Andalus; he exerted much influence on 'Abd al-Rahmān II, which may explain the satirical verses aimed at him by the poet and diplomat al-Bakrī:

Why is it that one only finds rich *faqīhs*?

I should like to know from where their wealth proceeds.

An equally central figure of the age, though in much lighter vein, was another royal favourite, the celebrated Ziryāb, a poet and singer from Baghdad who became the arbiter of fashion in Córdoba, dictating what and how people should wear, eat and declaim. He introduced, for example, the custom of changing fashions according to the seasons, and created a vogue for brightly coloured clothes. To the four strings of the conventional lute, each dyed a different colour to symbolise the Aristotelian humours, he added a fifth denoting the soul. His repertoire included more than 10,000 different songs, and these were no doubt a vehicle for orientalising the Andalusī music not only of his time but also thereafter. He introduced toothpaste, under-arm deodorants and new short hairstyles leaving the neck, ears and eyebrows free. He revolutionised the local cuisine, not merely by bringing in unfamiliar fruit and vegetables (such as asparagus) but by insisting, for example, that meals should be served in separate courses, including soup and desserts, and that crystal was a more appropriate container for choice beverages than heavy goblets of precious metal. More important than any of these novelties, however, was what they implied. Córdoba was at the furthest extreme of the Islamic world and at least some of its people were well aware of the consequent danger of provincialism. Only in the cultural and intellectual spheres was it possible to enter into dialogue with the Abbasid east. Hence the constant stream of Spanish Muslims who travelled to Arabia, Syria and Iraq to further their education; hence too the critics of the Islamic east who termed poets of al-Andalus like Ibn Hānī' and Ibn Zaydūn the Buḥturis and Mutannabis of the West.

The long reign (300/912-350/961) of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III witnessed the apogee of Córdoba. Under this energetic and dazzlingly successful monarch, who symbolically took the title of caliph in 316/929, the territorial expansion and cultural achievement of Spanish Islam reached its zenith. One by one almost all the lands conquered by his great ancestor and namesake were recovered. His fleet was probably the largest in the contemporary world. Every year in May, to the accompaniment of a splendid military parade, expeditions were launched northwards from the city, ostensibly to prosecute *jihād* and to ensure the safety of the frontiers—but also to amass booty and to show the flag in the potentially rebellious provinces to the north. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that not even under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III did the Muslims recover control of the entire Iberian Peninsula—a factor which, even though it can be explained (perhaps by their preference for a frontier south of the Pyrenees or their orientation towards North Africa and the Mediterranean world), should put into perspective the sometimes exaggerated claims made for the political power of the Cordoban Caliphate.

Conversely, it is worth noting that in the year 340/951 the Caliph is said to have possessed a treasury of twenty million gold pieces, which made him (with the Ḥamdanid Naṣr al-Dawla in Mesopotamia and Syria) the richest

Muslim prince of his time. He was able to amass such wealth by his habit of saving one-third of his annual revenues (which themselves totalled 6,250,000 gold pieces); another third was set aside for ordinary expenses while the remaining third was dedicated to building projects. The latter detail helps to explain why, for Arab chroniclers, Córdoba was "the bride of al-Andalus", and why even the contemporary Saxon nun Hroswitha called it "the ornament of the world". Seven centuries later the Maghribi historian al-Maqqarī could write of this period: "... in four things Córdoba surpasses the capitals of the world. Among them are the bridge over the river and the mosque. These are the first two; the third is Madīnat al-Zahrā'; but the greatest of all things is knowledge—and that is the fourth." And yet the architect of this achievement, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, could reflect sombrely at the end of his life that he had known only fourteen days of freedom from care.

The city was remarkably clean by medieval standards. Ibn Sa'īd, a 7th/13th-century historian who knew Córdoba especially well, notes that "Spanish Muslims are the cleanest people on the earth in respect of their person, dress, beds and in the interior of their houses". The streets were well paved and lighted, the lights being attached to the outer doors and corners of the houses—which, as al-Muqaddasī notes, had tiled roofs. Córdoba was abundantly supplied with running water, for the supply of which 'Abd al-Rahmān I had constructed an aqueduct. The city was huge, which in itself is notable, since before the Muslim conquest the principal Iberian city had been Toledo. According to al-Bakrī and al-Ḥimyarī, the megapolis of Córdoba:

consists of five adjoining cities; each possesses a rampart which separates it from its neighbours. Each of these cities contains in sufficient number bazaars, warehouses and inns, public baths and all sorts of industrial establishments. From west to east it is three leagues in length; its breadth . . . is a league.

Yet according to Ibn Sa'īd there were 21 unwalled suburbs outside the inner walled city. The absence of precise chronological indications in some of these descriptions may mean that they are less contradictory than any at first appear. In its early development, Córdoba's three sectors comprised an upper town and a lower town (Ajarquía) on the right bank of the river, enclosed by a single wall of Roman foundation but divided by a further wall; and the area south of the river. But the 4th/10th century saw spectacular growth, especially in the reigns of al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II. At that time the *madīna* had seven gates; beyond them stretched in all directions the 21 quarters noted by Ibn Sa'īd. This extra-mural area was known collectively as "The Suburb" (*al-rabad*) and it was sub-divided into nine quarters to the west, seven to the east, three to the north and two beyond the river to the south. To the south-west of the city extended the gardens of the palace, accessible directly from the royal quarters by a gate in the city wall. At the southern extremity of the gardens lay the riparian port. Bordering the palatial precinct to the north was the Jewish quarter; directly to the east of the palace

but separated from it by the city's major arterial road (*al-maḥajja al-ʿuẓmā*) was the Great Mosque with (says Ibn Ḥawqal) the prison nearby. The close proximity of the royal palace and the Great Mosque followed standard Islamic practice. Just east of the mosque were the *sūqs* and the *qaysariyya*, or lock-up market. Cemeteries reached its furthest point to the north-west and south-east at Madīnat al-Zahrā' and al-Madīna al-Zāhira respectively; these palace cities themselves became the focus for new urban entities, much in the same way as had already occurred at Qayrawān. In fact, as Ibn Khaldūn notes, Córdoba comprised not one but several towns. The most splendid mansions were those built along the road out to Madīnat al-Zahrā'. A chance anecdote recounted by Ibn Ḥazm indicates that the houses of some aristocrats included belvederes with carefully calculated panoramic views of Córdoba; they comprised a series of bays with latticed openings, each so placed that it gave a different view from the next. The *mirador* of Daraxa at the Alhambra is a later echo of such refinements.

Al-Maqqarī's oft-quoted figures on the buildings of Córdoba at this time are apt to mislead by their apparent precision, especially as some modern demographic studies suggest (though perhaps with extreme and counter-productive rigour) that they might even exaggerate tenfold. Nevertheless, they clearly establish the image of Córdoba that lingered in the Islamic world: 1600 mosques (or, according to another version, 417); 900 baths; 213,077 homes for ordinary people; 60,300 mansions for notables, officials and military commanders; and 80,455 shops. These buildings, we are invited to believe, were scattered throughout a conurbation measuring up to 24 by 6 miles and containing a million people. At the very least one may conclude from the frequent extensions of the Great Mosque that the population of the city was growing by leaps and bounds throughout the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. To this day there survive only two medieval mosques in the entire Islamic world which are larger than that of Córdoba—those of Samarra and Rabat. Both were built as it were speculatively, with an estimated future capacity in mind, rather than as a response (as at Córdoba) to actual population pressure. Thus Lombard's guess that this points to a population of some 300,000 may not be far off the mark. Córdoba would thus have been far bigger than Paris, which at that time was easily the largest city in Latin Europe. An intensively cultivated hinterland, its fertility assured by elaborate systems of irrigation involving water-mills and water-wheels (*nāʿūras*)—a technique imported from Syria—sustained this population. The celebrated calendar of the diplomat Reccimund, drawn up in 350/961, lists in minute detail the growth of the various crops and the rearing of livestock from one month to the next and offers invaluable insight into the remarkable achievements of al-Andalus in this respect.

Already in the 5th/11th century the contrast between the present and the past was inspiring much elegiac reflection of the *ubi sunt?* variety, as in the

famous lament of Ibn Ḥazm. Similarly, al-Idrīsī calls Córdoba "the most beautiful jewel of al-Andalus" before noting, gloomily, its catastrophic fall. A strong vein of self-reproach may be detected in such musings. Only when it was too late did Muslims become fully aware of what they had carelessly ruined through faction and anarchy. To that extent they tended to contemplate the earlier heyday of the city as a symbol of paradise lost and thus to exaggerate its magnificence. But even when the necessary discount has been applied, it is still plain enough that Córdoba was without peer in the Islamic world west of Egypt.

Caliphal Córdoba was above all an intellectual centre, as symbolised by its seventy libraries. Education was thus a clear priority. Al-Ḥakam II, himself a respected historian, invited professors from the eastern Islamic world to teach at the Great Mosque and provided endowments for their salaries. He also built twenty-seven free schools and had in the Alcázar a library of 400,000 volumes whose catalogue itself ran to 44 registers of 50 (some other accounts say 20) leaves apiece. These figures were transmitted to Ibn Ḥazm by the eunuch Bakiya, who at that time was in charge of the library. Recent research by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ekrish has brought to light further information which helps to corroborate these figures; for instance, that the library (somewhat like the Great Mosque) was constantly outgrowing its accommodation, so that its premises had to be moved no less than five times; that on one of these moves it took five days to transport the books of poetry alone; and that, far from being the personal collection of al-Ḥakam alone, it was in fact an amalgamation of the private libraries of his immediate family—father, brothers and sons—and was thus in the fullest sense a royal library; indeed, some of its books had been in the possession of the royal family for much longer. Although it was apparently not open to the public, its fame was general; centuries later al-Qalqashandī ranks it alongside the libraries of the Abbasids in Baghdad and that of the Fāṭimids in Cairo as one of the three great libraries in the Islamic world. Some of these books al-Ḥakam annotated in his own hand, which made them especially prized by later generations. He was not alone in his bibliomania, either in the Muslim world at large (astonishing tales were current of libraries in Baghdad, and al-Ḥakam's contemporary, the Fāṭimid caliph al-'Azīz, had—according to al-Maqrīzī—a library in excess of a million volumes) or in Córdoba itself. According to Ibn Sa'īd:

Córdoba held more books than any other city in al-Andalus, and its inhabitants were the most enthusiastic in caring for their libraries; such collections were regarded as symbols of status and social leadership. Men who had no knowledge whatsoever would make it their business to have a library in their homes; they would be selective in their acquisitions, so that they might boast of possessing unica, or copies in the handwriting of a particular calligrapher.

Ibn Fuṭays, who served as vizier and *qāḍī* to al-Ḥakam II, decorated his library entirely in green and employed six full-time scribes. He made it an

iron rule not to lend his books, but would make presents of copies executed on request in this private scriptorium. Eventually his grandson disposed of this library for 40,000 *dinārs*. By no means all book-buyers in this period, however, were serious scholars. Ibn Saʿīd tells a heart-rending tale of how an indigent scholar, after long searching, finally lighted on a book he needed, only to see an elegantly attired gentleman outbid him. The scholar, addressing his rival as "doctor", perhaps in the hope of persuading him to part with the book, was dismayed to hear him say: "I'm no doctor ... but etiquette demands that I form a library and I have just the space on my shelves for such a book so beautifully bound and written." The thwarted scholar replied in disgust: "Yes, it's people like you who have the money. The proverb is true enough: 'God gives nuts to people without teeth.' And I who need the book for its contents am too poor to afford it." To put such stories in context, it is well to remember that the contemporary monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland had one of Northern Europe's major libraries with perhaps 600 books. The use of paper (and cheap paper at that) instead of vellum in al-Andalus contributed to this astonishing disparity, though in fact vellum continued in use longer there than elsewhere in the major centres of Muslim culture. The expertise cultivated at Córdoba in the arts of the book took some strange byways, if one may judge from a passage in *The Unique Necklace* by the Cordoban Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi:

As to the concealing of secrets in writings, so that none other may read them than those for whom they are written, there are methods for this that one must know... The finest of these consists in your taking fresh milk and writing with it on papyrus; and he to whom it is written shall sprinkle hot ashes of papyrus upon it, whereafter that which you have written will become visible, if God wills. And if you wish, you may use white water of vitriol, and when he to whom you have written shall have it on hand, he shall put vitriol powder over it. And if you desire that the writing shall not be read during the day but shall be read at night, then write it with gall of the turtle.

At least an equally significant factor in the spread of literacy were the Islamic schools which employed scores of female copyists; such schools were the medieval equivalent of publishing houses. Nor was this exceptional; the poet Ibn Ḥazm wrote: "women taught me the Quran, they recited to me much poetry, they trained me in calligraphy." Apart from the women who earned a living as copyists in the book market of Córdoba (and the size of that market can be imagined from the report that there were 70 copyists at work in it who specialised exclusively in transcribing Qurans), other women who were more highly educated worked as secretaries (one, Labbāna, for example, who worked both for the ruler himself and for Ṭālib, at one time the royal librarian), as teachers and as librarians (like a certain Fāṭima, who was in charge of acquisitions in the royal library and travelled widely in that capacity; and her colleague Layla); yet others practised medicine and law. Some, like the princesses Wallāda bint al-Mustakfi and 'Ā'isha, were famous for

their poetry. Indeed, the pages of Ibn Ḥazm's *The Collar of the Dove*, which focuses alike on the art of love and on social *mores*, repeatedly reveal the greater degree of latitude allowed to women in Córdoba vis-à-vis the Muslim norm elsewhere. An independent confirmation of this can be found in the 7th/13th-century illustrations of the courtly romance *Bayāḍ wa riyāḍ*, which include a scene of a youth playing the lute amidst a bevy of unveiled beauties. Yet for all this apparent liberty, the lot of women was unenviable. The 6th/12th-century Cordoban philosopher Ibn Rushd analysed the problem with remarkable objectivity:

Our society allows no scope for the development of women's talents. They seem to be destined exclusively to childbirth and the care of children, and this state of servility has destroyed their capacity for larger matters. It is thus that we see no women endowed with moral virtues; they live their lives like vegetables, devoting themselves to their husbands. From this stems the misery that pervades our cities, for women outnumber men by more than double and cannot procure the necessities of life by their own labours.

Córdoba now disputed with Baghdad the intellectual leadership of the Islamic world. Its mosque was famed as a centre for higher learning on a par with Cairo and Baghdad and was the earliest medieval university in Europe. Here thousands of students at a time were taught not only the orthodox Islamic sciences such as *tafsīr*, *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* but, as a casual anecdote of Ibn Ḥazm reveals, even Arabic proverbs and Jāhiliyya poetry. Cordoban scholars continued the work of the Bait al-Ḥikma, the Abbasid translation institute, and thereby brought (often at several removes) Greek and Oriental learning to the West, a practice continued under Christian rule in a similar institute in Toledo. Major contributions were made in music, philology, geography, history (especially al-Ta'rikhī, who wrote a lost description of Córdoba, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī), alchemy, chemistry, medicine (the great surgeon known to medieval Europe as Abulcasis was one Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī of Córdoba), astronomy (the first surviving dated astrolabe from the Islamic world was made in Córdoba), philosophy, botany and mathematics. Even so, a sternly orthodox government curbed free speculation, especially in Mu'tazilī and Sufi studies, occasionally burning books on "logic, astronomy and other sciences cultivated by the Greeks" and banishing those who worked in such fields. Particularly thoroughgoing was the book purge instituted in the late 4th/10th century by the ostentatiously pious regent al-Manṣūr (who was known to have transcribed the Quran in his own hand and to have taken that copy on campaign with him). In his campaign against such secular works from the royal library he was aided by local theologians; his motive, according to Ibn Sa'īd, was "to ingratiate himself with the people of al-Andalus and to discredit in their eyes the principles followed by al-Ḥakam". In this atmosphere of narrow-minded orthodoxy it is not surprising that Ibn Sa'īd should note how "the majority of those then engaged in the

study of philosophy lost their ardour, and kept secret what they knew of these sciences". Appropriately enough, the expertise of Cordoban scholars in *tafsīr* and *fiqh* was renowned—for Córdoba was conservative even to its calligraphy, and its Great Mosque contained four leaves of the Quran of 'Uthmān, stained with his blood. The extraordinary significance of this mosque in Muslim eyes may be judged from the fact that almost three-quarters of al-Ḥimyarī's account of the city is devoted to that building. Obviously it functioned *inter alia* as a symbol. According to one Muslim source, some of its lamps were fashioned from the bells brought back as booty from the great pilgrimage church of St. James of Compostela in Northern Spain, while that church's doors were re-used in the mosque. Another account notes, however, that the bells were carried back to Santiago by Moorish prisoners after the fall of Córdoba. Such symbols of domination were frequent; in much the same spirit, Alfonso VI of Castile placed his throne on the tomb of al-Manṣūr when receiving an embassy from the Moors of Saragossa.

The arts and crafts flourished apace. The city boasted some 13,000 weavers, and its woollens, silks and brocades were famous. So too was its craftsmanship in embossed goat-leather, memorialised in the English words "Cordoban" and "cordwainer". The production of iron and lead, and of gold and silver filigree, often inlaid in the manner of Damascus, was a specialty; indeed, Cordoban gold and silver were acceptable currency in Northern Europe. To this day the names of certain streets in Córdoba perpetuate the memory of the trades and crafts practised there in Muslim times—streets named after booksellers, shoemakers, weavers and butchers. Jewellery and ivory carving were widely exported and the process of manufacturing crystal was discovered here. The Christian reconquest depressed most of these industries.

The role of non-Muslims in this cultural flowering was crucial, especially as Arabs, Christians and Jews alike were bilingual in Arabic and the local Hispano-Latin dialect. Cordoban poets like Ibn Ḥazm developed forms unknown to the Muslim east which, according to some scholars, strongly influenced the poetry of the troubadours, notably in their emphasis on romantic love; the delight in the beauties of nature is also a distinctive feature of the school. Other Christians served as administrators (occasionally reaching high office), financiers, physicians, artists and master-craftsmen. The Christians were at first allowed to retain their churches, complete with statues of the saints; and the clergy were permitted publicly to wear their ecclesiastical vestments, burn incense and chant funeral dirges. The city had many churches as well as three monasteries. At times, it is true, Christians were forbidden to ring bells, and the Muslim authorities did sparingly exercise their right to control the appointment of church officials. But in the early centuries of Muslim rule the general level of tolerance was remarkably high. Christians had their own schools and libraries. But the increasing pressure of the *reconquista*

eroded Muslim tolerance, so that under the later Umayyads Latin was banned and Christian children had to attend Arabic schools. The Mozarabic community, segregated like its Jewish counterpart in its own section of the city, consisted principally of shopkeepers, clerks and craftsmen. In the countryside the Mozarabs (again like the Jews) were sharecroppers or serfs. This Christian community had its own *qādī*, presumably administering Visigothic law, and was organised under its *comes*, the community spokesman in dealings with the government. In 359/970 the *comes* was Mu'āwiya b. Lope, while the Bishop of Córdoba was 'Īsā b. Maṣṣūr and the foremost Christian, whom 'Abd al-Raḥmān III sent as ambassador to Otto I of Germany and later to Byzantium and Syria to obtain *objets d'art* for the embellishment of Madīnat al-Zahrā', was one Rabī' b. Zayd, baptised Reccimund; he was later rewarded with the bishopric of Granada. Such names speak for themselves.

But Córdoba was also the centre of a brilliant Jewish culture epitomised by Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, a scholar and physician serving 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam, who attracted numerous Jewish intellectual, poets and philosophers to the city. He carried out diplomatic missions on behalf of the Caliphate to Ordoño IV of León and Queen Toda of Navarre, whose grandson Sancho he cured of fatness, and even wrote a letter (still extant) to his co-religionists, the Khazars of Central Asia, telling them about al-Andalus. He also superintended translation activities. When a sumptuous Greek version of the *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, was sent to the Caliph in 337/949 as a gift from the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus of Byzantium, it proved to be something of a white elephant—for clearly nobody in Córdoba knew enough Greek to translate this precious manuscript. Accordingly, two years later the Byzantine emperor had to send a monk, one Nicholas, whose knowledge of Latin enabled Ḥasday b. Shaprūt to ensure that the imperial gift could be put to use. This anecdote offers a useful corrective to the high-flown claims made for the international culture of Córdoba at this time. Talmudic studies, too, revived under Rabbi Moses and his son Rabbi Hanokh, to the extent that they surpassed the standing of the Mesopotamian schools, while Hebrew poetry was cultivated by such men as the rival scholars Dunāsh b. Labrat and Menachem b. Saruk. A certain Joseph b. Shatnash, a pupil of Rabbi Moses, even interpreted the Talmud in Arabic for the Caliph. That same caliph sent another doctor, Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, to Europe on a diplomatic mission in the course of which he was received by the Emperor Otto I. Jewish merchants dominated the trade in luxury goods and slaves, with the help of the Vikings as purveyors of that commodity. A new synagogue was also founded at Córdoba at this time, even though the Christians were not allowed to erect churches. On the other hand, there is some evidence that these two minority faiths were brought nearer together by their intimate co-existence under Islamic rule; for

instance, a surviving letter of 147/764 rebukes Christians who wished to fast with Jews on the Day of Atonement.

For all its multi-racial quality, however, this society was still quintessentially Islamic in its governing institutions. Supreme power was vested in the caliph, who—very much on the Abbasid model—became an increasingly remote figure hedged about by protocol and ceremony. In the earlier stages of the dynasty a council of four viziers, responsible for finance, military affairs, justice and foreign policy, had advised him, with secretariats below this level to deal with chancery matters and the affairs of the non-Islamic faiths. But in the later Umayyad period the division of power might rather favour the *hājib* or chamberlain, effectively the caliph's first vizier, who from his base at Córdoba's Alcázar supervised the various *dīwāns*, including that for the royal household; and the *qādī al-jamā'a*, whose authority extended over justice, the running of the markets and the police. Already in the 3rd/9th century, to judge by the remarks of Ibn al-Qūṭayba, dynasties of bureaucrats were becoming known. Perhaps the most considered assessment of the political workings of the Umayyad Caliphate in Córdoba comes from the pen of the historian Ibn Ḥayyān:

It is generally known that the strength and solidity of their empire consisted principally in the policy pursued by these princes, the magnificence and splendour with which they surrounded their court, the reverential awe which they inspired in their subjects, the inexorable rigour with which they chastised every aggression on their rights, the impartiality of their judgments, their anxious solicitude in the observance of the civil law, their regard and attention to the learned, whose opinions they respected and followed, calling them to their sittings and to their councils, and many other brilliant qualities.

The society over which the caliph presided was rigidly stratified in a descending hierarchy of Arabs; Muwallads; Mozarabs; Christians, Jews and Berbers; and finally the slaves on whom the entire economy depended. The ethnic diversity of this social structure was epitomised by the ruling class itself, in whom the original Syrian strain had become progressively weaker as a result of constant intermarriage. As Ibn Ḥazm says:

All the caliphs of the Banū Marwān ... were without variation or exception disposed by nature to prefer blondes ... every one of them has been fair-haired, taking after their mothers, so that this has become a hereditary trait with them ... all had fair hair and blue eyes.

As for the Muwallads, the descendants of local converts, it was perhaps they above all who imparted that distinctive character to Andalusī civilisation which in medieval terms approximated to a sense of nationhood. Some of their importance in Moorish society can be inferred from the frequency of the ending *-ūn*, which denoted Muwallad descent, and is encountered in such names as the poets Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn 'Abdūn and Ibn Badrūn, the insurrectionist Ibn Ḥafṣūn and even the later medieval Maghribi historian Ibn Khaldūn.

The golden prime of Córdoba was somehow encapsulated in Madinat al-Zahrā', a palace city just outside Córdoba named after the favourite wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and founded in 324/936. Its open-plan palaces, 4313 marble columns (taken from classical buildings as far afield as Carthage and Sfax in modern Tunisia), automata like roaring lions, singing birds, levitating thrones and the like, quicksilver ponds (their mercury probably supplied from the cinnabar mines of Almaden north of Córdoba), translucent alabaster windows, bejewelled doors, marble Roman Venus, spacious gardens and matchless views were justly celebrated. The *qāḍī* al-Ballūṭī even had to censure the Caliph for covering a roof of the palace with silver and gold and thus succumbing to a temptation from the Devil. The whiteness of its buildings set off by the surrounding gardens led an Arab poet to call it "a concubine in the arms of a black eunuch". The political function of these splendours is clearly brought out by Ibn al-'Arabī when he describes the visit of a Christian embassy. The Caliph

had mats unrolled from the gates of Córdoba to the entrance of Madinat al-Zahrā', a distance of three miles, and stationed a double rank of soldiers along the route, their naked swords, both broad and long, meeting at the tips like the rafters of a roof. On the Caliph's orders the ambassadors progressed between the ranks as under a roofed passage. The fear that this inspired was indescribable. And thus they reached the gate of Madinat al-Zahrā'. From here to the palace where they were to be received, the Caliph had the ground covered with brocades. At regular intervals he placed dignitaries whom they took for kings, for they were seated on splendid couches and arrayed in brocades and silk. Each time the ambassadors saw one of these dignitaries they prostrated themselves before him, imagining him to be the Caliph, whereupon they were told, "Raise your heads! This is but a slave of his slaves!" At last they entered a courtyard strewn with sand. At the centre was the Caliph. His clothes were coarse and short: what he was wearing was worth no more than four *dirhams*. He was seated on the ground, his head bent; in front of him was a Quran, a sword and fire. "Behold the ruler", the ambassadors were told ...

One may compare with this the account by Ibn Ḥayyān of the supplicatory visit made to al-Ḥakam II by Ordoño IV, "The Bad", of Navarre. The later caliph clearly had no taste for the calculated understatement practised by his predecessor. Ordoño, having prostrated himself before the Caliph and proffered his petition:

rose to retire, walking backwards so as not to turn his face from the Caliph ... he plainly exhibited on his countenance the reverential awe with which he had been struck, and his utter astonishment at the magnificence and splendour displayed before him as indicative of the power and strength of the Caliphate. In passing through the hall, the eyes of Ordoño fell on the vacant throne of the Commander of the Faithful; unable to repress his feelings, he advanced slowly towards it, and having prostrated himself before it, remained for some time in that humble position, as if the Caliph were sitting on it.

To a medieval Christian the primary associations of an empty royal throne were with the prepared throne—the *hetoimasia* of the Book of Revelation

—ready to receive the majesty of Christ on the Last Day, and this would have added an incalculable charge of meaning to the king's gesture—though whether Ibn Ḥayyān realised this, or indeed whether Ordoño, in the heightened atmosphere of the moment, was fully aware of the implications of his apparently involuntary action, remains unclear.

For all the carefully orchestrated magnificence described in the literary sources, modern excavations suggest that these sources exaggerate in stating that a court of 25,000 lived and worked here. Nevertheless, the fact that a merchant wishing to do business there had to pay an introductory tax of 400 *dirhams* suggests the existence of a thriving commercial quarter. In 369/978 the usurper Ibn Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr built a similar city al-Madīna al-Zāhira—south-east of Córdoba; this, like Madīnat al-Zahrā', was destroyed during the sack of Córdoba in the Berber revolt of 403/1013. The simultaneous and still enigmatic decline of the 'Āmirid family and the Umayyad dynasty had precipitated this. The court mercenaries, mainly Ṣaḡālība (literally "Slavs" but in fact mainly Italians), the populace of Córdoba and the Berbers all had their candidates for the Caliphate and the brief reign of Hishām III (418/1027–422/1031) (who was preceded by no fewer than eight caliphs, five of them boasting Umayyad lineage) failed to wrest order from chaos. With his death the Umayyad Caliphate was extinguished and by degrees Muslim Spain broke into a mosaic of at least 23 separate principalities. Córdoba itself never recovered from the trauma of these conflicts. As Ibn 'Idhārī laments in his work *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*:

Weep for the splendour of Córdoba, for disaster has overtaken her;
Fortune made her a creditor and demanded payment for the debt.
She was at the height of her beauty; life was gracious and sweet
Until all was overthrown and today no two people are happy in her streets.
Then bid her goodbye, and let her go in peace since depart she must.

Córdoba now became a republic under the presidency of three successive nobles of the Jahwarid family, but in 462/1070 it passed to the 'Abbāids of Seville and thence to the Almoravids in 484/1091. They in turn yielded Córdoba to the even more repressive and puritanical Almohad regime in 567/1172. These turbulent 150 years, dominated by party strife and the growing momentum of the Christian *reconquista*, robbed Córdoba of its military and political importance but nevertheless produced some of the city's greatest scholars, such as the philosopher and physician Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (520/1126–595/1198), internationally famed for his commentaries on Aristotle and his creation of a rationalist movement, yet also twice appointed to serve as *qāḍī* of his home town. Such intellectuals tended to move in the orbit of the court, and often cultivated the two most profitable studies: astrology and medicine. Their learning made them members of an exclusive club and allowed them sometimes to rise to high offices of state such as vizier; this was especially the case with the Jews. Although the Almohads forcibly converted the Jews and thereby eradicated the Cordoban

Jewish community for a time, that community had shortly before included the greatest of Spanish Jews, Moses Maimonides (530-1/1135-601-2/1204), a Renaissance man before his time: rabbi, physician to Saladin, philosopher and diplomat. The Christian monarchs of Spain, such as Alfonso the Wise and the kings of Aragon, extended generous patronage to other members of the Jewish intellectual élite in such fields as astronomy and cartography.

When the last Almohad caliph died in 620/1223 Córdoba fell victim to party strife once more and was taken by Ferdinand III of León and Castile in 633/1236. The Muslims never controlled it again; indeed, Córdoba now served as the principal military base in the war against Granada. Many Castilian noble and military families settled there and it became an episcopal see. But its prosperity declined, partly because its all-important textile industry was cut off from its source of raw material—the silk farms of Granada. A new Alcázar was built by Alfonso XI of Castile in 1328, and various churches followed. Even so, the Christians did not at once eradicate the traces of Córdoba's Muslim past, contenting themselves with turning the Great Mosque into the city's cathedral and building chapels within it.

Atypically enough, the Jewish community for a time fared better than it had done under recent Muslim rule, but in 1250 a papal directive was aimed at their lavish new synagogue, and in 1254 Alfonso X introduced new restrictions. The surviving medieval synagogue was built in 1315 by Isaac Moheb b. Ephraim in Mudejar style and bears inscriptions from the Psalms. Cordoban Jewry specialised in making and marketing textiles; its wealth may be gauged from the annual tax of 38,000 maravedis it paid in 1294, a tax psychologically compounded by a symbolic payment of 30 denarii exacted by the church. Most of the community was massacred in the riots of 1391 and like the rest of the city it suffered grievously from the plague in this period. Right up to the end of the 14th century approximately, Cordoban Jews spoke Arabic. Forcible conversions were the rule in the 15th century and even after all Jews had been ordered out of al-Andalus in 1483 the poor remnant in Córdoba still had to pay two years later a special levy for the war against Granada, which was prosecuted from their city. The main Jewish quarter was situated near the Alcázar in the south-west of the city, and a further quarter seems to have been sited in the north, near the Jewish gate (Bāb al-Yahūd), which stood until 1903. At the present day the medieval Judería comprises some 100 small informal patios strung out along minor streets and fronted on three sides by double-storeyed courtyard houses, whitewashed, balconied and festooned with flowers. It is a curiously low-key echo of the splendours of Muslim Córdoba and it is not without irony that the most substantial link with that past should be the habitations not of the two masters that the city has had for the last 1500 years, but rather of a group underprivileged in both régimes.

Appendix: The Great Mosque of Córdoba

By great good fortune, the city of Córdoba has salvaged one relic of its golden prime, and that the most important of all—its Great Mosque, widely held in medieval times to be one of the four wonders of the Muslim world. To a quite remarkable degree it encapsulates the history and aspirations of al-Andalus, and for this reason it was entirely fitting that it was to become the single key influence in the architecture of Western Islam.

The history of the mosque is extraordinarily well documented both in its very fabric and in the literary sources. Put briefly, it comprises a sequence of major expansions and alterations which accurately mirror the rising and declining fortunes of Muslim Spain. Traditionally, scholarship has tended to focus on the details of these successive transformations to the detriment of what they imply. For that reason the present account will deal more with these implications than with the building campaigns themselves. The political and symbolic aspects of the mosque will take pride of place here.

A tradition recorded only in much later sources and therefore, perhaps, intrinsically suspect, avers that the city's first Friday Mosque was built on the site of the Church of S. Vicente, itself erected over a Roman temple. According to this account, the first Umayyad ruler of Spain, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, bought the church in full legal fashion from the local Christian community and then demolished it, building the Great Mosque on its site. The parallel with the much better documented tactic adopted by his ancestor al-Walid I when he was planning the Great Mosque of Damascus is arresting, and—if reliable—speaks volumes about the well-nigh obsessive dependence on the heritage of Syria which characterised Muslim Spain for centuries, and incidentally rendered its art forms increasingly archaic. Indeed, even if the report about the church of S. Vicente is without factual basis, it still has evidential value as a testimony to that dependence.

One further aspect of this earliest mosque—"Córdoba I"—lies concealed, as it were, in its date of construction. Why, it might be asked, did 'Abd al-Raḥmān wait some thirty years before building a custom-made mosque for his capital? The answer may lie in the memorable ambition attributed to "the falcon of the Quraysh" not to let anything distract him from attaining control of Spain. In other words, he waited until his position was firmly established before undertaking this decisive and very public step. By that reckoning, then, the building of the mosque would acquire a certain symbolic value, a ceremonious statement in stone that his dynasty had come to stay. His use of *spolia*, with their obvious connotations of victory, lends itself to a similar interpretation. And of course, in Córdoba, located as it was on the very outskirts of the Islamic empire, a monumental mosque counted for much more in a symbolic sense than it would have done in the Islamic heartlands. There must of course have been some kind of Friday Mosque in Córdoba before

170/786-7, but it was presumably a smaller and less striking structure than that erected by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I.

Recent research suggests that the subsequent enlargements were carefully calculated so as to respect the original proportions of Córdoba I, whose northern perimeter (as revealed by excavations in the late 1930s) was situated around the middle of the present courtyard. Thus each enlargement was related in precise proportion to the previous state of the mosque, with the dimensions of Córdoba I as the touchstone of quality. For that reason the next two enlargements—by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II in 233/848 and by al-Ḥakam II in 350/961-355/966—seem to have been (the matter is disputed) of the same 12-bay depth as the sanctuary of Córdoba I. Only the final enlargement under al-Manṣūr (377/987-378/988) broke this mould, for the River Guadalquivir prevented any further extension to the south, and so the mosque was expanded to the east.

Reference was made earlier to the echoes of the Great Mosque of Damascus in the Córdoba mosque. It might be thought curious that the major public building of the city should evoke memories of exile. But the mosque, by being overtly Syrian in character, asserted where the loyalties of the Umayyad rulers lay in their multi-tribal and multi-confessional state. These echoes are multiple, but they certainly do not make the later mosque in any sense a clone of its great original. It would be more accurate to interpret them as pointers to how the art of Umayyad Syria might have developed but for the Abbasid take-over—for such echoes are rarely a matter of straight copying. They include the geometrically patterned marble window grilles, the *ajoure* style of densely carved stonework, the use of wall mosaics (far more unusual in 4th/10th century al-Andalus than in 2nd/8th century Syria, and set moreover by craftsmen imported from Byzantium), the transfigured vegetal themes of those mosaics, the archaic style of the Cufic inscriptions, the two-tiered system employed to support the roof, and the use of a wider central aisle, perhaps even marked in elevation by a gable or at least by a rise in roof level, which resulted in a T-plan arrangement. Most striking of all, though, is the choice of a *qibla* direction facing due south—a direction which at Damascus was accurate but which at Córdoba pointed at Ghana rather than Mecca. Furthermore, this grossly erroneous *qibla* was maintained without change in all the subsequent enlargements of the mosque, even though each such enlargement offered another opportunity to correct it. This *qibla* therefore functioned as a continuous reminder of the Syrian heritage. Yet by the time of the final enlargement of the mosque in the late 4th/10th century these multiple references to the Damascus mosque were old-fashioned; mosque design had moved on. Nevertheless, in other respects Córdoba uses the Damascus mosque merely as a point of departure—for example, in the decision of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III to build a monumental minaret of Syrian type on the axis of the *qibla* (he enlarged the courtyard to the

north at the same time), or the remarkable expansion and intensification undergone at Córdoba of the theme of a two-tier arcade used in such simple fashion at Damascus. There it is merely a device to heighten the room of the prayer hall; but at Córdoba it becomes the chosen instrument for the entire transformation of the upper zone of the sanctuary, which takes on a quite unexpected vigour and complexity of its own. Moreover, it would be mistaken to present the architects of Córdoba as entirely fixated on Damascus. In its basic shape the Spanish building has a much closer kinship with the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, notably in its choice of multiple aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, and of a transept in front of the *qibla*, while the type of plant ornament in the mosaics has closer affinities to the Dome of the Rock mosaics than to the Damascus ones.

As befits its status as a supreme architectural masterpiece, the Córdoba mosque operates on several different levels: some formal, some political, some religious. The general nature of this chapter does not permit a detailed discussion of the first of these aspects. On this formal level it must suffice to draw attention, if only very fleetingly, to the remarkably varied exploitation of space in the mosque. This depends directly on its vast size, and specifically on its apparently endless interior vistas which do actually disappear into obscurity—a telling image of infinity. Close analysis reveals that, apart from size, the distinctive spatial impact of this building rests on a deliberate ambiguity in how to read a given space or element in the structure, since categories are constantly blending and separating; on the manipulation of light sources; on the contrast of open and closed spaces; on the related aspects of symmetry, repetition and axuality; and finally, even on the type and distribution of ornament. Nevertheless, the factor of size provides the indispensable framework within which these other subtleties can operate. And as the mosque grew, so to speak inexorably, so too did its range of expression. Moreover, this growth was largely confined to the covered sanctuary itself, to such an extent that no other medieval mosque so thoroughly upstages the role of the courtyard, eventually reducing it to the status of an afterthought. This repeated expansion and embellishment can be seen as a statement of Umayyad power aimed at the rival empires to the east—first Abbasids and then Fāṭimids. At all events, the result was to give the Córdoba mosque the largest covered area of any recorded medieval mosque. It is almost as if the intention was to make worshippers lose their bearings in this cavernous space. The normal axial devices simply would not operate in these circumstances.

One particular formal development at Córdoba deserves to be singled out: its unique array of domes and vaulting systems. These constitute some of the earliest Islamic examples still in their original form. Thanks to their busy multiplication of planes they confer monumentality on domes which are actually quite small. But more important still, they become bearers of

meaning. For example, the star-shaped articulation of the three great *maqṣūra* domes—with stars of several sizes at different locations of the vault—not only calls to mind the familiar analogy between the dome and heaven but, especially when placed above the *miḥrāb*, the Quranic suras of Light (quoted in the countless *miḥrābs*) and The Star. In this heightened religious context the ribs of these vaults can be read simultaneously as rays without any diminution of their technical structural function. But they could also be read as forming an honorific canopy—a distant echo, perhaps of the domed tabernacle (*qubba*) which in Arabia, during the Jāhiliyya, covered a sacred object under the protection of a political leader.

The political resonances of this mosque make themselves felt from afar. The building is encompassed by highly crenellated walls regularly buttressed—more of a fortress than a mosque, and an apt reminder of the constant wars against the Christian infidel. Such a degree of fortification is thoroughly unusual, and may refer equally well to Islam in its militant aspect as to the military strength which underpinned Umayyad rule. Its curtain wall is repeatedly broken by gates treated in the manner of elaborate triumphal arches, complete with tripartite elevations, dwarf arcades with their connotations of royalty, and lengthy inscriptions: a new use, in short, for a long-familiar building type.

Political factors expressed themselves also in the continuous association between the mosque and Christianity. Architectural forms were repeatedly employed as metaphors of domination. More than that: the wheel turned full circle, from the original building of the mosque on the site of a Christian church to the building first of a 15th-century Gothic chapel and then, a century later and in a different part of the sanctuary, a full-scale church for the Canons. Thus the Christian buildings within the mosque have something of the same palimpsest quality as the Muslim structure itself. Perhaps it was no accident that, between them, these Christian buildings definitively ruined the impact of the great sanctuary. It might even be argued that the second major enlargement of the mosque in 233/848 helped to trigger the Christian revolt in the following year.

But beyond doubt it is the area around the *miḥrāb* in which the political significance of the mosque is concentrated. The Chapel of Villaviciosa, which marks the boundaries of al-Ḥakam's much-enlarged *maqṣūra* (indeed, his entire extension was itself one vast *maqṣūra*), is little short of a stockade, glittering and sumptuous, but nevertheless clearly driving home the message that the ruler within was definitively separated from his people. Its splendid decoration carries a sub-text of wealth and privilege, while also claiming—by virtue of the orb set against a radiating vault and stellar designs, the whole executed in the celestial colours of gold and blue—cosmic status for the Umayyad caliph. This gigantic *maqṣūra* (astonishingly large for its time) asserts the invulnerability of the ruler. And good care was taken to announce

it in advance. A complicated hierarchical ordering of space, involving carefully chosen types of capital and arch, and underlined by piers of unusually rich decoration, partitions the central nave into a sequence of discrete stages. Thus architecture—and specifically the highly-charged architecture of the *maqṣūra* in which the theme of interlacing polylobed arches is taken to dizzy heights of complexity and virtuoso display, the whole disciplined by an extreme intellectual rigour—is manipulated to augment and exalt the role of the caliph in the liturgy of the mosque. Nor should it be overlooked that the mosque and the adjoining caliphal palace were physically linked, for a covered bridge-like passage, the *sābāṭ* introduced by ‘Abd Allāh and restored by al-Ḥakam II, functioned as the umbilical cord between the secular and the religious arms of the state.

The surpassing size of the Great Mosque also has a political edge to it, especially since (as already noted) it is largely the result of increasing the covered rather than the courtyard space—and it is worth noting that the largest extension of all, that by al-Manṣūr in 377/987-378/988, was the work of a vizier and not a member of the Umayyad house. Perhaps he realised that al-Ḥakam’s *maqṣūra* was unsurpassable and thus set himself the task of outdoing his predecessors in a different way, namely by the sheer scale of his work. Perhaps this too was a political statement, as if to set his own personal seal on this continually evolving monument, the symbol *par excellence* of Muslim al-Andalus—and, incidentally, thereby outflank the *miḥrāb* of al-Ḥakam II. These continual enlargements of a steadily more unsuitable site, carried out in preference to building extra Friday Mosques (as was done, for example, at Baghdad), made of this mosque an increasingly open challenge to the huge Abbasid mosques at the other end of the Arab world. Nor should it be forgotten that there were large Christian and Jewish minorities in the city, so that this gigantic mosque, besides serving physically to unite the Muslims, also expressed an unanswerable confessional dominance.

While the political dimension of this mosque can be demonstrated with relative ease, its more intangible messages are intrinsically harder to pin down. Nevertheless, two themes seem persistently to suggest themselves in various guises—Paradise and light—and may be worth closer scrutiny. But the speculative nature of such an enquiry should be stressed at the outset.

Much of the original decoration of the mosque, notably on the courtyard facade and on the underside of the ceiling in the sanctuary, has disappeared, and so theories as to the meaning of the surviving ornament in the building have perforce to be based on incomplete evidence. Nevertheless, the theme of trees is plainly dominant both inside and outside the mosque. The Quran states: “We have sent the rain ... and broken up channels in the ground, bringing forth ... orchards with dense foliage, fruits and pastures”; and again (Sura 77:41): “the righteous live in the shade of giant trees.” The courtyard of the Córdoba mosque was planted with trees and maybe even—as in the

Great Mosque of Seville—broken up with water-channels. Here, then, perhaps is a foretaste of Paradise. Within the mosque proper, the strainer arches are treated in such a way that at the top their very structure seems to depict the leaves of a palm tree: a translation into stone of an idea present at the very genesis of Islamic architecture, in Muḥammad's house at Medina. The organic quality of the stone carving can only strengthen such associations, while the polylobed arches with their ornament seem to open up like flowers. Thus, what with the living trees in the courtyard and the petrified simulacra of plant life within the sanctuary, the whole mosque becomes a sacred, a paradisaal garden. Nowhere is the vegetal ornament stronger than in the Chapel of Villaviciosa, and that from the dado level upwards, so that this *maqṣūra* becomes a kind of earthly paradise. Its cynosure is the *miḥrāb*, so often interpreted as the gateway to the Divine Presence; here it is a door in a literal sense, since it leads into a small chamber. Even the minaret took up such themes, for according to al-Maqqarī it bore gold and silver apples; lilies and a pomegranate—the fruit of Paradise itself.

The theme of light is also taken up throughout the mosque. The Quran (Sura 57:19) promises the faithful "their garden and their light". As is entirely appropriate, that light is concentrated in the *maqṣūra* area, where natural and artificial lighting systems converge. This is the airiest and loftiest section of the mosque, and here alone is to be found the decoration in mosaic, a medium which above all others absorbs and reflects light. The radiating voussoirs of the *miḥrāb* are set in mosaic in such a manner that the *imām* standing in the niche would have looked as if rays of light were issuing from his head. And this so to speak symbolic light is reinforced by the actual light which plays on this area through the openings in the domes. The window grilles in the mosque would have filtered, shaped and even (through stained glass infill) coloured the light that entered the mosque through them. The room behind the *miḥrāb* takes up the radiating theme somewhat differently, in its fluted shell ornament. In this area gold and white, the best reflectors of light, recur repeatedly, for example in inscriptions which highlight the sanctity of God's Word. References to celestial light proliferate in the dome above the *miḥrāb* and are in turn strengthened by the lamp hanging from the dome. And gradations in light serve to drive home architectural distinctions. The huge surface area of the sanctuary and the low roof (despite the two-tier system of support) made for a dim mysterious light which, by not defining space precisely, contrived to make it seem still more ample. Individual areas could then be illuminated at different strengths by some of the thousands of oil lamps which used to hang in the mosque. But perhaps the principal unifying feature in this context is the ubiquitous horseshoe arch with radiating two-tone voussoirs, whose endless repetition makes the entire mosque a network of radiating lines and, by degrees, a metaphor of light. Small wonder, then, that the Emperor Charles V

(who assuredly was no Islamic art historian) could say, when he saw the Church of the Canons set amidst the mutilated mosque: "If I had known what you wished to do, you would not have done it, because what you are carrying out there is to be found everywhere, and what you had formerly does not exist anywhere else in the world."

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ISLAMIC SEVILLE: ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

RAFAEL VALENCIA

Introduction

The years of Seville's Islamic period may be regarded as the most significant in the city's age-old history—a history that began in the almost mythical Tartessian times. Nevertheless the 500 years and more (92/712-712/1248) during which the city and its surrounding area formed a direct part of Arab-Islamic culture, should, I believe, be seen as just one stage among many contributing to what Seville is today, or to what it was in the periods subsequent to the one under consideration here; the *Ishbiliya* of the High Middle Ages is, finally, one embodiment of the city of Seville, to be viewed alongside the Roman *Hispalis* or the metropolis which served as a channel for relations with the New World from 1492 on.

In point of fact, Islamic *Ishbiliya* emerged from a ready-formed urban nucleus with an extremely well-marked cultural heritage. Lying between fertile plains on the banks of the Guadalquivir ("great river" in Arabic), just where the river ceases to be navigable, it had been a focus of human settlement since ancient times; and the various components of this heritage (pre-Roman, Byzantine or Oriental, Roman and Visigothic) had provided it, even at this early stage, with a base sufficiently wide to allow the integration of new civilisations. This was the city to which Islam would add its contribution in the 2nd/8th century, transforming it radically by the time the 13th-century Christian settlers came, in their turn, to leave their mark on the place.

The dynamics of population at the time of the Arab conquest well reflect this element of continuity. As was so often the case in the medieval Arab world, the conquest of Seville was brought about not by force of arms, but through pacts, and this made it possible for an immediate close relationship to be formed between the conquering Arab minority and the rulers of Visigothic *Hispalis*; indeed, throughout the history of *Ishbiliya*, most of the leaders in the political, economic and social fields were to spring from the union between Sara the Goth, a descendant of the Visigothic king Witiza and a relative of the last pre-711 bishop of the city, and 'Umayr b. Sa'id, one of Seville's Arab conquerors of *Lakhmī* tribal descent.¹ The social and economic structure of Islamic Seville was based—as throughout al-Andalus and throughout the rest of the Islamic world of the time—on the Arab tribe, and

political power was, to all appearances, in the hands of the minority Arab aristocracy. It should be said, nevertheless, that the greater part of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century population, under the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate, was made up of Andalusī Muwallads, or converts to Islam, who had been incorporated into the Arab tribal structure.

The city became the first capital of al-Andalus, i.e., of that part of the Iberian Peninsula which lay in Muslim hands, but almost immediately the capital was transferred to Córdoba, which was better situated for the government of the Peninsula as a whole. Then, in the 6th/12th century, under the Almoravids and the Almohads, Seville regained its metropolitan status—by which time the frontier with the Kingdom of Castile had moved south as a result of the Christian offensive. This was the period when relations with North Africa were at their closest, and the port of Seville allowed greater mobility of people and merchandise between the Peninsula and the Maghrib, while also having the advantage of proximity to the Straits of Gibraltar.

I. *Umayyad Seville*

This social majority was the result of a very specific set of factors with which converts to Islam were involved through bonds of clientage—factors springing, in the main, from Arab culture, for we have no information of any significant Berber settlements in the Seville region. The conquerors who entered in 94/712 were joined in 122/740 by contingents of the Syrian troops of Balj b. Bishr, which had entered the Peninsula to deal with the Berber risings taking place over the whole Andalusī territory,² the particular troops settling in Seville being from the Syrian city of Ḥoms. As was the case with subsequent Arab immigration (such immigration was favoured by the Umayyad rulers), these troops were for the most part members of Yemeni tribes, that is to say, they originally came from the southern part of the Arab Peninsula. In fact the Yemenis constituted the most numerous and most powerful tribal group in the Seville region, and in the whole of the west of the country, as far as its influence reached—a fact reflected in the accession of the first Umayyad *amīr*, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, and in the widespread risings occurring during the reign of the *amīr* ‘Abd Allāh. This latter period, the 3rd/9th century, is a particularly interesting one in the history of Islamic Seville, and, indeed, for al-Andalus as a whole.³ The crisis provoked by the incorporation of Hispanic elements into the Muslim population was of a substantially different order from that arising in the East, where the rise of other Muslims to a political power hitherto reserved for Arabs led, in 133/750, to the replacement of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids; in fact the Andalusī crisis came into being a century later and sprang from more flexible and complex social mechanisms. As such, the Umayyad family in al-Andalus was able, following a period of considerable difficulty between 251/865 and 300/912, to maintain

effective government over an Andalūsī Muslim population which was a fusion of the Arab and Hispanic elements referred to above.

Not all the population of Muslim Iṣhbīliya, however, professed the Islamic religion: within a common cultural framework which might be termed Arab-Andalūsī, there long subsisted—perhaps through the whole period under review—Christian and Jewish minorities. Like the harmonious process of conversion to Islam and consolidation of the majority group described above, this is an indication of the spirit of tolerance which characterises the history of al-Andalus. We have very few references to the Jewish minority in Seville, but the picture is completely different with the Mozarabs, that is, the Hispano-Visigothic Christians who preserved their religion (in 94/712 such Christians formed the majority of the population, but many of their members subsequently converted to Islam). The city was the see of the Metropolitan Archbishop of Andalusia, the visible head of the Christian community in al-Andalus, and we have a list of archbishops down to the year 542/1147, when the Almohads entered the Peninsula, although there were almost certainly groups of Mozarabs in the Seville region after this date. The community had its own particular feasts, like that of the famous Archbishop of Seville St. Isidore, which was celebrated on April 4th.⁴ One of his successors during the Arab period, Archbishop Reccafred, presided, in 237-8/852, over the Council of Córdoba, which put an end to the Mozarabic revolts in the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate;⁵ and we have, too, Bishop Don Juan, mentioned by Alfonso X,⁶ who translated the Holy Scriptures into Arabic. Other important individuals, both archbishops of Seville, were ‘Abbās b. al-Mundhir, who was sent by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir as ambassador to the court of Ramiro II of Aragon,⁷ and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Qāsim, a contemporary of Caliph al-Ḥakam II.⁸ These two lived through a period when the Mozarab community was considerably Arabised within a common *Andalūsī* culture; the Caliph of Córdoba was really the *Amīr al-Mu’minīn*, the “prince of all believers”.

In the 4th/10th century, during this same Umayyad Caliphate, Seville witnessed an early period of splendour, one which reflected the prosperity enjoyed by the whole country at a time when al-Andalus was the principal power in the Western Mediterranean, with considerable influence on Christian Europe and the Maghrib. An important figure in the Iṣhbīliya of the time was Abū Muḥammad al-Zubaydī (314/926-379/989), a famous *qāḍī*, a linguist and tutor to Caliph Hishām II, who, in addition to his philological and historical works (among them a text on the colloquial Arabic spoken in al-Andalus)⁹ was the author of a number of poems written in the old Andalūsī spirit of wide and open horizons. The following is a brief example:

Poverty turns our country into a foreign land
and riches our place of exile into our home.
For the whole world, in all its diversity, is one
And all its inhabitants our brothers and neighbours.¹⁰

Contemporary with al-Zubaydī was another *qāḍī* of Seville who was later to play a prominent role in al-Andalus: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi ‘Āmir, the future al-Manṣūr, who was the real, effective governor of the country during the reign of Hishām II. Despite his progressive accumulation of posts at the Caliph’s court in Córdoba, al-Manṣūr retained his position as *qāḍī* of Seville almost till the end of his days, due to the considerable economic importance attaching to the post—he controlled, by virtue of it, the administration of the *awqāf*, or possessions of the religious foundations. There are reasons to suppose that, in the area of Seville at least, it was possible to circumvent the system of inheritance prescribed by Muslim legislation (division of property among all the heirs of the deceased) by employing the system of *waqf*, with the result that the property of a family could be concentrated in the hands of one individual. This may explain the survival of great landed properties from the Visigothic period through to later Christian times.

II. The 5th/11th century

It is not surprising, in view of the foregoing, that, on the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate in Córdoba, the *qāḍī* Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād should seize power in Seville and the west of al-Andalus. With him, in 414/1023, there begins a new chapter in Andalusī history, that of the *ṭā’ifas* or petty kingdoms (*mulūk al-ṭawā’if*), in which the economic and cultural entity of al-Andalus was to become divided up into small states. The 5th/11th century is, perhaps, one of the most interesting periods of the Spanish Middle Ages: it is the Spain of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, El Cid. The various Muslim and Christian kingdoms comprising the political structure of the Iberian Peninsula formed a rich and complex network of relationships among themselves, with the Andalusī kingdoms witnessing a period of cultural flowering, but also, alongside this, one of political and military weakness vis-à-vis the Christian states which finally necessitated the coming of the Almoravids. Seville gradually incorporated the neighbouring *ṭā’ifas* (Carmona, Córdoba, Ecija, Morón, Algeciras, Niebla, etc.), with the result that the geographical area previously within the city’s social and economic ambit became considerably extended. It is now that we observe Seville’s transformation into a scholarly and literary centre of the first order, as astronomers, poets and philosophers from the whole of al-Andalus came to establish themselves at the ‘Abbādī court under the protection of its monarchs al-Mu’taḍid and al-Mu’tamid.¹¹ As so often throughout the history of Seville, the mind leaps immediately to the poets when considering this period; yet now, as during the later Almohad times, the city also attracted scholars of various kinds. At times, even so, it seems as though only the works of Ibn ‘Ammār of Silves or Ibn Zaydūn or Ibn Ḥazm have been handed down to posterity, or the lines of al-Mu’tamid himself.

Oh to know whether I shall spend one more night
in those gardens, by that pond,

amid olive-groves, legacy of grandeur,
 the cooing of the doves, the warbling of birds;
 in the palace of Zāhir, in the spring rain,
 winking back at the dome of Zurayya,
 as the fortress of Zāhī, with its Sud al-Su'ūd,
 casts us the look of the waiting lover.
 Oh that God might choose that I should die in Seville,
 that He should there find my tomb when the last day comes!¹²

III. The 6th/12th century

In 488/1095, however, al-Mu'tamid was to die at Aghmāt (near Fez, in present-day Morocco). Four years earlier, following their conquest of North Africa, the Almoravids had entered al-Andalus at the request of the *īā'ifa* kings (since they alone were capable of containing the Christian advance), and, as with the Almohads, Maṣmūda Berbers who seized the Islamic territory of the Peninsula in 542/1147, their presence spelt a larger North African element in Andalusī civilisation. It would, however, perhaps be more strictly accurate to speak of a process whereby the accumulated cultural legacy of al-Andalus made the integration of the Almoravids and Almohads possible; for in both cases, the caliphs, who chose Seville as their Andalusī capital, eventually assimilated the cultural aspects of al-Andalus. For all the initial objections of the Almoravid '*ulamā*', the poetry of the 5th/11th century did not disappear; and these same doctors of the law, who had condemned the music produced in Seville as anti-Islamic, witnessed, in the 6th/12th century, the final development of music into a form which passed, via Naṣrid Granada, to North Africa, where it is known to this day as "Andalusī music".¹³ Thus these North African tribes were finally integrated into the medieval Arab-Islamic civilisation of al-Andalus. Al-Andalus and the Maghrib had, indeed, formed part of a single cultural area since the 2nd/8th century, with intensive contact between the two regions, but during this period relations widened considerably: scholars were as likely to devote themselves to their studies in Granada as in Fez, or in Rabat as in Córdoba; the same caliphs governed their overall empire from Marrakesh or from Seville, and the same traders conducted their business on the two sides of the Straits of Gibraltar.

The Almoravid-Almohad phase represents the final shaping of Seville in the Arab period; indeed, the city boundaries handed down from the 6th/12th century were hardly extended until modern times. The caliphs Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Shāhid and Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr endowed Seville with the main lines of its general urban development, together with its most important buildings, and it became the home of Ibn Ruṣhd, of the Avenzoar family and of the mystics of the Aljarafe, whose lives and experience are among the outstanding embodiments of the wealth of Muslim spirituality. One of Seville's most prominent personalities, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī (467/1075-543/1148),¹⁴ was responsible for the building of its walls, and is

cited by Ibn Khaldūn himself as being a key figure in the history of Islamic education. His programme of studies very clearly reveals the cultural heights attained by the civilisation of al-Andalus.

It was truly fortunate for me that God should choose that, in my childhood, youth and young manhood, my father should give me teachers to instruct me in the Quran, so that by the age of nine I knew it perfectly. He then set three teachers over me: one to perfect my knowledge of the Quran; another to teach me the Arabic language; and the third to do the same in mathematics. So it was that I reached the age of sixteen familiar with ten different ways of reading the Quran, in all aspects of assimilation, articulation, attenuation, final vocalisation, pausing, reduction, finalisation, softening and velarisation.

I also learned the different facets of language, and I read works of poetry by both ancient and modern Arabs. I heard explanations of the divisions of inheritance and *ḥadīth*. I was given lessons on algebra, in addition to the Book of Euclid and other works of geometry. I learned the three astronomical tables, and how to use the astrolabe. My three tutors allowed me to rest from the early afternoon until the following day; yet I never granted myself any rest, and continued to read or take notes. All this in the prime of my youth.¹⁵

IV. *Architecture*

One of the most conspicuous signs of Arab *Ishbiliya* in present-day Seville is undoubtedly the architecture bequeathed from the High Middle Ages. The basic centre of the Islamic city was the mosque, the *aljama* or main oratory, where the official Friday prayer was said. The first building to house the *aljama* was on the site of what is today the church of El Salvador, in an area of the old city which remains commercial as it already was in Arab times. Its foundation dates from the year 214/829, during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, and it was a building with eleven naves perpendicular to the wall of the *qibla*, and, like all Andalusī mosques, faced south. Oblong in shape, it had, according to the descriptions of contemporary authors,¹⁶ marble columns supporting brick arches, and its minaret, preserved to this day in the tower of the church, followed a square design, its sides measuring almost six meters. The original construction, as was so often the case in Seville, made use of great ashlar dating back to Roman times, and in the interior a spiral staircase, such as was not to appear in the East till the 5th/11th century, wound its way round a stout cylindrical central pillar. At each corner of the minaret, according to the description of al-Uḍḥrī, there stood three superimposed marble columns reaching up to the top—columns which can, perhaps, be traced back to al-Mu'tamid's restoration of the minaret following the earthquake of 472/1079 (to which reference is made in the commemorative stone still preserved on the site).¹⁷ We can also today see the *ṣahn* of this original mosque, which must have been on a much lower level than the present courtyard of the church: to the 3rd/9th century brick arches have been added the reconstructions carried out on the monument during the Almohad period and in the 18th century.

Observing that this *aljama* of Ibn 'Adabbas (as it was then called) was too small for the Friday *khutba* given Seville's sizeable population, Caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf built a new and bigger mosque on the site of the present Cathedral. Its structure and considerable dimensions followed Almoravid lines: brick pillars, pointed horse-shoe arches and naves perpendicular to the wall of the *qibla*, which, in Muslim oratories, indicates the direction for prayers. Remains of it, and of its decorative wealth, can be found today in the Patio de los Naranjos and its minaret, the Giralda, the only completely surviving part of the Almohad mosque. The oratory was completed in 751/1176, but the *ṣaḥn* was extended at a later date, and, as for the Giralda itself, the same Almohad caliph ordered its construction on *Ṣafar* 13 580/May 26 1184, on the east-facing wall where the mosque court and the prayer room met. Roman ashlar were employed in the foundations, although, at the higher levels, hewn brick was used and stone dispensed with. On a central seven-stage prism is built another, of greater dimension, with a vaulted access ramp running between them. The exterior of the minaret was adorned with stretches of decorated brick, and this framed the opening in the walls which provided light for the access ramps. In its original form, before Hernán Ruiz gave it its definitive appearance in the 16th century, the Giralda was crowned by a *jāmūr* of four gilt balls, strung, in decreasing order of size, on an iron rod. The Almohad chronicler Abū Marwān b. Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāh (d. 594/1198) gives the following description of the tower, which is the most widely recognised feature of the city throughout the world: "This minaret is greater than all the others in the whole of al-Andalus, in elevation and in the extraordinary art of its construction. Observed from a distance it would appear that all the stars of the Zodiac had stopped in the heart of Seville."¹⁸

Islamic Seville boasted many other places of prayer, some of which were in the open air and were used for important celebrations. One such place was the *Muṣallā*¹⁹ on the southern boundary of the Alcázares, *Bāb al-Nakhīl*,²⁰ on the other side of the Puerta de las Palmeras; the main building of the University now occupies this site. There were also a great many neighbourhood mosques in Seville. A long list of these is preserved in Arabic texts, and also in early Christian texts, since some were converted into Christian churches after 646/1248. Such conversion of places of worship is a common phenomenon in the city, an example being the church of El Salvador mentioned earlier: beginning as a Roman basilica used for civil functions, it became a Christian church in the Visigothic period, then the first *aljama* mosque, then, following the Castilian conquest, it was finally reconverted to use as a church. Texts of the period suggest that the city of Seville was divided into separate quarters taking their names from the main neighbourhood mosque, in much the same way as happened immediately after 646/1248, and alongside many of these mosques was a type of building characteristic of Muslim town planning: public baths. Some of these are still preserved today, used for purposes very different from the original ones.

We also know of many other types of building, such as the palaces built mainly at the time of the 'Abbādi sovereigns and during the Almohad period. Some of these still survive today, though they have been considerably transformed. The palaces of al-Mubārak and al-Mukarram,²¹ for instance, were the settings for the intense life of the 5th/11th century court, with its musicians and poets; the first of these, on the southern edge of the walled city, having been built over other, earlier constructions such as the *Dār al-Imāra* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.²² Over the Islamic period as a whole, this area of the city was increasingly devoted to the workings of government, and it was from here that the destinies of Seville and her dependent territories were decided. Al-Mubārak palace was enriched by al-Mu'tamid with columns and other materials brought from Madīnat al-Zahrā', and two Almohad fortresses were attached to it in the 6th/12th century. Following the Christian conquest of the capital, the kings of Castile, particularly Pedro I, gave the Reales Alcázares of Seville the appearance they retain today, with the monument's Muslim character being preserved by craftsmen brought from Toledo or the Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada; and, in an atmosphere of marked arabisation on the cultural level, Alfonso X ("the Wise") and Pedro I were to rule their territories from here. Special mention should be made of the complexes formed by the Buḥayra or *Huerta del Rey*, a set of 5th/11th and 6th/12th century constructions (palaces, the great pool and others) with farmland attached, where parts of the gardens of the 'Abbādis were situated. After ten centuries through which they had been reasonably well preserved, they recently disappeared in the course of preparatory work for the 500th anniversary celebrations of the discovery of America.

All these buildings were surrounded by the various walls of the Islamic city, the first of which can be traced directly back to the wall of the Imperial Roman period; according to the authors of the time, the latter could still be seen in the 4th/10th century city. The boundary of Seville included what is now the south-eastern quarter of the old city centre, and some of the gates, like the Puerta de Carmona and the Puerta de la Carne, still leave their physical marks on the city's, while others, like the Puerta de los Perfumistas, have been absorbed into dwellings. The splendid 5th/11th century saw no new city walls—although the houses and palaces mentioned above stretched beyond the confines of the old walled city—and it was the Almoravids, through the *qāḍī* Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, who built the second wall; this surrounded the old city centre till the beginning of the present century, when it was pulled down in the name of so-called progress, although the nature of it can still be assessed by observing the surviving stretches in the Macarena area, the Jardín del Valle and within houses in other residential districts. This second wall was reinforced by the Almohads, who added a series of angled entrances designed to improve the city's defensive capacity, and it was surrounded by a fosse, except on its eastern side, where the Guadalquivir served as a natural boundary. In 617/1220 the fortifications were completed by the

building of the Torre del Oro, which closed off the port of Seville to the south, while, to the north of the port area, the wall was further protected at the Puerta de la Barqueta, which is today the point of pedestrian access to the Expo 92 site. These stretches of wall along the river suffered from the flooding to which the city was, until recently, subjected whenever the Guadalquivir burst its banks, transforming the city centre into an island. The gates of the wall survive in a completely transformed state: the Puerta de Córdoba, now embedded in the church of San Hermenegildo, the Puerta del Almuedano (*Bāb al-Mu'adhdhin*), later called the Puerta Real, the Puerta de Triana giving access to the quarter, placed on the other side of the river over what is still referred to as the Puente de Barcas, etc.

As for the social life of the city in the High Middle Ages, activities relating to the port were then, as in later periods, extremely prominent, with a great part of the maritime trade with North Africa and the Mediterranean being channelled through the city; in this respect Almohad Seville was a precursor of the metropolis that was to serve as a conduit for trade with the New World. Agricultural products from the west of al-Andalus were sent to the eastern part, while articles of every kind, from the four points of the compass, were unloaded on its wharves. One example of this great activity was the shipyard, which was in operation from the 3rd/9th century. In response to the Norman attack of 230/844, *Amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II ordered the construction of the first *dār al-ṣinā'a*,²³ or dock, and later the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf had new facilities built for the same purpose in another part of the port area.²⁴ These must have been in the same place that Alfonso X was to order a similar development in 1252, with the Castilian king, in view of the date of construction of the Almohad yards, presumably restricting himself to a reconstruction or remodelling of the buildings. The Almohad work can still be seen today in the large building housing the Hospital de la Caridad.

There is no space for a full account of the various other arts and crafts of Islamic Seville. In some cases, as with ceramics and pottery, examples of these still survive in some degree: Sevillian glazed earthenware, with its gilt lustre, is a legacy of the period in question, and one of which traces can still be found in the houses and palaces of the city. The techniques and motifs of Arab ceramic-work were reproduced in Mudejar art and even exported to America. Works of great originality have been preserved in the field of stone-sculpting, like the lintel with a human head, which, to judge from the inscription it bears, dates from the 5th/11th century. As for metalwork, extensive collections of objects of everyday use are still extant, and the keys to the Arab city, now preserved in Seville Cathedral, are a source of natural curiosity. Special attention is due here to a piece which is absolutely unique, namely the two great bronze leaves of the present Puerta del Perdón in the Patio de los Naranjos of the old Almohad mosque. These, with their chi-

elled decorations and inscriptions, closed the main gate of the *aljama*, and the large bronze knockers of the door reflect traditional rich Andalusī ornamentation rather than the sober North African decoration of the time. This work of art is yet another example of the way the Almohad dynasty became acclimatised to al-Andalus.

V. *The Sevillians*

All this artistic expression did not come into being in the middle of a desert or wilderness; behind it lies a people to whom historical sources bear witness. Some of the great personalities of Islamic Seville—al-Zubaydī, Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī, Archbishop ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Qāsim and al-Mu‘tamid—have already been mentioned, and many other Sevillians, whose names are now unknown, made their contributions to the life of the city in this period. In the *Treatise of Ibn ‘Abdūn*,²⁵ for instance, we find a whole host of such characters: market traders, oil merchants from the Aljarafe, Guadalquivir washerwomen, boatmen, teachers in Quranic or primary schools, cheese sellers from the Marshes, muezzins, Christian priests, street vendors, masons and bricklayers, etc. Through the pages of this book we can feel the rhythm and bustle of late 5th/11th century Seville, in all its varied activities. All these people played their parts in shaping the culture of the capital, and among them many individuals and even families or specific groups are worthy of mention: the poets of the ‘Abbādī court, the craftsmen who constructed the naval yards or the Giralda, the Genoese and Eastern traders, etc. We shall consider just two examples here, the first being the Avenzoar²⁶ family of physicians which moved to Seville from Talavera in the 5th/11th century. This family rose to the same heights as the great scientific families of the Arab Middle Ages, outstanding among its members being Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ Zuhīr (d. 525/1131) and Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik (487/1094–557/1162), who practised medicine in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. The second example concerns an activity of particular importance in al-Andalus, namely agricultural studies, in which, from the 5th/11th century on, the Seville area was home to such pre-eminent authors in the field as Abū ‘l-Khayr and Ibn Ḥajjāj. Special mention should be made of the so-called *Anonymous Botanist*,²⁷ a 6th/12th century work in which, for the first time since Aristotle, Theophrastus or Dioscorides, and five centuries before Cesalpinus, an attempt is made to classify plants in a modern, systematic way—the classification being, at times, reminiscent of Linnaeus. The last great agricultural writer from Seville was Ibn al-‘Awwām, whose *Book of Agriculture*²⁸ covers every aspect of the subject: methods of cultivation, the acclimatisation of new species, irrigation systems, the storing of crops, etc. The work reflects a form of agriculture based on the Latin tradition, but is, at the same time, enriched by the experimentation carried out through the whole history of al-Andalus.

All these individuals played their part in creating the spirit of the city, one which transformed the essential nature of the Sevillian: reading the authors of the period, one observes many similarities between the Sevillians of the High Middle Ages, those, like Cervantes, reflected in the classics of the 17th century, and the present-day inhabitants of the city. Here, by way of illustrating the point, is a brief example from a 6th/12th century author, who, referring to the Sevillians of his time, paints a picture similar to the conventional modern image: "The Sevillians are the most frivolous of people, the most natural and spontaneous of jokers, and the most given to playing tricks, with offence often intended. So accustomed are they to this, and such a habit is it, that they are irked by anyone who does not himself play or put up with this type of joke."²⁹

VI. *The legacy*

There remained rather more after 646/1248, from the whole brilliant period of Islamic Seville, than monuments like the Giralda, the Torre del Oro, the city walls or a port made ready for foreign trade. We should not be deluded by the picture painted by the 8th/14th century author al-Ḥimyarī, who describes a city already deserted for three days when the Castilian troops entered; we know, today, that a number of Muslims—such as Abū 'l-Ḥasan, who died in 646/1249—remained in Christian Seville. According to a contemporary author: "... after the Christians entered the city ... He was overwhelmed by the sound of the bells, and sore afflicted at not hearing the Muslim summons to prayer. A deep and lengthy sadness therefore took hold of him, and he suffered continuous affliction until his death."³⁰ The Muslim communities in question are considered in the *Ordenanzas*, or municipal regulations, drawn up by Fernando III of Castile; their members were gradually converted to Christianity in a reverse but parallel process to the one that took place in the 2nd/8th century, but their customs and way of life lived on in the new Sevillians. The aesthetic tastes in evidence in the city during the reign of Alfonso X partly reflect the influence of early medieval *Ishbiliya*, not just in Mudejar art, but also in the literary tendencies of the late 17th century, and in the feeling of closeness which caused Pedro I of Castile to offer one of the monarch of Nasrid Granada's ambassadors, Ibn Khaldūn, the possibility of settling in the city where his ancestors had lived for centuries.

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 4th ed., Cairo, 1977, p. 424. He was the originator of many important families in Islamic Seville: the Banū Ḥajjāj, the Banū Sayyid and others. Also important were the Banū 'l-Qūṭiyya ("the sons of the Goth"), the descendants of Sara and 'Isā b. Muzāḥim.

² Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Ta'rikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1926, p. 20; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rikh*, Beirut, 1965, V, 338, 491; Ibn Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī aḥbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, Leiden, 1951, II, 23, 31.

³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabis min anabā' ahl al-Andalus*, Vol. III, Paris, 1937, pp. 67-85; al-Udhri, *Tarṣī' al-aḥbār*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 101-05.

- ⁴ *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, ed. C. Pellat, Leiden, 1961, pp. 66-67.
- ⁵ Several names of the Sevillian bishops of the early Middle Ages have survived, some of these, noted by Christian authors, having Catholic forms, such as Oppas, Teodulfo, David, Salvador and Julian. See R. Valencia, "Los mozárabes" in *Sevilla musulmana hasta la caída del Califato: contribución a su estudio*, Madrid, 1988, pp. 759-79.
- ⁶ *Crónica General*, Madrid, 1955; F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 320-23.
- ⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, Vol. V, Madrid, 1979, p. 117.
- ⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Anales palatinos*, Madrid, 1967, pp. 185-86.
- ⁹ *Kitāb laḥn al-ʿawām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo, 1964; ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar, Kuwait, 1968.
- ¹⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsan ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1968, II, 74; al-Dabbī, *Bughya*, Madrid, 1985, p. 56.
- ¹¹ The three monarchs of the ʿAbbādi Kingdom of Seville were: Abū ʿl-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ismāʿil b. ʿAbbād, the *qādī* (414/1023-433/1042); his son Abū ʿUmār ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad al-Muʿaḍid (433/1042- 461/1069); and Abū ʿl-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muʿtamid (461/1069-484/1091).
- ¹² Al-Muʿtamid, *Dīwān*, ed. Riḍā al-Suwīsī, Tunis, 1975, n. 165, pp. 171-72; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 275. The present translation is of verses 10-15.
- ¹³ M. Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, Paris, 1980.
- ¹⁴ Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Al-Ṣila fi taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1883, n. 1181; J. Robson, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, III, 729. His works include *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, Cairo, 1976, and *Al-ʿAwāsim min al-qawāsim*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, 1369 A. H.
- ¹⁵ Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Al-ʿAwāsim*, p. 11.
- ¹⁶ Al-Bakhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik*, Beirut, 1968, p. 112; al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-miʿtār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1938, p. 20; al-ʿUdhri, *Tarṣīf*, p. 96.
- ¹⁷ D. Oliva, E. Gálvez and R. Valencia, "Fondos epigráficos árabes del Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6, 1985, n. 8.
- ¹⁸ Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāh, *Al-Mann bi ʿl-imāma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Baghdad, 1979, p. 516.
- ¹⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, III, 75; al-Dabbī, *Bughya*, p. 85; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 20.
- ²⁰ Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. Iḥsan ʿAbbās, 1978, II, 430.
- ²¹ Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, III, 759, 762, 765, II, 430; Ibn Zaydūn, *Dīwān*, Beirut, 1964, p. 182.
- ²² Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, III, 78.
- ²³ Ibn al-Qūṭayya, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 66-67.
- ²⁴ Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāh, *Al-Mann*, p. 517.
- ²⁵ *Risāla fi ʿl-ḥisba*, trans. E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez (*Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*), 2nd ed., Seville, 1981.
- ²⁶ J. Vernet, *La cultura hispano-árabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978, p. 42; R. Arnaldez, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., III, 1001-03; G. A. L., I, 486, 487, 489.
- ²⁷ MS XL Gayangos collection at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid; M. Asín, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán*, Madrid, 1943. The work has recently been edited (Rabat, 1991), from two other manuscripts.
- ²⁸ Ed. J. A. Banqueri, Madrid, 1802; reprinted Madrid, 1990.
- ²⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, II, 143.
- ³⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*, Madrid, 1888-89, n. 1910.

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MOZARABS: AN EMBLEMATIC CHRISTIAN MINORITY IN ISLAMIC AL-ANDALUS

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INTRODUCTION

A proper understanding of Islamic society in al-Andalus necessarily entails a study of the Christian (Mozarab) community within it, particularly in view of the importance accorded to this community in historical treatments of al-Andalus; in many respects, indeed, it is an emblematic subject of study. We should also, at the same time, take account of recent developments in Mozarab studies, developments building on the basic position established by 19th century historians.¹

The aim of this paper is to study the Mozarab community as a whole, and its historical evolution within a particular Islamic society. It is not the intention to provide a detailed treatment of the community's internal structure and activities.²

I. DEFINITIONS AND ORIGINS

I.1 *How Christians were referred to in Islamic society*

Christians living in Muslim al-Andalus (the former Hispania, which was islamised from the beginning of the 2nd/8th century on), are referred to by present-day historians as Mozarabs. In the main they formed structured Christian communities of pre-Islamic origin, being heirs to the Christianity, and the Christian bishops, of Roman-Visigothic times.

The actual word "Mozarab" is derived from Arabic *musta'rab*, meaning "arabised", "one who claims to be an Arab without being so" (though some Arabists have rather found its origin in *musta'rib*, an Eastern word meaning "tribes not originally descended from Arabs").³ The social origin of the word is not, however, so clear, for Arabic texts do not in fact use it when speaking of Christians; it is rather found in Christian sources, from the 11th century onwards, as a pejorative term for Christians of Arabic origin living in the medieval Christian kingdoms, particularly Toledo.⁴ Further examination of the term's origin might well lead to interesting, even surprising results.

Arabic sources refer to the Christians of al-Andalus by a series of well-known names: *naṣrānī* (pl. *naṣāra*, "Nazarene"), *rūmī* ("Roman, Byzantine, Christian of the old Roman Empire")⁵, *masīḥī* ("follower of Jesus, *al-Ma-*

sīh"),⁶ *ahl al-dhimma* ("people under protection", i.e., legally protected by Islamic religion and authority, as the Jews, another monotheistic group, also were), or *mu'āhid* ("keeper of the covenant", i. e., one who has made a pact ('*ahd*) with the Islamic authorities).⁷ The Quranic name *ahl al-Kitāb* ("people of the Book") is applied to Christians only in a theological context, as a reference to the Jewish-Christian Bible, the Book revealed to every Prophet, including Jesus. Christians were further specified according to their place of origin: as Galicians, Basques, Castilians, Franks, Catalonians, etc.

We also find highly negative names of political and religious origin applied to particular Christian individuals in the northern kingdoms of the Peninsula: "the enemy" (*al-'adūw*), "enemy of God" (*'adūw Allāh*), "tyrant", "haughty", "insolent" (*tāghī*),⁸ "revolted" (*thā'ir*, a word also applied to Muslims stirring up revolt against the ruling power in Córdoba), "infidel", "rebel against God's law" (*kāfir*, pl. *kuffār*, collective *kafara*), "polytheist, one joining other deities to God" (*ahl al-shirk*, *mushrik*), etc.

Detailed analysis of these traditional Arabic names reveals, importantly, two quite distinct situations for Mozarabs, both in social and in religious terms. On the one hand, Muslims regarded Christians in al-Andalus just as they regarded Christians in other Islamic societies, according them, as such, both as individuals and as members of a community, the status prescribed by Islamic society and law. On the other hand, relations between Christians and Islamic society varied according to whether or not the former continued to demonstrate their loyalty to Islamic political authority; when they opposed this authority, they were considered rebels.

1.2 *Social origins of Christians in al-Andalus:* *Mozarabs, neo-Mozarabs and new Mozarabs*

Recent studies have contributed to a new understanding of the social origins of Christians in al-Andalus. Traditionally, Mozarabs have been regarded as Christians of Visigothic origin, descended from the Christian inhabitants of the pre-Islamic Iberian Peninsula and gathered into Christian communities reflecting the bishoprics of Roman-Visigothic times—in other words, the Hispanic Church, with its Metropolitan See in Toledo, was seen as being perpetuated within Islamic society. These communities were then partially integrated (or re-integrated) within medieval Christian society through migrations (from the 2nd/8th to the 6th/12th century), especially after the conquest of Toledo by the king of Castile and León (478/1085) and the expeditions of Alfonso I of Aragon into the eastern parts of the Peninsula and Andalucía (519/1125-520/1126).

It has, however, been noted that some Andalusī Christians were not in fact of Visigothic origin: there were Christians from the Near East, sometimes mentioned in Arabic sources as artisans and specialists in different

trades (medicine, architecture, translation, etc),⁹ and also Christians come from the northern parts of the Peninsula, from beyond the Pyrenees or from the Maghrib.¹⁰ Foreigners were attracted to al-Andalus both by the permeability of its society and by its wealth, and Christians, among others, established themselves more or less easily in society there.¹¹ The legal status of these foreign Christians was very similar to that enjoyed by Christians of Visigothic origin, but there were, too, certain peculiarities which should be taken into account; such people should in fact, for a proper understanding of the history of Christian communities in al-Andalus, be termed "neo-Mozarabs".¹² The presence of these "neo-Mozarabs", isolated and of foreign origin, does not imply the existence of earlier Christian communities, in the places where they now lived, prior to the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula.

There were, too, Mozarabs of Muslim origin—groups of Muslims, that is, who converted to Christianity following the conquest of Toledo, and perhaps also following the expeditions of Alfonso I of Aragon. These, suggests María Jesús Rubiera Mata—who has discovered interesting Arab and Christian texts concerning groups integrated into the Christian society of Toledo¹³—should be called "new Mozarabs", "converted Mozarabs" or "new Christians from Islam". These Christians of Muslim origin, who converted *en masse* at the end of the 11th century, are totally distinct from the Mudejars and Moriscos who converted gradually to Christianity between the 12th and 17th centuries.¹⁴

1.3 Muslims of Christian origin

There were, finally, Muslims of Christian origin. As recent converts to Islam, these Muslims, of Hispanic pre-Islamic origin, were generally called *musālīma* ("islamised") and *muwallad* ("adopted").¹⁵ As people of "barbaric" or foreign origin, whether Muslim or Christians, they were called also *elches* ('ilj, pl. 'ulūj),¹⁶ as a reference to the society from which they sprang, and also came to be referred to as *aljamiados* (a'jamī or 'ajamī, pl. a'ājim, collective 'ajam, whence a plural a'jām), as a reference to their non-Arabic tongue, the term having particular reference to Persian.¹⁷

Another group of Muslims of Christian origin was formed by freed slaves. These were the *ṣaqāliba*, or "Slavs", who became a very influential social group in al-Andalus during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.¹⁸ Although not Christians, they occasionally maintained ties with their countries of origin and with their relatives there.¹⁹

There is an emblematic difference between these Muslims of Christian origin and the "Mozarabs", who retained their Christian religion within Islamic society while the former group converted to Islam.

II. THE STATUS OF CHRISTIANS IN ANDALUSÍ SOCIETY

Historical information about the Mozarabs is very sparse. Arabic sources rarely mention the Christians of al-Andalus, and, when they do, do so generally only in anecdotes or in accounts of political rebellions,²⁰ while Latin sources focus on the "martyrs' revolt" of the mid-3rd/9th century,²¹ or on liturgical and polemical matters of the 2nd/8th century, treating matters in a markedly partisan spirit.²² This scanty information should not indeed be disregarded, but the researcher needs to supplement it with a careful examination of the general social status of these Christians within Islamic society, which formed the framework of their social life and activities as a political and religious minority.

The social status of Mozarabs in al-Andalus is the same as that of other Christians in Islam,²³ and, as such, the best starting point for examination is Islamic law²⁴ and its application in the Muslim East,²⁵ North Africa²⁶ and al-Andalus—²⁷although we should note that the relevant legal texts are usually of a theoretical nature, or else were written in later periods, like the treatise of Ibn Qayyim (written in al-Jawziyya in the 7th/13th century), who was influenced by the problems of the Christian community in Damascus and the stress of anti-Christian feelings caused by the Crusade. We must not forget, when dealing with sources of this kind, the peculiar nature of specific social situations in al-Andalus.

The status of Christians will be examined under three basic headings: first, how this status was acquired in a Muslim society; second, how the status was preserved; and third, how the status could be lost (by death, migration or conversion to Islam). The continuity of Christian communities was greatly affected by the extent to which this status, which was essentially of a socio-religious and legal-political nature, was maintained.

II.1 *The acquisition of Christian status within Muslim society*

The relevant juridical, social, political and religious status was acquired through a pact (*ahd*) between the Muslim and Christian authorities (the latter being kings, bishops or heads of communities).²⁸ This pact was not, however, an agreement between two equal parties, but rather an admission, on the part of Christians, of the superior power and political authority of Islam, involving acceptance of Islamic laws by Christians, and acceptance both of Christian status within Islamic society and of the duties of Christians towards the representatives of that society. Having accepted the pact, Christians were called *mu'ahidūn* ("keepers of the pact"), and they periodically renewed it through acts of political, military and fiscal submission. Failure to comply with the pact led to accusation of rebellion.

When the Islamic régime was initially established in al-Andalus at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the pact was applied in a general way: it

was granted, by the conquerors, to the Christian Visigothic authorities (the royal family and the local governing families).²⁹ Wall-paintings in an Eastern Umayyad palace show sovereigns, King Rodrigo (Roderic) of Hispania among them, submitting to the Islamic ruling power.³⁰

The pact was not always formally written down, but a text has in fact been preserved in which we can read the agreement signed by a son of the governor of Qayrawān, on behalf of the Umayyads of Damascus, and the local ruler of *Sharq al-Andalus*, Tudmīr of Oriola.³¹ By the terms of this text, the Muslim authorities grant the Christians personal, communal, religious and cultural rights, and also rights of land-ownership, while the Christians, as *ahl al-dhimma* ("people under protection"), acknowledge Islamic authority by paying taxes and submitting to the military power of Islam. Arabic chronicles tell of a number of Visigothic personages who subsequently travelled to the East to confirm the pact before the Caliph of Damascus, and this original pact is mentioned—though not always in an explicit form—in the course of later historical developments, when mention is made of its renewal or of punishment for rebelling against it.³²

The initial pact affected all the subjects of the Visigothic authorities in Hispania, from both a political and a juridical viewpoint. All the *Hispanii*—the inhabitants of the Peninsula and other territories beyond the Pyrenees (as far as Narbonne) under the sway of the Visigothic authorities—were regarded by the new Islamic authorities as their own subjects, this also applying to the Jews. It was of no concern to the Andalusī Muslims that part of this population was in fact pagan, or had rebelled against the Visigoths, as was the case in the Cantabrian Mountains and the Pyrenees; only in a few cases, when there was no acknowledged Christian authority, was part of the population accorded the status of *majūs*, entailing a second-class protection pact.³³ This initial juridical status of the Christians does much to explain Christian relations with the Islamic authorities in al-Andalus, and also, in some degree, the particular nature of Christianity within the medieval Peninsular kingdoms.³⁴

The pact enabled all the inhabitants of islamised Hispania to be regarded officially as Christians (what we now call Mozarabs). As such they enjoyed, in principle, the same rights as Christians in any other Islamic society: to practise their own religious rites, to manage their personal and private affairs according to their own laws, to retain their own authorities and to preserve their cultural identity. In practice, as we shall see, many of these Christians were unable to preserve their status for long.

II.2 *The preservation of Christian status within Islamic society*

If I have perhaps stressed the difficulties of early Christian communities in al-Andalus, the nature of both the Christian and the Muslim religions provides justification for this.³⁵ The difficulties of being Christian, and of prac-

tising this religion within a Muslim environment, underlie some of the specific characteristics of the communities in question.

According to the principles of medieval Christianity, baptism and a priestly presence were required for the maintenance of a Christian community. Baptism was necessary to incorporate new members into the Church—these being of Christian or pagan origin, since Islamic law forbids proselytising among Muslims (this was not, anyway, a normal activity among Christians,³⁶ except in the case of children, especially daughters, where a Muslim man had married a Christian woman).³⁷

The rite of baptism normally requires a priest and the use of holy oil consecrated by a bishop,³⁸ and the continued existence of Christian communities in al-Andalus therefore depended on sufficient priests to baptise the children of Christians and Mozarabs. Both priests and bishops are necessary to maintain the continuity of Christendom, since without bishops no baptism can be carried out and no priests can be ordained; this, together with other communal functions in which other priests or laymen can however stand in for him, constitutes the bishop's basic importance. Moreover, to create new bishops it is necessary to be sure of an "abundance" of bishops in the country, as the rite of consecrating a new bishop requires the presence of three other bishops, besides the candidate himself.³⁹ It was equally important to maintain monasteries where new bishops were prepared for their duties; for, as is still the case in most Christian churches in the East, only monks could be consecrated as bishops.

There is documentary evidence of bishops, during the Islamic period, only in the southern region of the Peninsula (Córdoba, Seville, Málaga, Guadix, etc.). At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a document speaks of a monastery in Játiva, stating that it now came under the Byzantine jurisdiction of the Balearic Islands,⁴⁰ and there is also mention of monasteries in the Córdoba mountains (until the mid 3rd/9th century) and, probably, in the Málaga mountains until the beginning of the 4th/10th century (the centre of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn's rebellion in Bobastro was, I believe, a Christian monastery, used as a seminary for bishops)⁴¹ and in the Granada region at the beginning of the 6th/12th century.⁴² It is possible, too, that there were consecrated bishops, or at least consecrated priests, in the northern Christian territories; we know at any rate of a bishop of Toledo who was consecrated in León in the mid-11th century.⁴³

The internal structure of the Christian communities meant that it was difficult for them to preserve their existence in the context of an Islamic society, because it was difficult to have enough bishops and priests under these circumstances. It was not easy to baptise the children of Christian families, who were then lost to the Church.

From the point of view of Islam, there were also specific conditions involved with respect to maintaining the status of Christians. According to

Islamic law, Christians, Jews and *majūs* had the right to practise their religions and should not be forced to convert to Islam (although social pressure was applied to convert, especially in the case of persons condemned to death, whose sentence was remitted if they abandoned Christianity).⁴⁴ According to these same laws, however, Christians were subject to their own communal authorities, who were themselves responsible for the community to the Islamic authorities, on both the political and the fiscal level. For Mozarabs the communal authority was a church or bishopric, while foreign Christians were represented by their bishop or sovereign. We may note, once more, the importance of bishops in preserving the existence and status of these communities (the neo-Mozarabs, as foreigners temporarily resident, did not need to belong to a local community in al-Andalus, being subject, in theory, to their Christian country of origin).

Quite apart from the legal aspect, the Islamic authorities had a political interest in keeping Christians within their own communities. It has been suggested that this interest was mainly of a fiscal nature, but it should be remembered that wealthy Christian families able to pay high taxes were rare, and normally converted to Islam in any case to protect their privileges, while the poorer classes in the cities and the population in the countryside were of no great importance as Christian tax-payers.⁴⁵

What was far more important to the Umayyads was to keep a Mozarab Christian community as a symbol of their supreme political and religious sovereignty, so as to be like their ancestors in Damascus, and they also used the community as an element in their dialogue with foreign Christian countries. This particular aspect of Islamic politics only, of course, applies to Córdoba, where Christian bishops acted as diplomats and translators until the middle of the 4th/10th century.⁴⁶

The case of Hosteogis, bishop of Málaga in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, is highly significant: Christians from Córdoba accused him of reporting Christian peasants to the Muslim fiscal authorities in order to have them registered and so force them to pay taxes as Christians, the accusation being specifically brought, both against him and against the bishop of Elvira (Granada), by the Cordoban abbot Sansón.⁴⁷

What this accusation in fact reveals is how the bishops intended to keep these peasants as Christians, and as members of a Christian community presided over and represented by a bishop, vis-à-vis the Muslim authorities. If they were not registered as Christians on the political, religious and fiscal level, then they ceased to hold Christian status within Islamic society—which is precisely what happened in nearly all the territories under Islamic control, including the northern Christian territories.

Two further points confirm the “success” of the abused 3rd/9th century Malagan bishop. First, we find, in the following century, documentary evidence for only two nuclei of Mozarabs: in Málaga (the supporters of ‘Umar

b. Ḥafṣūn and his rebellion) and in Córdoba (in connection with palace activities). Second, it is only in Málaga that we find traces of a Christian presence during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries (and this, in fact, only by way of Roman ecclesiastical documents dealing with an internal conflict over the election and consecration of a bishop).⁴⁸

When Alfonso I undertook his military expedition to recruit Christians from Andalucía for his newly acquired territories in the Ebro valley, he took them from the rural regions. These Christians may have been the descendants of peasants included in the tax rolls of Muslim authorities, or simply descendants of Christians unable to maintain their status due to a lack of priests but maintaining their Christian traditions. Those from Granada asserted that they had been baptised. It was in Málaga and Granada that the existence at least of a monastery and a clergy helped ensure the continuity of Christian communities—precisely those regions where, in the 3rd/9th century, the two bishops arranged for the registration of Christians on the Muslim tax rolls.⁴⁹

However, those rural populations with pre-Islamic traditions but without baptism cannot be considered as Christians, nor were they so regarded either by Christianity or by Islam. They had lost their legal status as Christians due to the inability of the Christian church structure to revise the methods by which one might become a Christian (baptism remaining the sole means) and because of the communal structure of ecclesiastical authority (involving the clergy and, above all, bishoprics).

If it was hard for Mozarabs descended from Visigothic Christians to keep their Christian status, it must have been difficult, too, for the neo-Mozarabs, foreigners entering al-Andalus from outside. We know of some who became integrated within the Mozarab communities, such as a Cordoban military man martyred in the mid-3rd/9th century,⁵⁰ but others went to considerable lengths to maintain themselves as a foreign Christian community (consider, for example, the Christians of Denia—or the Jews of the same place—who, in the 5th/11th century, looked to Barcelona for spiritual leadership;⁵¹ those from Tortosa, who also had links with Barcelona; those from Saragossa, Huesca and Lérida, who attempted to forge stronger links with the Christian territories in the Pyrenees; those from 5th/11th century Toledo, from León,⁵² from 7th/13th century Valencia, etc.). However, these neo-Mozarabs converted more or less quickly to Islam (the case of the *ṣaqāliba*, mentioned above), or else went back to their countries of origin, as did Sinando Dávídiz,⁵³ or the Cid's Christians in Valencia (together with their French bishop, who died as Bishop of Salamanca).⁵⁴ Their retention of Christian status was no more difficult or easy than it was for their co-religionists of Visigothic ancestry.

It is this difficulty in maintaining Christian status within Islamic society which poses the basic problem when considering the conversion of Andalusi Mozarabs or Christians to Islam.

II.3 *The loss of Christian status: conversion to Islam*

One of the most intriguing problems of Andalusī history has always concerned the conversion of the majority of the population, over a period of more than three centuries, to Islam.⁵⁵ Hispania was officially Christian when conquered by Islam at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century; yet, by the 5th/11th century, it was overwhelmingly Muslim, with only a very few, scattered references found to Christians.

Arabic and Christian sources alike preserve an inexplicable silence over the conversion of these Hispanic masses. There is no mention of this huge loss of believers in the Latin texts of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries; there are, as is well-known, complaints about how Christians were losing their language, but nothing is said of their religion. Only among the Córdoba martyrs and their families, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, do we find examples of religious dilemma, these invariably involving either children from mixed marriages or Christians condemned to death for blasphemy against Islam and offered the possibility of saving their lives through conversion. There are also some indirect indications of conversion to Islam among descendants of Visigothic noble families, such as the Banū Qasī in the Ebro valley or the so-called *musālīma* and *ṣaqālība*, who occasionally appear in the Arabic sources. Legal Islamic texts provide us with formulae for the conversion of Christians to Islam, but these apply to individuals and were probably used throughout Andalusī history when accepting neo-Mozarabs into Islam. It is highly improbable, however, that these formulaic texts are relevant to the early Christians who became Muslims in the 2nd/8th century.⁵⁶

This lack of direct references has given rise to three distinct methodological approaches attempting to account indirectly for the disappearance of the Mozarabs.

The first of these, which might be termed the "permanence approach", is that traditionally favoured by Spanish historiography, beginning with the monumental work by Simonet.⁵⁷ For this school of thought, the process of conversion was very slow, and an important Mozarab population lived on until the 6th/12th century, an essential prop of this theory being the demographic importance of the Mozarab community in Christian Toledo at the end of 11th century (it has, however, now been shown that the Toledan rebellions of the 4th/10th century do not imply a Christian presence,⁵⁸ while Rubiera has proved that many 5th/11th century Mozarabs were of Muslim origin and not of local Christian descent).⁵⁹

According to this theory, Christians are not normally mentioned in extant Arabic and Latin documents because of their secondary position in Andalusī society, the rare references to them concerning only outstanding personalities among the Mozarabs (never among the neo-Mozarabs). However (the theory continues), the migration of monks and bishops to the northern Christian territories (especially in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries) is proof



of the vitality of the Christian church in al-Andalus. Moreover, even after taking into account the forging of documents by historians prior to the 18th century, books on the lives of bishops from the old Visigothic sees furnish proof of the continued existence of these bishoprics, even though the names of the bishops themselves have not been preserved.⁶⁰ This approach concludes, finally, that the extinction of Christian Mozarabs was caused by Almoravid and Almohad persecution in the 6th/12th century.

For this school, then, the silence of the sources merely reflects their shortcomings: Arabic sources lacked interest in Mozarabs, as they did in many other aspects of social life.

The second approach is the "onomastic" one favoured by the North American scholar R. Bulliet⁶¹ and, after him (though not without some reservations) by other historians of al-Andalus.⁶² This highly innovative approach aims to surmount the silence about conversion to Islam by resorting to onomastic and genealogical data found in Arabic sources. When—in the case of al-Andalus—information is found concerning a family bearing a Hispanic name, the first Muslim name in the onomastic sequence is regarded as that of the first convert to Islam; and, if this kind of information is pursued statistically, the results may be applied to the overall Christian community in al-Andalus—as in other Muslim countries—to establish a "conversion curve". Bulliet concludes that the high point of this curve is found, in al-Andalus, during the 4th/10th century, and that prior to the middle of this century half the population of al-Andalus was still Christian.⁶³

The main value of this approach lies in its novel means of tackling the problem; the conclusions themselves are hardly dramatic, and the approach is perhaps more suitable for the Christian communities in the Middle East—for which it was devised—than for al-Andalus, where certain defects become evident. To begin with, the method fails to take account of the weakness of the ecclesiastical structures maintaining Christian status both on the religious and the legal level. As for the analysis of Muslim names, it is far from sure that the adoption of such a name implies conversion to Islam—its use could equally reflect social pressure or fashion; and while it may be accepted that there was, as a consequence of 'Umar b. Ḥaḥṣūn's defeat and the promotion of Arab-Islamic culture, a general reaction against everything connected with Latin culture in the 4th/10th century, it does not seem wise to identify the use of Latin words or names with Christian religious status.

Muslims in al-Andalus might very well have kept these Latin traditions, and yet have been considered, from a religious and sociological viewpoint, as Muslims. On the other hand, to interpret interruptions in the onomastic sequences as reflecting the presence of a convert is hardly convincing; for, according to the Arabic onomastic system, these interruptions could spring from many other causes, and the date of conversion to Islam changed ac-

cordingly. Finally, the sample studied from al-Andalus is not very large (only 154 onomastic sequences), and involves urban social groups mainly of Cordoban origin.

It is surprising, too, that no historical source, whether Muslim, Christian Mozarab or foreign, makes any allusion to the fact that half the population of 4th/10th century al-Andalus was Christian. Surely the sparseness of information reflects the sparseness of the Christian population.

The third approach (proposed by the present writer)⁶⁴ might be referred to as the "Christian and Muslim law" approach.

Visigothic society was, admittedly, a Christian one; but something also not to be forgotten is the inability of the ecclesiastical structure to cater for the officially Christian mass of the population at the moment of the conquest, these shortcomings appearing mainly in two crucial areas of religious and also political importance: baptism as a means of receiving new members into the Christian communities, and bishoprics as a means of supporting these communities and representing them *vis-à-vis* the Muslim authorities. As a consequence, the Mozarab Church lost the greater part of the Peninsula's inhabitants to Islam, since the latter could neither be pagans nor remain Christians. The same process occurred in the mountainous regions of the North, where the indigenous population converted to Christianity when it came under the government of Christian authorities.

Andalusi Christianity remained organised in some small urban and semi-urban communities as long as it could maintain a line of bishops. This was mainly the case in Andalucía, where such communities were of symbolic value to the Cordoban political power and were protected accordingly, though there was also a strong impetus to convert to Islam due to social pressure from Muslims and a loss of cultural prestige on the part of Latin Christendom. These Andalusi communities were reinforced by the—surely late—registering of rural masses from Málaga, Granada (and possibly Córdoba and Guadix) within the Christian census.

The rural communities preserved more of their traditional cultural identity, so that, while nominally converted to Islam, they found it easier to return to Christianity when Toledo and the east of the Peninsula were conquered.

For all these reasons, I believe that the conversion of Peninsular Christians to Islam was a collective phenomenon, with religious and political structural causes, and was globally produced during the 2nd/8th century.⁶⁵ However, small, well-organised Christian nuclei continued to exist throughout the Umayyad period (2nd/8th-5th/11th century), both in Andalusi cities and in some southern rural areas, the numbers being supplemented by foreign neo-Mozarabs.

The "islamisation" of the Iberian Peninsula must, then, be regarded as entailing two stages: a first stage of official mass islamisation occurring within a few generations of the conquest, and a second which was a true islamisa-

tion of social life. The latter was a slow process, and affected the Christians of al-Andalus relatively little; it mainly concerned the Muslim population, although the latter also retained common links with the Christians with whom they lived in a society still exhibiting Hispanic characteristics.

From the viewpoint of the Christian communities, these two stages correspond first to the official Christianity of the Visigothic society conquered by the Muslims and, second, to a true "christianisation", taking effect after the conquest and attained through the organisation of small communities which were, in fact, heirs to the Visigothic Church. The conversion was mainly "official": officially Christian masses—Christian because their authorities were Christians—became officially Muslim, because their authorities asked them to be Christians in a structured way, so as to be able to maintain Christian status. In the Middle East, it was possible for this condition to be fulfilled—due to the possibility of being Christian according to this particular structure—up to present times.

III. HISTORICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSIONS

III.1 *The development of Mozarabic communities*

From the scattered documentary data and the basic hypothesis concerning conversion to and from Christianity, it is possible to establish a general demographic scheme for Christian communities in al-Andalus. The development of these communities in fact follows the general pattern of Christian and Muslim demographic evolution in the Muslim world as a whole;⁶⁶ the peculiarity of al-Andalus lies in the existence of "refuge" territories, inhabited only by Christians, in the northern parts of the Peninsula.

When Islamic power became established in Visigothic Hispania, all the inhabitants of the latter were legally regarded as Christians, because previously subject to the Christian power of the Toledo kings. Only certain Jewish communities and certain Basques of uncertain religion (and therefore regarded as *majūs* by Islamic law) would have a separate status, which was nevertheless similar to the Christian status as *mu'āhidūn* ("keepers of the pact") or *dhimmī* ("protected").

In the course of the 2nd/8th century, Christian communities in al-Andalus organised themselves along three different lines:

- 1) In cities with bishops, and within these cities' areas of influence, Christian communities were organised according to the Eastern Islamic social pattern. They were based on the Christian structure of the Visigothic Church and culture, and their members were the true Mozarabs.
- 2) In the mountainous regions of Cantabria and the Pyrenees, Christian political authorities established themselves in what would subsequently become the northern Christian kingdoms. The inhabitants of these regions

were legally regarded as Christians, and they had priests, monasteries and bishops according to an increasingly ultra-Pyrenean model. The weight of pre-Islamic Visigothic or Toledan tradition was still important, but, more and more, they became subject to Roman and Carolingian influence. While these Christian communities were in fact increasingly autonomous *vis-à-vis* the Muslim society of al-Andalus, they were regarded as "Christian rebels" under the government of Cordoban Umayyads.

3) The majority of the population in the regions directly controlled by Muslims (that is, the whole of the Peninsula with the exception of the mountainous northern territories), who were not registered as members of Christian or Jewish communities, became officially Muslim. They had no other political or religious option in terms of the political law of Islam to which al-Andalus was then subject.

Thus, three kinds of development dominated Christian, or Mozarab, demography in al-Andalus up to the end of the Umayyad period:

1) Structured Christian communities remained, based on cities with bishops, as long as they could maintain the institution of bishops and its "wet-nurse" institution, the monasteries. This did in fact happen in Andalucía, Mérida and Toledo, but they disappeared in the eastern regions, the Ebro Valley and the central regions, though some communities continued to exist, ministered to by foreign priests, in cities having links with the northern Christian territories (perhaps in Tortosa, Saragossa, Huesca and Denia, at least during the *īā'ifa* period).

Membership of these communities was diminished by individual conversions to Islam, by persecutions in 3rd/9th century Córdoba and, above all, by mass migrations—of monks and priests especially—to the northern Christian territories.⁶⁷ The communities would, though, acquire new members through the conversion to Christianity of rural and non-islamised populations evangelised from the cities. This was the case of Málaga and its mountains in the 3rd/9th century.

2) Christian communities in the northern Christian kingdoms conformed increasingly to European Christian norms, with a correspondingly intensified Christianisation of their rural populations, and also followed a policy of attracting Mozarab communities from within Islamic society. At the same time, they provided this Islamic society with migrants, whether neo-Mozarabs—living as Christians for more or less lengthy periods—or new Muslims, generally fully integrated into the society.

3) The majority of the Andalusī population, of Christian origin though officially islamised during the 2nd/8th century, continued to convert to Islam over the following centuries, no matter how long they kept pre-Islamic traditions within their culture. Some nuclei were re-Christianised (as in Málaga in the 3rd/9th century) either through evangelisation or, later on, following territorial conquests by the northern Christian kingdoms.

The fall of the central Cordoban power and the subsequent rich and renewing period of the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms entailed demographic changes for the Christian communities in al-Andalus. First, these communities lost the political support they had previously received, for religious and political reasons, from the sovereigns of Córdoba. At the same time, groups of Christians became established around the *ṭāʾifa* courts, partly for precisely the same reasons of prestige and partly for commercial reasons; this is applicable to the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms of Toledo, Badajoz, Seville, Saragossa, Denia, Valencia and Tortosa.⁶⁸ Many Christians from the northern Christian kingdoms were attracted to the Muslim territories for reasons of work, subsequently returning to their countries of origin not only with the fruits of their labour but also bearing the cultural influence of al-Andalus. Cases of Christians who went from one Muslim city to another are also documented: from Guadix and Córdoba to Toledo; from Toledo to Valencia; from Córdoba to Denia; and so on.

With the conquest of Toledo (478/1085) and its surrounding region, Mozarabs became concentrated in this city, some being of Andalusī Christian origin and some Muslim converts to Christianity. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the expeditions of Alfonso I of Aragon into the southern and eastern Peninsular territories enabled him to retrieve Christian populations—or populations of old Christian origin—to repopulate the newly conquered kingdom of Saragossa.

The last evidence of Christian communities in al-Andalus emerges in the light of Almoravid and Almohad policy in the 6th/12th century, when Christians, together with Jewish communities, were expelled from al-Andalus to the Western Maghrib.⁶⁹ A number of these expelled Christians and Jews would later emigrate to Peninsular Christian territories, where they were finally assimilated into medieval Christian society.

Neo-Mozarab Christians continued to be found in the Iberian Peninsula until the end of Islam's political presence (Granada, 897/1492),⁷⁰ and Christians converting to Islam (*elches*) are also documented.⁷¹ After the 5th/11th century, however, there is no proof of any continuous Christian Mozarab communities in al-Andalus. All we find—up to our own day—is the Toledan “Mozarab” parishes, reflecting this emblematic Christian minority in al-Andalus.

III.2 *The emblematic historiographical character of Mozarabs*

Mozarabs had an emblematic character for the medieval Christian kingdoms (as they have also had for modern Christian Spain), because they were the religious—and hence political—heirs to the pre-Islamic Christian régime. The medieval Christian kingdoms, it was felt, acquired historical legitimacy through the absorption of Mozarabs, and the latter's existence also legitimised these kingdoms' fight against the Islamic ruling power, which was regarded as usurping and occupying. Without the Mozarabs, this Islamic

power would have been the rightful heir to the Visigoths, who were militarily defeated and whose Toledan sovereigns (Roderic and the sons of Witiza) gave up their political rights. In the eyes of modern Spanish nationalism, and for Spanish Christianity of all ages, the Mozarabs were the political and military victims of the Muslim conquest, which is to be seen as unjust and illegitimate. This was the ideological basis of the *reconquista*, viewed as a righteous campaign lasting over eight centuries and establishing the foundation for the Hispanic and Christian character of Spanish society.

For medieval and modern Christian society, Mozarabs are also an emblematic symbol of the enduringly Christian character of Hispanic and Spanish society, a society founded on the religious and cultural values of Catholicism and Latinity.

The continued existence of these Christians during the Muslim period has been of a particular and emblematic importance in two cases: that of Toledo (justifying the primacy of the bishops of this city over the other bishops of Spain) and that of Valencia (indicating the autonomous and non-Catalan origin of the language spoken in this region).⁷²

However, this Christian minority living within Muslim society has also been used as a symbol of the plural character of this society on the religious and social level. Muslims present this plurality as a proof of the tolerance of Islam, and of its capacity to assimilate different religions into an integral project of civilisation, that of the splendid Islamic culture of al-Andalus; while for many modern intellectuals, Spanish and otherwise, this religious and cultural plurality of al-Andalus is an emblematic example, to be used as an antidote against all manner of monolithic religious, ideological or political temptation.

These two emblematic aspects (the continuity of Spanish Christianity and the religious plurality of al-Andalus) explain why the Mozarabs have attracted so many studies and essays, and also why they have been the subjects of so much ideological manipulation—manipulation caused, it should be noted, not only by prejudice, but also by the scarcity of information about Christians in the extant sources, both Islamic-Arabic and Christian-Latin.

¹ See F. Codera y Zaydín, *Mozárabes. Su condición social y política* (Doctoral Dissertation, Lérida, 1866); E. Lafuente Alcántara, *Condición y revoluciones de algunas razas españolas y especialmente de la mozárabe en la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1874; J. Pedregal y Fantini, *Estado social y cultural de los mozárabes y mudéjares españoles*, Seville, 1898; and, especially, the important work of F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid, 1897-1903 (reprints Amsterdam, 1967, and Madrid, 1983).

² See also M. de Epalza, "Les Mozarabes. Etat de la question", *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* (forthcoming); *idem*, "Sobre el origen islámico del adopcionismo: influencias musulmanas encubiertas en el cristianismo latino", *Coloquio Internacional. Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media*, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1991; *idem*, "Influencias religiosas islámicas y su detección en el Cristianismo latino", in *Al-Andalus encuentro de tres mundos: Europa, Mundo Árabe e Iberoamérica*, Seville, 1991.

³ See I. Lichtendsdáder, "Musta'rib(a)", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden-London, 1961, p. 418 (from the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

⁴ See A. González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid, 1926-30; F. Fernández Serrano, "De 'Re' onomástica: Mozárabe, un apellido del Alto Aragón", in *Genealogías mozárabes*, Toledo, 1981, I, 91; R. Hitchcock, "El supuesto mozarabismo andaluz", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, Córdoba, 1978, I, 149-51; *idem*, "¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes? Una contribución a la historia del mozarabismo", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 30, 1981, pp. 575-85.

⁵ See M. Marín, "Rûm in the works of three Spanish Muslim Geographers", *Graeco-Arabica*, 3, 1983, pp. 109-17.

⁶ See M. de Epalza, *Jésus otage. Juifs, chrétiens et musulmans en Espagne (VIIe-XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1987, pp. 201-02.

⁷ See the analysis of this Arabic and Islamic term in M. de Epalza, "Los cristianos en las Baleares musulmanas", in *Les Illes Orientals d'Al-Andalus*, Palma de Mallorca, 1987, pp. 133-43, and "Descadbellament polític i militar dels musulmans a terres catalanes (segles VIII-XI)", in *Millenari de Catalunya* (Barcelona).

⁸ See A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris, 1860, II, 86.

⁹ See J. Vernet, "Los médicos andaluces en el 'Libro de las generaciones de médicos' de Ibn Yul'ul", in *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra, 1979, pp. 445-62.

¹⁰ On the missionary bishop sent by the Pope to al-Andalus at the end of the 2nd/8th century, see J. Vives, "Egila", in *Diccionario de Historia Ecclesiástica de España*, Madrid, 1972, II, 778; on the military man called the "Prince of the Franks", see Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 460, and A. Makki, "Pasajes del *Muqtabis* de Ibn Hayyân de interés para la historia del siglo IX. Un magnate franco al servicio de 'Abd al-Rahmân II", *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 41-42, 1965, pp. 337-38; on the Berber Felix of Alcála, see Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-49. For a later period (6th/12th century), see J. Beneyto Pérez, "Sobre siervos cristianos bajo el dominio musulmán", *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 13, 1932, pp. 361-65, and M. J. Rubiera and M. de Epalza, *Xàtiva musulmana (sigles VIII-XIII)*, Játiva, 1987, pp. 88-89.

¹¹ See R. Menéndez Pidal and E. García Gómez, "El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davídz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas", *Al-Andalus*, 12, 1947, pp. 27-41. Sisnando was born in Christian territory, in what is now Portugal. See also J. Camón Aznar, "El Cid, personaje mozárabe", *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 17, 1947, pp. 109-41.

¹² The matter of "neo-Mozarabs" was first raised and studied by M. de Epalza and E. Llobregat, "¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras Valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la Península", *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, 36, 1982, pp. 7-31, and M. de Epalza, "La islamización de al-Andalus: mozárabes y neo-mozárabes" *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, 23, 1985-86, pp. 171-79.

¹³ See M. J. Rubiera Mata, "Un insólito caso de conversas musulmanas al cristianismo: las princesas toledanas del siglo XI", in *Las mujeres en el cristianismo medieval*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 341-47; *idem*, "Les premiers Mores convertis ou les prémices de la tolérance", in *Tolède XIIe-XIIIe siècles. Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, ed. L. Cardillac, Paris, 1991, pp. 102-11; *idem*, "Madrid hace 900 años" in *Madrid, el agua y el urbanismo musulmán*, Madrid, 1990.

¹⁴ See M. T. Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el segle XIV. Segregació i discriminació*, Barcelona, 1987, pp. 63-83.

¹⁵ R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden, 1881, I, 679; II, 849.

¹⁶ See F. Mañillo Salgado, "Diacronía y sentido del Término Elche. Contribución al estudio del medioevo español y su léxico", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 30/1, 1982, pp. 79-98.

¹⁷ See Biberstein-Kazimirski, *op. cit.*, II, 184.

¹⁸ See A. M. al-'Abbādi, *Los eslavos en España. Ojeada sobre su origen, desarrollo y relación con el movimiento de la šu'ūbiyya*, Madrid, 1953.

¹⁹ On the Sardinian family of the rulers of Denia in the 5th/11th century, see M. J. Rubiera Mata, *La Taifa de Denia*, Alicante, 1988, pp. 70-71 and 114.

²⁰ On religious movements in general, see M. I. Fierro Bello, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid, 1987.

²¹ On these, see E. P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Cordoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources*, Washington, 1962; K. B. Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge, 1988. For the

general framework of the problem, see A. Turki, "Situation du 'tributaire' qui insulte l'Islam, au regard de la doctrine et de la jurisprudence musulmanes", *Studia Islamica*, 30, 1969, pp. 39-72.

²² See de Epalza, "Sobre el origen islámico"; D. Millet-Gerard, *Chrétiens, mozarabes et culture islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIIe et IXe siècles*, Paris, 1984, and the Latin texts edited by J. Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabiorum*, Madrid, 1973, 2 vols.

²³ See A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut, 1958.

²⁴ See S. Şaléh, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. Ahkām ahl al-dhīmā*, Damascus, 1381/1961.

²⁵ See M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, 1984; *idem*, "The effects of the Muslim Conquest on the Persian Population of Iraq", *Iran*, 14, 1976, pp. 41-59; *idem*, "The Age of Conversions: A Reassessment", in *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi, Toronto, 1990, pp. 135-50.

²⁶ See M. Dall'Arche, *Scomparsa del Cristianesimo ed espansione dell'Islam nell'Africa settentrionale*, Rome, 1967; R. M. Speight, "The Place of the Christians in Ninth Century North Africa According to Muslim Sources", *Islamochristiana*, 4, 1978, pp. 47-65; J. Cuq, *L'Eglise d'Afrique du Nord du IIe au XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1984; M. Talbi, "Le christianisme maghrébin de la conquête musulmane à sa disparition: une tentative d'explication", in Gervers and Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and Continuity*, pp. 313-51.

²⁷ See M. A. Khallaf and M. A. Makki, *Documentos sobre procesos referentes a las comunidades neo-musulmanas en la España musulmana* (in Arabic), Cairo, 1980.

²⁸ See note 7 above.

²⁹ See A. M. Howell, "Some Notes on Early Treaties between Muslims and the Visigothic Rulers of al-Andalus", *Actas del I Congreso de historia de Andalucía*, Córdoba, 1978, I, 3-14.

³⁰ See M. Almagro, L. Caballero, J. Zozaya and A. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra. Residencia y baños omeyas en el desierto de Jordania*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 57, 84, 95-102, 104 and illustrations XVI and XVII.

³¹ See E. Llobregat, *Teodomiro de Oriola. Su vida y su obra*, Alicante, 1973.

³² See Rubiera and de Epalza, *Xàtiva musulmana*, pp. 37-46 and 107-15; de Epalza "Los cristianos en las Baleares"; *idem*, "Mallorca bajo la autoridad compartida de bizantinos y árabes (siglos VIII-IX)", *Homenaje a Juan Sergio Nadal*, Athens, in press.

³³ On mass conversions in Galicia in the 2nd/8th century, see Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17, and F. Castelló, *El "Dikr al-aqālim" de Ishāq Ibn al-Zayyāt (Tratado de Geografía Universal)*, Barcelona, 1989, pp. 254, 256 (Spanish translation) and pp. 255, 257 (Arabic text). On Basques as *majūs*, see M. J. Rubiera Mata, "Alava y los alaveses en los textos árabes medievales", in *La formación de Alava*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1984, pp. 385-93, and M. de Epalza, "El derecho político musulmán y su influencia en la formación de Alava (siglos VIII-XI)", *Estudios de Deusto*, 32/73, 1984, pp. 504-18.

³⁴ See de Epalza, "Influencias religiosas islámicas". For the difficulty of accepting non-Muslim authority over Muslims, see the Andalusī text in L. Mercier, *Aly Ben Abderrahman Ben Hodeil El Andalusi. L'ornement des Ames et la devise des habitants d'El Andalus, Traité de guerre sainte islamique*, Paris, 1939, II, 70.

³⁵ See note 12 above.

³⁶ One of the princes of the Umayyad dynasty converted to Christianity; see E. Terés, "Líneas árabes en al-Andalus según la 'Yamhara' de Ibn Hazm", *Al-Andalus*, 26, 1952, p. 83.

³⁷ On Muslim law regarding these "muladies" (Latin *mollites*), see Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

³⁸ See Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, Madrid, 1933, II, 2nd part, 56-61.

³⁹ On this problem in North Africa in the 3rd/9th century, see Talbi, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-25.

⁴⁰ See de Epalza, "Los cristianos en las Baleares", p. 137; Rubiera and de Epalza, *Xàtiva*, pp. 110-11.

⁴¹ See J. Vallvé, "De nuevo sobre Bobastro", *Al-Andalus*, 30, 1965, pp. 139-76; M. Riu, "Marmuyas, sede de una población mozárabe en los montes de Málaga", *Mainake*, 2-3, 1980-81, pp. 235-62; S. Fernández López, "Marmuyas (montes de Málaga): urbanismo musulmán en un ámbito rural", in *La Ciudad Islámica*, ed. M. de Epalza and J. L. Corral, Saragossa, 1991, pp. 343-52. My own hypothesis concerning Bobastro as a monastery is explained in *La rābīta islāmīca, Historia institucional*, Sant Carles de la Ràpita, in press.

⁴² See S. Mariner Bigorra, "Epitafio versificado y acróstico del abad mozárabe Recosindo", *Ampurias*, 22-23, 1986, pp. 129-33.

⁴³ See M. de Epalza and M. J. Rubiera, "Los cristianos toledanos bajo dominación musulmana", *Símpoio Toledo Hispano-Arabe*, Toledo, 1986, pp. 129-33.

⁴⁴ See note 21 above.

⁴⁵ See D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1950.

⁴⁶ See A. Paz y Melia, *Embajada del Emperador de Alemania Otón I al Califa de Córdoba Abderrahmán I*, Madrid, 1872.

⁴⁷ See F. Guillén Robles, *Málaga musulmana*, Málaga, 1880, pp. 44-50.

⁴⁸ See Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIX-XL, LII and 735-37.

⁴⁹ See note 42 above, and Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 747-50; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región. Novedades y rectificaciones*, Vol. III, Valencia, 1970, pp. 51-64.

⁵⁰ See Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

⁵¹ See Rubiera Mata, *La Taifa de Denia*, pp. 101-04.

⁵² See note 43 above.

⁵³ See note 11 above.

⁵⁴ See M. de Epalza and S. Gellouz, *Le Cid, personnage historique et littéraire*, Paris, 1983, pp. 35-36, 40-42, 58-61.

⁵⁵ See E. García Gómez's introduction to E. Lévi-Provençal's *España musulmana*, Madrid, 1958, p. XIII: "una imensa masa histórica se ha volatilizado sin ruido, se ha ahogado en el silencio más espeso, bajo una mar tumultuosa en la que apenas afloran luego los pequeños islotes de las colonias y de los cenobios mozárabes".

⁵⁶ See M. Abumalham, "La conversión según formularios notariales andalusíes: valoración de la legalidad de la conversión de Maimónides", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 1985, pp. 71-84, and P. Chalmeta, "Le passage à l'Islam dans al-Andalus au Xe siècle", *Actas del XII Congreso de la U. E. A. I.*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 161-83.

⁵⁷ See Note 1 above.

⁵⁸ See note 43 above.

⁵⁹ See note 13 above.

⁶⁰ See J. F. Rivera Recio, *Los arzobispos de Toledo desde sus orígenes hasta fines del siglo XI*, Toledo, 1962; *idem*, "La Iglesia mozárabe", in *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, ed. R. García-Villoslada, Madrid, 1982, II/1, 12-60.

⁶¹ See R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1979; *idem*, "Process and Status in Conversion and Continuity", in Gervers and Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity*, pp. 1-12.

⁶² See Morony, "The Age of Conversions"; P. Guichard, "Les Mozarabes de Valence et d'al-Andalus entre l'histoire et le mythe", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 40, 1985, pp. 17-27.

⁶³ For al-Andalus, see Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* (curves on pp. 117-22). Bulliet's previous work had focused on Persian society; see his Doctoral Dissertation, published under the title *The Social History of Nishapur in the Eleventh Century*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1967, and "Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran", in *Conversion to Islam: papers 1972-1973*, ed. N. Levtzion, New York, 1979, pp. 30-51.

⁶⁴ See note 12 above, and "Les Mozarabes. Etat de la question". See also M. de Epalza, "Els mossarabs valencians i els topònims derivats de 'kanisa' àrab", *Miscel·lània d'homenatge a Enric Moreu-Rey*, Montserrat, 1988, II, 149-53; *idem*, "Islamic Social Structures in Muslim and Christian Valencia", in *Medieval Spain in the Western Mediterranean. A Conference in Honor of Robert I. Burns*, Los Angeles (in press).

⁶⁵ I am in general agreement with the opinion of Professor J. M. Ruiz Asensio, "Mozárabes", *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica Española*, Madrid, 1972, III, 1.747: "Al cumplirse el siglo de la conquista, la inmensa mayoría de la población hispanovisigótica había abrazado el Islam". This was at least an "official" conversion. We know very little about conceptions of "Christian life" and "Muslim life" in early al-Andalus; that is to say, what the specific religious behaviour of Muslim or Christian people was. See also R. W. Bulliet, "Conversion stories in Early Islam", in Gervers and Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity*, pp. 123-33: "In a sense, a convert first became a member of the Muslim community and later discovered, or tried to discover, what it meant to be a Muslim".

⁶⁶ See the good general synthesis in Bulliet, "Process and Status", pp. 7-8.

⁶⁷ On this particular subject, see J. Pérez Fernández-Figares, "Los mozárabes en el Norte de España", *Cuaderno de Estudios Medievales*, 12-13, 1984-85, pp. 155-76; F. Hernández

Giménez, "Los caminos de Córdoba hacia el Noroeste en época musulmana", *Al-Andalus*, 32, 1967, pp. 356-58 (about a bishop going from Mérida to León in 932); J. González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, Madrid, 1975 (on the migrations of Mozarabs "durante dos largas generaciones (856-932)"); V. Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes. El conflicto que fue España*, Madrid, 1978 (on the ideological influences of monks within Hispanic Christianity—a very interesting work); M. Riu, "Algunas noticias de Toledo en la Crónica de Luitprando", *Haciendo historia: Homenaje al prof. Carlos Seco*, Madrid, 1989, p. 81 (with reference to the year 815: "muchos cristianos hispanos, sobre todo de Toledo, oprimidos por el yugo de los sarracenos, huyen en grupos a las Galias, en cuanto pueden y hallan ocasión, a escondidas").

⁶⁸ For Toledo, see Rivera Recio, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-06, and de Epalza and Rubiera, "Los cristianos toledanos". On the bishops in *partibus infidelium* (those of Denia, Valencia and Tortosa), see R. I. Burns, *El Reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII*, Valencia, 1982, I, 130. See also F. Fita, "Obispos mozárabes refugiados en Toledo a mediados del siglo XII", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 30, 1897, pp. 529-32.

⁶⁹ See R. Idris, "Les tributaires en Occident Musulman médiéval d'après le 'Mi'yār' d'al-Wanšarisi", *Mélanges d'Islamologie dédiées ... à Armand Abel*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 182-84; V. Lagardère, "Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide en 519 H/1125 en al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 67, 1988, pp. 99-119.

⁷⁰ See note 10 above, and R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris, 1973, p. 201.

⁷¹ See Bulliet, "Conversion stories". see also, for a study of the best-known autobiography of a convert to Islam, my doctoral dissertation, *La Tuhfa. Autobiografía y polémica islámica contra el Cristianismo, de Abdalla at-Taryumân (Fray Anselmo Turmeda)*, University of Barcelona, 1967, Rome, 1971.

⁷² See note 64 above.

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THE MOZARABS: WORTHY BEARERS OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

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The great historian of Spanish art, Manuel Gómez-Moreno, has bequeathed us many works on Mozarab art and Islamic cultural influence, and in one of these he neatly summarises the basic historical context of the Mozarabic period:

Mozarab architecture is that cultivated by Spanish people who were subjected to the Arabs but who, insofar as that was possible, preserved their religion and institutions ... This was in the Islamic domain, but their proximity to the reconquered part of Spain caused strong Mozarabic influences to be felt there, whether through the infiltration of Christians who had escaped from Arab dominion or because the cultural superiority of the Caliphate of Córdoba gave them an advantage which helped them out of their initial poverty in the liberated society of the Christian north. This society had reached a low point of barbarism in the 10th century and had been in no state to stand up to the absorptive power of Córdoba; and, as such, a sensibility lying somewhere between Eastern and Andalusí, between Byzantine and Asiatic, was grafted on to a Christian social body still suffering from the political and cultural disaster brought about by the destruction of the Roman empire. This historic reality was eclipsed by subsequent reconstructive impulses and ended with the dissolution of Mozarabism, until Andalusí influences were again felt in the north in the form of Mudejarism, especially in the field of art.¹

Mozarab travellers began building churches and monasteries in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Following Gómez-Moreno we can identify the following (and also San Miguel de Escalada) as Mozarabic: San Cebrián de Mazote, Santiago de Peñalba and San Martín de Castañeda (also founded in the 10th century by a monk arriving from Córdoba) in León; San Millán de la Cogolla in Castile; Santa María de Melque in the still Muslim territory of Toledo; the churches of Vilanova de los Infantas and San Miguel de Celanova in Galicia; San Pedro de Lourosa near Coimbra, in Portugal; Sant Miquel de Cuxá, in Roussillon; and Sant Pere de Roda in the Catalan Pyrenees—not to mention many other monasteries and churches set in the countryside throughout the north of the Iberian Peninsula. The famous monastery of Santa María de Ripoll, in Cataluña, represents a second phase of Mozarabism.

These churches exhibit a further development of artistic elements brought from al-Andalus: the horseshoe arch, elongated and joined together with voussoirs; windows with geometric lattice-work or in paired horseshoe arches; the panel (*alfiz*) around the arches; flat doors; cupolas with egg-and-

leaf ornaments and arris reminiscent of the Mosque of Córdoba; the use of bricks; Corinthian capitals in fine limestone; friezes with geometric designs and plant themes, with birds pecking at grapes or figures of facing quadrupeds, of clear Persian influence; porticos of columns and the general use of arcades, as in Escalada, which fragment space in the style of the Mosque of Córdoba.

As for the sumptuary arts, a series of ivories in San Millán, reminiscent of the Cordoban ivories of the school of Khalaf, proclaims their Mozarabism. Other examples of Mozarab craftsmanship are various boxes, silver cups and crosses, incised with plant and animal motifs and inscriptions which frequently mix Arabic and Latin words, as in the little silver box of Bishop Arian in the cathedral of Oviedo, where "arabism" was, according to Gómez-Moreno, much appreciated.²

Mozarabic art *par excellence* is left us by the miniaturists, beginning with a Mozarab monk named Beatus who worked in the monastery of Liébana, and who, around 786 A. D., produced a commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John the Evangelist. This text, along with the iconography of the Mozarab miniaturists accompanying it (an exalted manifestation of eschatological Christianity), would give rise to a series of schools of miniaturists in the four following centuries, whose works were known by the name "Beati".

In this artistic production, which displayed characteristics suggestive of a frontier between the Muslim and Christian worlds, the miniature technique current in Córdoba was transmitted. At the same time, given the profound Christian religious and eschatological content of these books, an authentic Christian/Muslim iconographic syncretism was achieved in them: Christ, his angels and the prophets of the Old Testament are all represented along with scenes profusely adorned with geometric decoration, fantastic animals, strong colours, Arabic inscriptions, horseshoe arches, and so forth, all these things being clearly of Arabo-Islamic inspiration. Many Mozarab masters taught this miniature technique, including Magio of the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada and Florencio of San Isidoro de León.

We may, in consequence, assume that Mozarabs dominated the *scriptoria* of Christian monasteries (San Millán de la Cogolla, Albelda, Silos, Santa María de Ripoll, and so on); we can imagine them seated there at their desks (just as they are portrayed in the miniature of Torre de Távara) painting miniatures or translating Arabic manuscripts into Latin or Romance, in order to impart the various Arab sciences to the world of Latin Christianity: the arithmetic of al-Khwārizmī, or books on astronomy like Mashalla's treatise on the astrolabe, in the monastery of Ripoll in the mid-10th century. These early translations are fortunately preserved in a manuscript (MS 225 of the monastery of Ripoll), deposited in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon.

Almost two centuries later, following the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI, a series of Mozarabs worked as translators of Arabic works in the first

Toledan school of translators organised by the archbishop Raimundo, these including the famous John of Seville (said to have been the son of the Mozarab count Sisnando Davidiz). John of Seville had lived in the court of the *ṭāʾifa* ruler of Seville, al-Muʿtamid, whom he served as vizier, and now, under Raimundo's protection, he worked in Toledo alongside other famous translators such as the archdeacon Domingo Gundisalvo and Hermann of Dalmatia, translating the work of Abū Maʿshar from Arabic into romance.

A frontier culture. Mozarab adaptation to a new social order

As noted above, one cannot posit a generally homogeneous character for the community known as Mozarabs. The tendency to do so is no doubt explained by the Mozarabs' preservation of the Christian faith, and of the Latin language and Visigothic liturgical rites; yet although they preserved their Hispano-Gothic roots on the ritual and institutional level, the circumstances under which they lived differed, and there were distinct social and even cultural traditions involved. Most Mozarabs were impregnated with the language of the Arabs and heavily imbued with Arab customs, especially lay customs, to the point where today we can study them according to the modern notion of "frontier culture" (a kind of culture which appeared later on in Christian Spain with the Mudejars and Moriscos). Thus was produced the distinctive phenomenon of religious syncretism, and it is this syncretism which underlies the famous episode of Elipandus, the Mozarab bishop of 2nd/8th-century Toledo, who conjoined Christian and Muslim religious feeling in a theory held heretical by Catholicism: namely the "adoptionist" doctrine, of Arian origin and a precursor of Unitarianism. This doctrine, according to which Christ was considered to be an "adoptive son of the Father", with the divine nature of Jesus negated, had many followers among Mozarabs and was strongly opposed by the Emperor Charlemagne.

The Mozarabs constituted an island in the Hispanic Christian sea, with indications of territorial uprootedness and certain difficulties in adapting to the new order imposed by the kings of Christian Spain. One example of this is provided by the Mozarabs of the city and hinterland of Toledo. They had always lived under Muslim rule, and had, indeed, collaborated with it on occasion—to the point where, despite Mozarab help in obtaining the capitulation of Toledo to Alfonso VI, many Mozarabs there preferred to join the Muslim king al-Qāḍir in his exile in Valencia. Reyna Pastor believes that the Toledan Mozarabs, in contrast to the many Cordoban Mozarabs who emigrated after the revolt of the 3rd/9th century, were incorporated into Christian Spain "involuntarily, by an act of conquest"; the Toledans, "without changing location, changed lords."³ All these circumstances ensured that assimilation into the new social landscape would be slow; in fact it took the Mozarabs of Toledo two full centuries, according to Pastor, to be assimilated into Christian society.

The Mozarabs of Toledo still had a final battle to fight—in the area of liturgy, against the intransigent Cluniac monks who had accompanied the Frankish knights when the latter came to aid Alfonso VI in the wars of reconquest, and who now persuaded the Castilian king to abolish the Visigothic rite and impose the Roman one throughout his realms in the interest of liturgical unification, with French practice as a model. For the Pope the Visigothic rite—which the Mozarabs still preserved as a kind of treasure—was of doubtful orthodoxy, inasmuch as it reflected certain of the doctrines promulgated by the adoptionist Elipandus when he occupied the see of Toledo in the 2nd/8th century, and the Mozarabic rite was accordingly abolished by the Council of Burgos of 1080, with even Mozarab liturgical script being slowly replaced by Carolingian writing. Yet the Mozarabs of Toledo still clung tenaciously to the liturgy in their old parishes, like Santa Justa y Rufina, and faithfully continued to practise the tradition across the centuries. It is preserved to this day in the so-called Mozarab chapel of the cathedral of Toledo.

Mozarab bilingualism was maintained in daily life, so enriching the Romance language with many arabisms. An important collection of Toledan Mozarab notarial documents, formerly preserved in the cathedral of Toledo and now lodged in the National Historical Archive in Madrid, includes 1,175 documents of the 12th and 13th centuries, which have been edited by the Arabist Angel González Palencia.⁴ Strange though it may appear to an observer far removed from the particular historical situation, there still remained, two hundred years after the Christian conquest of Toledo, a Christian social group that spoke and wrote in Arabic and actually continued to use Arabic proper names. Even their daily conversations in the street reflected this tendency: one of these notarial documents, from the end of the 12th century, records two Mozarabs conversing in Romance, intercalating Arabic vocabulary and syntax in their conversation and even, still more surprisingly, exhibiting forms of Arabo-Islamic thought.⁵ To this extreme extent was the "frontier culture" in evidence.

In the early 14th century, nevertheless, those remaining Mozarabs who had been so slow in their social assimilation stopped writing in Arabic and, little by little, lost that special identity which had been so important a medium of interchange between Islamic culture and that of the European West.

¹ M. Gómez-Moreno, "El arte árabe español hasta los almohades. Arte mozárabe", *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid), III, 1954, p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ R. Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval*, Buenos Aires, 1973, pp. 199-266 ("Problems of the Assimilation of a Minority: The Mozarabs of Toledo").

⁴ A. González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid, 1926-30, 4 vols.

⁵ A. Galmés de Fuentes, "La lengua de los mozárabes de Toledo: Un diálogo en la calle", *Simposio Toledo Hispano-árabe, 6-8 Mayo 1982* (Toledo, 1986), pp. 135-66.

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THE MUDEJARS

L. P. HARVEY

Introduction

A Mudejar was a Muslim living permanently as a subject of one of the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. We first begin to find such subject Muslim communities in the 5th/11th century; in Castile, for example, as a consequence of the capture of Toledo, in Aragon (Huesca surrendered in 489/1096) and in Navarre (Tudela, 513/1119). The advent of the Almoravids in the late 5th/11th century held up the Christian advance, then the Almohad period of domination stabilised the frontier line for a relatively long period, thus restricting the development of the new phenomenon for a century and a half. It was in the mid-13th century, with the enormous successes achieved by the armies of the Christian reconquest, that "Mudejarism" became firmly embedded in the social fabric of late medieval Spain. The largest single group of such Muslims accepting Christian domination was in the Kingdom of Valencia (the city itself fell to James I in 636/1238); there they retained their Arabic language until the end, whereas the Mudejars of all the other areas rapidly adopted the various forms of Romance speech used by their Christian conquerors, and indeed it is probable that the more northerly communities never had Arabic as their vernacular. The status of Mudejar continued to exist until around 1500 in the lands of the Crown of Castile, until 1515 in Navarre (where the settlements were confined to the region of Tudela) and until the mid-1520s for Aragon and Valencia. We may thus regard the quarter-millennium from the mid-13th century to the end of the 15th century as the Mudejar period *par excellence*. In the terminology of some historians, notably in that of Isidro de las Cagigas,¹ the use of "Mudejar" is extended to cover those areas such as Granada, where, during this period, Muslim sovereigns exercised power over Muslim populations under the general hegemony of the Christian states. Although Christian influence over Granada's affairs should never be forgotten, one risks painting a misleading picture if the term Mudejar is extended in this way, for there were long periods when the Christian kingdoms were quite unsuccessful in their attempts to manipulate Granadan politics, and when tribute payments were not levied. Above all, as we shall see, there was in Islamic law a fundamental distinction between the status of those living under Muslim rulers and the status of all others. The essence of Mudejarism was that the subject Muslim *accepted* non-Muslim rule, and nothing is to be gained by obscuring this point.

In discussing usage, one final observation is to be made: one will occasionally find members of communities which had enjoyed well-established Mudejar (and thus subordinate) status continuing to lay claim to the name, and to the favourable treatment and protection which it implied (as *mudéjares de Castilla*, for example), well into the following Morisco period. It is, of course, of interest to see how a term indicating subjugation could come, in the much more adverse conditions of the 16th century, to be regarded as a sort of protective badge, but this late and contradictory development (which only affected small minorities in any case) has no bearing on the fate of the Muslims of Spain in the Mudejar period proper.

Living as they did inside Christian societies, the Mudejars are of course part of the fabric of the history of the Christian states. Their political inertness was an unspoken condition of the toleration which was extended to them. They were in general obedient subjects and vassals, and valued as such, and so general historians of the larger society in which they lived rarely have cause to speak of them except in passing; these Muslims often become nothing more than a curious footnote to somebody else's story. Nor do they really fare better at the hands of contemporary Muslim writers, or of modern historians of Islamic civilisation. It is easy enough to read between the lines of a scholar and historian such as Ibn Khaldūn² the disdain he felt for his co-religionists when he met them in Peter the Cruel's Seville. And Ibn Khaldūn is rather an exception in that he mentions the Mudejars at all: for most Muslim authors the Mudejars were an embarrassing anomaly, to be passed over in tactful silence.

The Mudejars, then, have been largely ignored. Is there any reason to seek to change this situation? Do the Mudejars merit more of our attention?

Nowhere in the front rank of leaders, or among writers or thinkers or artists of the highest distinction, is there to be found a Mudejar; and indeed few individuals are known to us by name. However, more recent studies, and especially the patient and detailed explorations carried out by Fr. Robert Ignatius Burns³ into the rich archives of the Kingdom of Valencia, have done much to bring the anonymity to an end. We understand better, for example, how the tentacles of the powerful and able Bellví clan of Mudejar administrators and lawyers extended through many communities, not only in Valencia, but also in Aragon and in Castile. But the fact that we know the names of notables and power-brokers does not convert them into men of genius or fundamental importance. Is not the marginalisation of this odd community, far removed from the centre of focus of anybody nowadays, fully justified? Why look at Mudejar Islam as a subject in its own right? Principally, because we need to revise our concept of the nature of the frontier between Christendom and Islam in the Iberian Peninsula.

There was a lack of symmetry about the situation on either side of the frontier line created by military and diplomatic actions in the Iberian

Peninsula in this final period of the Middle Ages. To the south of the line lay what the Christians thought of as the land of the Moors, a state overwhelmingly Muslim, with a few Jewish quarters (in Granada itself, in Málaga, above all in Lucena), but with no indigenous Christian population at all. There were Christian residents, well-established and tolerated, but they were and remained outsiders: merchants, political and ideological refugees, outcasts, above all captives; Naşrid Granada was really a land of *two* faiths. To the north of the line, on the other hand, were Christian-ruled areas where the *three* monotheist religions cohabited—not on terms of equality (full equality had never been on offer anywhere in the Iberian Peninsula at any period), but in such a way that members of the three religions could have dealings within a more or less just legal framework. So it was that the interface between Islam and Christianity at this period was situated far more within Christian territory than along the political frontier as defined in the latest negotiations for a truce. Our stereotypes of how Christians and Muslims interacted involve colourful combats between peerless paladins of the frontier (of the type fixed for all time by the literary genius of the anonymous author of the story of *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*),⁴ but in prosaic reality the Muslims whom Christians encountered daily were their Mudejar neighbours: cultivators, craftsmen, a skilled farrier perhaps, or a trusted doctor.

I. *The juridical status of the Mudejars*

The Mudejars (in Arabic *mudajjanūn* or *ahl al-dajn*) were so called because of the protected tributary status (*dajn*) under which they lived. It was a status implying an element of subjugation, and it is worth observing that cognate with such terms is *ḥayawanāt dājina* ("tame animals"). There is an obvious close resemblance between the status of the *ahl al-dajn* within Christian society and that of the *ahl al-dhimma*, or protected peoples, Jewish and Christian, within Islam; but, while the status of the latter is regulated according to the words of the Quran, the *dajn* protecting the Mudejar merely arose from the terms of the Capitulations whereby his home region had been surrendered, or from some provision of Christian laws or *fueros* (local charters). There is, in the Quran, no provision at all for a Muslim ever to live *permanently* under Christian (or any other non-Islamic) rule. In a world conceptually divided between "the abode of Islam" (*dār al-Islām*) and "the abode of war" (*dār al-ḥarb*), Islamic lawyers taught that it was not a matter of free choice whether the Muslim lived in Christian or Islamic territory: it was the duty of a Muslim to live where he could fulfil his religious obligations, could practise his religion *fully*. Islam is not just a matter of private devotions, it is also a matter of public duties. To take one example, statutory alms (*zakāt*), one of the five clearly laid-down "pillars of the faith", is only possible where a duly constituted Islamic government exists to levy it. (It is

not just a matter of individual charity, *ṣadaqa*, which is certainly meritorious, but which should not stand instead of *zakāt*.) Such was the unambiguous teaching of the lawyers; and, in these circumstances, emigration (*hijra*) was incumbent on any Muslim outside the abode of Islam "right up to Judgement Day" (*ilā yawm al-qiyāma*). The law made reasonable provision for travellers, for people such as merchants who had legitimate cause to be resident on a temporary basis among the infidel, even for those lacking the economic means to move, but to embrace subject status permanently, of one's own free will, was not acceptable. The Mudejar was therefore cut off from *dār al-Islām* not only because it lay across a political frontier; he was also isolated by the sharp disapproval of his co-religionists. The degree of isolation should not, however, be exaggerated; many factors tended to attenuate it. Some people still managed to perform the Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), for example, and to return to their native land.

I have already, in my recent study *Islamic Spain 1250-1500*,⁵ examined at some length the problems posed by the status of the Mudejars within Islamic law, and I will here limit myself to one quotation derived from our principal source on this subject, the collection of *fatwas* entitled the *Kitāb al-mi'yār*, assembled by Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Wanṣharīshī (d. 914/1508)⁶ in the early 16th century, and covering the whole of the Mudejar period:

Living with the unbelievers, if they are not folk who have a protected status and a situation of inferiority [*min ghayr ahl al-dhimma wa 'l-ṣiḡhār*] is not allowable, not for so much as one hour a day, because of all the dirt and filth involved, and the religious as well as the secular corruption which continues all the time [*min al-adnās wa 'l-awḍār wa 'l-mafāsīd al-dīniyya wa 'l-dunyawiyya ṭūl al-a'mār*].⁷

It might be thought that al-Wanṣharīshī in some way occupied an extremist position on this subject, but that is by no means the case: he faithfully represented the consensus of his day. We may compare a *fatwā* on the question of the obligation to carry out *hijra* from the land of the unbelievers, issued by the Mufti of Oran, Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣinhāji al-Shahīr bi (known as) Ibn Miqlāsh (fl. 794/1392) and recently edited from a manuscript source in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, by Dr H. Buzineb⁸ of the University of Rabat:

Allah is the enemy of the unbelievers [*kāfirin*], and they are enemies of [His] prophets and messengers. How is it possible for a Muslim to live as neighbour to somebody who is Allah's enemy? And enemy of His Prophet? ... Submissiveness [*idh'ān*] to the laws of unbelief is one of the most strongly forbidden things. One of the causes of people staying on among the unbelievers is a lack of faith ... and an absence of abstemiousness [*qanā'a*].

In the face of such strong disapproval, many Muslims still remained. Was it love of the country in which they were born that motivated them to do so? It seems unlikely that it was lack of faith, for there is nothing in the manu-

scripts which survive from this community to indicate that Mudejars were lax in their observance. They appear, on the contrary, to be obsessed by fine points of religious discipline. The congregation of Avila, for example, seeks from distinguished *fuqahā'* in Burgos and Valladolid a ruling on the question of whether acceptable canonical prayers might be made using as a prayer mat the typical countryman's sheepskin jacket (*zamarra*). The argument is complex, and the authorities cited include Mālik b. Anas himself, but the outcome seems to have been that prayer on the "skins of dead animals" was noted as unlawful.⁹

The most impressive witness to the determination of the Mudejars to cleave to the faith of their ancestors is their creation of a literature passing on, in Romance, the message of Islam. For convenience this dealt with in the following article under the heading "The Mudejar cultural heritage and the creation of an Islamic literature in Romance".

In speaking of the Mudejars, it is all too easy to present them as a single homogeneous community, whereas each region in fact possessed its own clearly-defined characteristics.

II. *The Mudejars of Castile*

M. A. Ladero¹⁰ takes the view that the Muslim inhabitants of such *morerías* (Moorish quarters) as those of Burgos and Avila in Old Castile were not descendants of aboriginal Muslim populations, but were the result of immigration from the region of Toledo. Sponsored settlement is a phenomenon we find not only in the North but in the South, in the new Andalusi territories which fell to the Castilian crown in the 7th/13th century. By this time the Muslim population had almost all departed for the new kingdom of Granada (although some rather went to North Africa). Presumably the Christian population did not build up sufficiently fast, and Muslim settlers were brought in. It is interesting to find that when the Genoese Boccanegra family, favoured servants of the Castilian crown, were granted lands in the Guadalquivir valley at Palma del Río, they imported Muslim cultivators to exploit their Andalusi colony from Gumiel de Hizán in the North, in the Duero valley. There was no standard legislation applying to all Mudejar communities, but Palma's charter, granted in the 1340s and repeated and modified in 1371, contains a number of features which we find in many such documents; and in particular we see that the Muslims were to retain their own religion and law, *axara e çumna* (*sharī'a* and *sunna*), and to have their own judges. It helps us to put this into perspective if we note that at the same time Mudejars were granted a tavern "for an account which you will pay me". This was clearly expected to be a valuable concession, for those who attempted to take their custom elsewhere were to be fined sixty maravedís! Perhaps the best illustration of a mixed system, combining elements from the

Islamic code with other quite non-Islamic features—the whole very much designed for the benefit of the Christian lord—is provided by the stipulated punishment for the offence of adultery. This was to be the strict Islamic *ḥadd* of death by stoning, but an escape clause was provided: a fornicator not wishing to be stoned could opt to become Boccanegra's slave instead!¹¹

III. *The Mudejars of Aragon*

Like the Mudejars of Castile, the Mudejars of Aragon were speakers of the same dialects of Romance as their Christian neighbours. There was this difference: the vast majority of settlements were villages where the Muslim population of cultivators had been in continuous occupation of their lands since before the Christian conquests. There are striking passages in the Castilian *Poema de Mio Cid*¹² describing the prosperous villages of Muslim agriculturalists which the Cid captured after fleeing across the mountains from the wrath of Alfonso VI: Ariza, Cetina, Alhama, Bubierca, Ateca, Terror, etc. The Cid eventually moved on, of course, and the villages continued under Muslim occupation. With the advance of the Aragonese reconquest, they once again fell into Christian hands, and the inhabitants remained as Mudejars, with the same lands being worked by the same folk; and there they stayed until they were expelled at the end of the Morisco period. If we set on one side the mass of Arabic-speakers in the Kingdom of Granada and in the region of Valencia, there was no more firmly established group of Muslim communities in the whole Peninsula than these prosperous Aragonese farmers. They have left us a rich legacy of buildings in their Mudejar style.

Boswell entitles his study of the Aragonese Mudejars *The Royal Treasure* because of the special nexus which meant that "All Muslims were in a sense royal Muslims: the Crown of Aragon claimed ultimate jurisdiction over every Muslim living in the lands under its rule".¹³ This special status was double-edged. It was a status of subservience (*servi camare nostri*), which contrasted sharply with the fierce independent-mindedness of their Christian neighbours ("We, who are as good as you, swear allegiance to you, who are no better than we, on condition that you keep our laws, and if not no" ran their oath.) Yet subservience also brought the possibility of direct appeal to the Crown for redress of grievances. There is a similar double-edged aspect to the status of one category of Mudejar cultivators, the *exarici*. It is possible to see this as a particularly servile denomination, for these people were obliged to cultivate a particular tract of land (*adscriptos a la gleba*). The word comes from Arabic *ṣharik* ("sharecropper"), and, as J. M. Lacarra put it: "The *exarico* did not wish to be separated from the excellent land which he cultivated, land which he was entitled by law to hand on to his sons for them to cultivate. The owner, for his part, could not expel him, even if another cultivator offered more profitable terms."¹⁴

Land and property are central to an understanding of this community. The Crown encouraged them to continue in occupation. Without royal approval a Muslim might not sell his lands to a Christian, though he was quite free to dispose of them to another Muslim. A Muslim was allowed to convert to Christianity (this was a contravention of Islamic law, but a Christian monarch who did not permit conversions was likely to incur the enmity of the Church). However, although his children could make no demands on him while he lived, his property was to pass on to them after his death as if he had remained a Muslim.¹⁵

So far no mention has been made of the Mudejars living outside royal estates. It would seem that in certain areas something like a competitive market arose, with individual landowners offering more attractive conditions to tempt valued Mudejar cultivators away from the estates of their rivals. Legislation sought to stop this development: "Moors, both men and women, who dwell on the king's estates are, if they move to the estates of nobles, and are detained while moving, to become the property of the king and his officers, and to suffer confiscation of all their goods."¹⁶ The indications are that the drift away from crown lands continued in spite of the risks and penalties.

IV. *The Mudejars of Valencia*

Valencia was conquered in the 7th/13th century by the Aragonese crown (the earlier 5th/11th century period of rule by the Cid had left no trace). The new Mudejar order was therefore very much on the Aragonese pattern, but the balance between Muslims and Christians was quite different. It took a long time for the numbers of Christian settlers to build up, and many areas continued to be predominantly Muslim, and predominantly Arabic-speaking. Christians were, perhaps, reluctant to move into this alien environment; thus the society of Islam remained much more intact for much longer in Valencia than elsewhere. Yet, as I wrote in 1990:

The survival in Valencia of so much from the Islamic past does not mean that the civilization of Islam was conserved unmodified. If one looks at the language of a Valencian Arabic text, one is faced with the curious phenomenon of a language incontestably Arabic, and yet suffused at many linguistic levels by the incoming Romance speech of the conquerors. Arabic survived but did not live on unchanged. Similarly institutions and social organization survived, so that it might appear that Valencia preserved most of the features of the Islamic state, but the fact that at the head of the social pyramid was not a *sultān* or an *imām* but a king who was a Christian altered the balance of everything. As the years and the centuries passed, the surviving Islamic elements shifted their function and their sense within the Christian context against which they had now to be read. There is a medieval doctrinal controversy within Islam as to whether it is possible to have a religious society without an *imām*. The history of Valencia after the mid-thirteenth century is almost the working out under laboratory conditions of that problem. And what

answer came from the Valencian experience? An ambiguous one. Islam did survive without an *imām*, and Christian missionaries were never able to make inroads in the Muslim masses. But true Islam suffered where the learned classes were not so much members of the worldwide community of Islamic scholars as local officials helping to keep the Christian king's peace.¹⁷

A good example of how an Islamic institution continued to evolve under Christian rule is provided by the *muhtasib* (Catalan *mustasaf*, "market inspector"). In Islamic society his is a valued but subordinate function, and adjunct to the more prestigious *sharī'a* jurisdiction. Then, as T. Glick put it: "The tighter organization of urban life in Christian society transformed into a very effective instrument of municipal government an area of law which in the Islamic world was amorphous, ambivalent and not very highly regarded."¹⁸

One aspect of the life of the Mudejars of Valencia which cannot be passed over in silence is the rioting of which they were frequently the victims. In spite of the protection of the Crown and of their noble masters (perhaps, because of it?), Moorish quarters were sometimes attacked by Christian rioters. Now riots and disorders occurred in many other parts of late medieval Christendom, where Mudejars were quite unknown, so we must avoid reading too much into this violence, but it is noteworthy that between 1276 and 1291 M. Barceló found riots in Valencia, Chelví, Alzira, Llíria, Onda, Murviedro, Játiva, Benissanó, Castellnou, Orpesa, Fortaleny, Gandient, Picassent, Alberic, Onil and Sollana,¹⁹ nor were the disorders limited to that period. M. T. Ferrer i Mallol has to devote a whole section of her study *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV: cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià* to "attacks on Moorish quarters".²⁰ Not surprisingly, some Muslims were driven to seek refuge in North Africa or Granada, but Christian policy was contradictory. The Mudejar was at times seen as the dangerous Moor, at others as a useful and necessary labourer to be retained at all costs, because without him the land could not be worked:

To sum up. Christian legislation with regard to Muslims in Valencia had tolerant and intolerant aspects, it sought to drive Muslims out and to keep them confined, it guaranteed free exercise of the religion of Islam and sought to stamp it out. These same contradictions existed elsewhere, but the presence of greater numbers of Muslims in Valencia meant that the veering policies of the Christians led to more violence and bloodshed in Valencia than elsewhere.²¹

V. The Mudejars of Navarre

The very different evolution of the Mudejar community of the northern kingdom of Navarre is no doubt to be explained as a function of the small size of the kingdom itself, and the small size of the community, limited as it was to one clearly defined area in the south alongside the Ebro. The rulers of Navarre felt the need to make full use of all their population, and the Mudejars were not perceived as constituting a threat. We have seen that in

Aragon Mudejars were a special "royal treasure". In Navarre they were often servants of the royal household, even members of the royal *mesnada*, and the relationship with the ruler was in some cases a personal one.

The special nature of the status of the Mudejars of Navarre is well brought out by the history of the actual quarter which they inhabited. By the terms of the original surrender of Tudela²² those Muslims who wished to remain were obliged to evacuate the old city centre to make way for Christians, and they were assigned a new Muslim quarter outside the old city walls in the twin suburbs of Velilla and Beoxo. The growth of the city meant that by the 14th century this quarter came once again to be nearer the centre. In 1365 Charles III of Navarre, because of his involvement in the war between Castile and Aragon, set about updating the fortifications of Tudela. The walls of the Muslim quarter were brought up to the best contemporary defensive standards, and the cost of these works was borne by the *aljama* itself, which was granted a tax holiday for three years in compensation. As a result the *morería*, from being outside, was integrated into the Tudelan defensive complex. There could be no better symbol of the way in which Navarre's community evolved as a separate and yet integrated part of the larger society to which it belonged.²³

The protective concern of the rulers of Navarre of the house of Evreux for their Mudejars is well illustrated by the events of 1341. In that Year Philip of Evreux took a crusading expedition mostly recruited in his Northern French domains to assist Alfonso XI in his attack on Algeciras. The French contingent naturally broke their long southward march in Tudela, and the authorities there sensibly took precautions in case Northern Frenchmen incapable of telling a good Navarrese Mudejar from a bad Granadan Moor should cause an affray. The royal treasury paid for twenty men to mount guard over the *morería* for twelve days until the crusading party had moved on.²⁴

An exhaustive survey of the Mudejars of the Iberian Peninsula would need to deal also with the Mudejars of the Balearic Islands and those of Portugal. The character of the Muslim population of the Islands was different from that of any part of the mainland, in part because of the presence there of comparatively greater numbers of captives and North Africans. E. Lourie²⁵ has shown the special importance in Majorca of the institution of debt slavery. The Mudejars of Portugal have been little studied. It is curious to note that the forcible conversion of all Portugal's Muslims was carried out in 1497, earlier than any of the conversion edicts for any part of Spain. The policy was instituted under pressure from Castile, and was mooted in the course of negotiations for the marriage of Isabel, the daughter of Spain's Catholic Monarchs. How could a Spanish princess marry the ruler of a country which still tolerated Mudejar subjects? The Portuguese obliged by expelling the Mudejars—who most of them crossed into Castile (after pay-

ing frontier dues, of course!). The suddenness of this policy decision is all the more surprising because nothing has prepared us for it. In 1492, after all, Portugal had provided the place of refuge for the Jews expelled in the other direction, from Castile to Portugal.

The Portuguese edict was, however, the signal that the end was at hand for the whole Peninsula (1501 for the Castilian lands, 1515 for Navarre, 1526 for Aragon and Valencia). The speed which this deeply-rooted institution of Mudéjarism was swept away is difficult to understand if we do not bear in mind the inter-relation between the fate of Granada's Muslims and that of the Muslims elsewhere. There was no direct linkage, but once the last independent territory in the Peninsula had been absorbed, thoughts turned to the next step, to bringing about religious unification after political unification had been achieved. Very rapidly the history of the Mudéjar tips into the nightmare of the Morisco period. That violent transition is recounted in the following article ("The Moriscos").

VI. *Mudéjar art and architecture*

At the beginning of this article, the point was made that there were no great Mudéjar leaders or writers or thinkers. The Mudéjar contribution in art and architecture is not negligible, however. Outside Spain Mudéjar architecture is still largely ignored, but in Spain itself in recent years much care and attention has been lavished on Mudéjar monuments, and local people are proud of what they have inherited from the past.

In general Mudéjar art and architecture involves poor rather than sumptuous materials: it uses brick rather than stone or marble; it uses earthenware rather than any more refined ceramics. Yet it is far from being a purely proletarian and popular style. It was used with great effect in the construction of residences for nobles and in public buildings and mosques and churches of dignity. One of the most interesting of Mudéjar buildings is the palace of Olite, designed and erected by Mudéjar craftsmen of all sorts working for the royal house of Navarre. The former mosques, and the churches of Mudéjar construction, are perhaps the best known buildings of this style. The use made of brick clearly derives from Almohad architecture, but when, with the withdrawal of the Almohads from Spain, this style was separated from its roots, it did not stagnate and become decadent. Evolution, refinement and innovation continued into the 16th century. What killed the Mudéjar style was, on the one hand, the fact that all over Europe local and regional vernacular styles were abandoned at this period, and, on the other hand, the fact that all through the 16th century there was an outflow of skilled Moriscos, and then finally, in 1609-12, the Moriscos' final expulsion.

Perhaps the moment has come, not for Mudejar architecture to be revived—the craft traditions on which it relied have been too long dead—but for us to see what can be learned from the surviving buildings. The vernacular architects of our “post-modernist” period appear to be fumbling uncertainly towards a more decorative handling of materials. Perhaps what Mudejar craftsmen achieved long ago with brick, tile and ceramic insets can teach us something. What is needed is a major international touring exhibition of Mudejar art and architecture to bring some of these unsung masterpieces to the attention of the world outside Spain.²⁶

¹ Isidro de las Cagigas, *Los mudéjares*, Madrid, 1948-49, 2 vols.

² Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘ibār*, Būlāq, 1284 A. H., 7 vols.

³ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia*, Princeton, 1985.

⁴ *El Abencerraje (Novela y Romancero)*, ed F. López Estrada, Madrid, 1983.

⁵ L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500*, Chicago, 1990, pp. 55-63.

⁶ Al-Wansharīshī, *Kitāb al-mi'yār*, Rabat, 1981, 13 vols.

⁷ Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

⁸ Hossain Buzineb, “Respuestas de juriconsultos maghribíes en torno a la inmigración de musulmanes hispánicos”, *Hespéris Tamuda*, 26-27, 1988-89, pp. 53-66, especially pp. 64-65.

⁹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 62, based on Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid, 1866.

¹⁰ Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, “Los mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media”, *Actas del I Simposio de Mudejarismo*, 1981, p. 354.

¹¹ Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid, 1866, pp. 389-92.

¹² *Poema de Mío Cid*, ll. 542-52; 571-73.

¹³ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*, New Haven-London, 1977, p. 30.

¹⁴ José María Lacarra, “Introducción al estudio de los mudéjares aragoneses”, *Actas del I Simposio de Mudejarismo*, 1981, p. 23.

¹⁵ Gunnar Tilander, *Los Fueros de Aragón según el Ms. 458 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Lund, 1937, pp. 160-63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁷ Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20; María del Carmen Barceló, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano: historia y dialecto*, Valencia, 1984, pp. 161-212. On the need for an imām see Ann K. S. Lambton, “Islamic Political Thought”, in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. J. Schacht and C. E. Bosworth, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1974, pp. 406, 416.

¹⁸ Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1979, p. 123.

¹⁹ Barceló, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

²⁰ María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV: cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià*, Barcelona, 1988, pp. 21-29.

²¹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²² Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87.

²³ Mercedes García-Arenal, “Los moros de Navarra en la Baja Edad Media”, in Mercedes García-Arenal and Béatrice Leroy, *Moros y judíos en Navarra en la Baja Edad Media*, Madrid, 1984, pp. 46-47.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43. The expedition took place in 1341.

²⁵ Elena Lourie, “Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century”, *Speculum*, 45, 1970, pp. 633-35.

²⁶ *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 1981, and José Luis Corral Lafuente and Francisco Javier Peña Gonzalvo (eds.), *La cultura islámica en Aragón*, Saragossa, 1989.

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THE JEWS IN MUSLIM SPAIN

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I. *The Jews as dhimmis*

The Jewish community of Muslim Spain from the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān III (reigned 300/912-350/961) until the Almohads (after 535/1140) had a distinctive character among medieval Jewish communities. No other Jewish community produced as many Jews who achieved positions of status and even power in the non-Jewish world; and no other Jewish community produced such an extensive literary culture reflecting the deep impact of an intellectual life shared with non-Jews.

Some of the factors making up the uniqueness of al-Andalus were present in other Jewish communities in the Muslim world, but nowhere were they present in such concentration. Individual Jews in Iraq, Egypt and elsewhere had risen to power and wealth before the 4th/10th century, and would continue to do so long after the eclipse of al-Andalus. Jewish literature in the Muslim East had begun to reflect the influence of larger intellectual trends before the 4th/10th century, and would be permanently affected by what Jews learned from Muslims in the course of their long subjugation to Islam. But both conditions flowered most brilliantly in Muslim Spain between the mid-4th/10th and mid-6th/12th centuries. Nowhere in Christendom, certainly, did the conditions for the creation of such a community exist before the Renaissance.

The earlier history of the Jews in Spain did not prefigure this development in the slightest. Jews had inhabited Spain since Roman times, but they left no records that would enable us to describe these communities with any clarity. In the Visigothic period, from the reign of Sisibut (612-21), and especially under Egica (687-702), the Jews were repeatedly subjected to repressive legislation and forced conversion. The anti-Jewish legislation was not consistently enforced, for the same regulations had to be renewed repeatedly in successive reigns; but underlying this legislation was an attitude towards Judaism ingrained in Christianity since Augustine: Judaism was entitled to exist only so that Jews might bear witness, by their subjugation, to the truth of Christianity. Christianity had originally been preached by a Jew to other Jews; having rejected Jesus' mission, the Jews could expect no better than this degree of toleration. While Christianity respected the Jews' lives in principle, it also counted humbling them a virtue; thus, the repressive legislation had a theological sanction.

The principles governing the treatment of Jews under Islam were quite different. Muhammad had at first hoped to convert the Jews, but, although embittered by their rejection of his mission, he respected them as bearers of a revealed scripture. Thus he ordained that they be tolerated upon payment of the poll tax, along with Christians, also bearers of a sacred scripture. The members of these protected religions were called *dhimmis*; Islamic law came to regulate both their duties towards Islam and also the rights that they could demand, provided they abided by the rules governing their special status.

Theology and practice do not always correspond, and there were some exceptions, but until the 7th/13th century the Jews living under Islam fared better on the whole than those living under Christendom. For the Spanish Jews of the Visigothic kingdom in the century before the Muslim conquest of Spain, the prospect of living under the rule of Islam must have seemed very desirable; to the extent that they were aware of the advances of the Muslim armies, they can only have cheered that advance. The persistent reports that the Jews of Spain turned their cities over to the Muslim invaders do not stand up to close scrutiny, as has repeatedly been demonstrated; but the notion that they did so, which appears almost as a literary motif in medieval historiography, could very well reflect the Jews' political attitudes, if not their actions.¹

While sources for the early history and culture of Islamic Spain are fairly abundant, the history and culture of the Jews of Iberia from the time of the Muslim conquest until the 4th/10th century remain in near total obscurity. Only a few questions of religious law directed by Iberian rabbis to the rabbinic authorities of Iraq have survived.

II. *Jews in public life*

The Jewish community of al-Andalus bursts into view during the early period of the Andalusī Caliphate, established by 'Abd al-Rahmān III; but our picture of Jewish life, even in the two centuries of its glory, is not as rounded as we would like, for our sources are mainly literary ones emanating from the highest levels of Jewish society. The Cairo *geniza* has preserved documents that are helpful in reconstructing the economic and social life of the Mediterranean world in this period, and some of these documents pertain to Muslim Spain, either directly or by inference.² But we have nothing like the abundant communal records, Inquisition records and rabbinic responsa that permit a more rounded and lively reconstruction of Jewish life in Christian Spain from the 7th/13th to the end of the 9th/15th centuries. It would be misleading to try to extrapolate an image of the community as a whole, under Muslim rule, from what we know about a number of individual Jews, interesting and important as these individuals may have been.

The first of the individual Andalusī Jews who comes into view in the age of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III already embodies many of the distinctive qualities of this culture. Ḥasday b. Shaprūt was a Jewish physician in the Caliph’s court, who at various times held important diplomatic and financial responsibilities, as recorded in both Muslim and Jewish sources. It is instructive to compare Ḥasday’s career with that of his younger contemporary Ya‘qūb b. Killis, a courtier in the service of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu‘izz. Ibn Killis was a Jew who had converted to Islam; while he maintained his personal connections with Jews, he made a point of dissociating himself from Judaism. Ḥasday’s case was quite different: not only was he openly Jewish, but he was also a central figure in the Jewish community itself. We do not know whether the Hebrew title associated with his name, *nasi* (“prince”), denotes some official communal office, but we do observe him making use of his public position to look after the interests of the Jewish community—and not only the interests of the Jews of al-Andalus. Perhaps the most remarkable example is his letter, written in Hebrew, to Helena, the wife of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, asking her to protect the Jews of Byzantium from persecution. Of paramount importance for later Judaism was Ḥasday’s patronage of Hebrew letters and Jewish cultural institutions, as we shall see below in section III. In the totality of his activities he represents the type of the Andalusī Jewish courtier-rabbi, a type that would become more prominent in the *ṭā’ifa* period.

Ismā‘il b. Naghrīla (382-3/993-446-7/1055 or 447-8/1056), known in Hebrew as Samuel the Nagid, is the most spectacular example of this type. As a courtier of Ḥabbūs, the Zirid ruler of Granada, Ibn Naghrīla helped to secure the succession of the prince Bādīs, and thereafter played a central role in the Zirid state until his death. Among his other activities, he accompanied the Granadan troops on their annual military campaigns, perhaps even as a general; his Hebrew poems and their Arabic superscriptions describe the battles, providing details of *ṭā’ifa* politics not known from other sources. Like Ḥasday, Ibn Naghrīla was also a central figure in the Jewish community. He bore the Hebrew title *Nagid* (“prince”), though again we do not know exactly what is the communal significance of the title. He not only supported Hebrew poetry and Talmudic scholarship, but was himself one of the most accomplished men of his time in both fields. His brilliant career made him a model held up to sons by ambitious Jewish fathers long after the end of the *ṭā’ifa* period.

If Ibn Naghrīla was, as said, the most spectacular of the courtier-rabbis, there were nevertheless others. We know of a certain Abraham, also in the Zirid court of Granada; of an anonymous Jewish courtier in Almería; of Ishāq b. Ḥasday in the Hūdīd court of Saragossa; of Abū Faḍl b. Ḥasday, also among the Hūdīds; and of Abraham b. Muhājir among the ‘Abbādīds of Seville. Many of these dignitaries bore the title vizier, though to be sure this

was not nearly as exclusive a title as formerly, being distributed quite freely in the *ṭāʾifa* period. Other Jewish grandees, like the poet Moses b. Ezra, bore the title *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, or chief of police. Some of these, particularly Abū Faḍl b. Ḥasday, may have converted to Islam, but the apostates are less surprising than those who remained Jewish and active in Jewish communal affairs.

The Muslim rulers of Spain in the Umayyad, ʿĀmirid and *ṭāʾifa* periods had a strong incentive to rely on Jews in diplomacy, finance and public administration, because the Jews could not aspire to ultimate political power, and therefore posed less of a risk to the established order than Muslims, who might themselves aspire to rule. Furthermore, unlike the Christians, their co-religionists in the neighbouring countries did not have states and armies that could pose a real threat to the Muslim states. The Jews might long and pray for the restoration of their ancestral state in Palestine, but, weak and scattered as they were, they could do nothing about its restoration, and there was no human power to which they could appeal to extricate them from Muslim sovereignty. Thus, while Christians and Jews were equally *dhimmis*, Christians were a potential fifth column while Jews were not. Finally, the Jews were ordinarily dependent on the government to protect them from the crowd and from religious extremists. There was thus a natural alliance between the Jews and the court. Jews were in a similar position, *mutatis mutandis*, during and after the *reconquista*, when Iberian Christian rulers often found it safer to employ Jews, who were not real contenders for power, than fellow Christians.

How was it possible for Jews to hold such positions when Islamic law prohibited *dhimmis* from exercising power over Muslims? Part of the answer may lie in the complaint, found in several sources, about religious laxity on the part of *ṭāʾifa* rulers. But this accusation is mostly heard in the period of the *reconquista*, when it served as a theological explanation for the downfall of Muslim Spain. It is important to remember that the population included members of many ethnic groups, and that, despite Islamic regulations against mixing between Muslims and non-Muslims, intracommunal social contacts were unavoidable, and even became quite natural. Further, the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms were numerous and small, so that only a few talented and properly educated individuals were available for court services in each state. Finally, a good number of Jews who sought high posts must have converted to Islam. The names of the most prominent Jews have been preserved mostly in Jewish sources, which, quite naturally, were not interested in recording the names of apostates.

The position of the courtier-rabbi was far from secure. To be sure, the tenuousness of a courtier's career was proverbial; but the position of the Jewish courtier was even less secure than that of the average courtier, because his Jewishness could always become a political issue. This may be

observed in the case of Ibn Naghřila, when the vizier of Zuhayr of Almería exploited the presence of a Jewish vizier in Bādīs' court in his propaganda against the Zīrids of Granada. Of course Zuhayr's vizier would have used any material to hand in such a campaign; but Ibn Naghřila's Judaism was a ready-made issue. Furthermore, while there were benefits to the Jewish community in the prominence of such court Jews, there were also dangers. The fall of Jehoseph, Ibn Naghřila's son and successor, in 459/1066 was a disaster for the community as a whole. Incited partly by a poem by Abū Ishāq al-Ibīrī, a *faqih* of Granada, the mob rioted against the Jews, killing thousands in the only such pogrom recorded in the history of Muslim Spain.³

III. *Judaeo-Arabic culture in al-Andalus*

One of the most remarkable developments within Andalusī Jewry was its syncretic literary culture that brought together Arabic and Hebrew ideas and literary forms. The Jewish courtier-rabbis, men like Ibn Shaprūt and Ibn Naghřila, played a major role in fostering this literature.

The Jewish courtiers would not have been able to achieve their public positions if they had not been prepared for them by an Arabic education similar to that enjoyed by their Muslim peers. It was both impossible for a non-Muslim to receive formal training in Islamic religious studies and undesirable from a Jewish point of view; but the Arabic humanities—*adab* and the sciences—were available to anyone who knew Arabic and could afford to study. Language was no problem, for the Jews spoke the same vernacular Arabic and Romance as did the majority of Christians and Muslims, and members of the élite could afford to provide their sons with teachers. The same intellectual openness to such studies had to come from both sides, for rabbinic Judaism shared with orthodox Islam a strong religious prejudice against the study of "Greek wisdom". But the tolerant atmosphere prevailing within the Muslim intellectual class rubbed off on the Jewish élite as well, making them both tolerant of and eager for such studies; in this period we even hear of Jews and Muslims studying together under the same teacher. Thus, beginning in the 4th/10th century, we hear of individual Jews like Hasday who had, besides a traditional Jewish education in Bible and Talmud, the Arabic education of an *adib* or a *failasūf*. The polymath soon became an honoured figure in Andalusī Jewry.

Hasday's Jewish circle joined the larger society by living as Arabicised a life as possible, within the limits imposed on the one hand by Islamic exclusiveness and on the other by Jewish loyalty. At the same time they imported the style of the larger society into the Jewish community and created new Jewish institutions modelled on Arabic ones. The latter tendency resulted in the creation of a kind of Jewish *adab*, with Hebrew as its language.

The Jews of al-Andalus adopted the classicising concept of '*arabiyya*', but gave it a Jewish twist: they made Biblical Hebrew the Jewish equivalent for

Classical Arabic and accorded their language a new status as a cultural monument above and beyond its traditional status as "the holy tongue" (*leshon haqodesh*). In the process they rejected both the Hebrew of rabbinic literature and that of synagogue poetry, products of a millennium of the language's development, in order to revive the language of the Hebrew Bible. Grammarians laboured at analysing Biblical Hebrew in the light of techniques and concepts learned from Arabic grammarians and lexicographers; secretaries adopted Arabic epistolary style for formal correspondence in Hebrew; and secular poetry in Hebrew made its first appearance since biblical times.

A great breakthrough in the writing of Hebrew secular poetry was achieved by Dunash ben Labrat, who entered the service of Ḥasday after having been a disciple of the famous rabbi Saadiah ben Joseph in Baghdad. Already, in the East, Dunash had devised a way to imitate the prosody of classical Arabic poetry (*'arūd*) in Hebrew; his innovation displaced such forms as had already been devised for secular Hebrew poetry by contemporaries such as Menahem ben Saruq, another protégé of Ḥasday.

The creation of secular poetry in Hebrew was thus not just a literary but a social development, part and parcel of the tendency of the Andalusī Jewish aristocracy to adopt Arabic social institutions. At the same time, by using Hebrew rather than Arabic as the linguistic medium, the group was able to turn this Arabic institution into an expression of its own communal cohesiveness and ethnic pride. This pride in the Iberian Jewish community's literary achievement is strongly echoed in Moses b. Ezra's book about poetry, *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara*, and in Judah al-Ḥarizi's Hebrew *maqāmāt*.

Poetry came to be as important to the social life of the Jewish aristocracy in al-Andalus as it was to the Muslims. The leading Jewish figures composed *qaṣīdas* and *muwashshahāt* in Hebrew, improvised occasional verses, took pleasure in poetic competition and employed poets to compose *madih*, *marthiyya* and *hijā'* and official correspondence in rhymed prose. A tiny class of professional secretaries and poets arose to provide for their needs, but many of the leaders of the community were themselves gifted poets, and nearly anyone with any pretensions to an education tried his hand. Four large Hebrew *diwāns* and thousands of other poems have come down to us from the period before the Almohads, attesting to the tremendous prestige of Hebrew poetry within this social class. Moses b. Ezra, the author of one of the great *diwāns*, also wrote two books in Arabic on the theory of Hebrew poetry, only one of which has been published.⁴

The first of the great poets was Ibn Naghrila himself. He recorded the main political and military events of his career, together with his personal reflections on these events, in three large volumes of poetry. Significantly, these collections were assembled by his own young sons at his orders; for he saw this assignment as part of their education and initiation into the manners of a Jewish grandee. The inclusion of secular poetry in the conception of

Jewish education was itself a notable innovation within Judaism, having arisen in direct imitation of an Arabic institution.

Not everyone in the Jewish community was pleased with these Arabising developments, and Ibn Naghrila was criticised by pietists for writing secular love poetry. But even some of the main exponents of the culture evinced a degree of ambivalence towards poetry. Moses b. Ezra's book on poetry reflects some second thoughts on the propriety of secular Hebrew poetry, and may have been partly intended as a defence of the whole enterprise. Judah Halevi, the last of the poets who left large *diwāns*, purportedly vowed to stop writing poetry altogether. In old age he left al-Andalus in order to make the pilgrimage to Palestine, denouncing the courtly culture in which he himself had been a brilliant participant.⁵

From all that has been said above about Jewish culture in al-Andalus it is clear that the Jews' knowledge of Arabic was a key factor. This was not unique to the Jews of al-Andalus. As in the rest of the Muslim world, the Jews spoke the same Arabic as did their neighbours, and they were perfectly content to write Arabic as well, even when dealing with communal or religious subjects. Accordingly, there is still extant a great Jewish literature in Arabic deriving from every part of the Muslim world. To be sure, the Arabic of this literature is not the classical language of Arabic belles-lettres. The Jews had little incentive to accept the Arabic idea of '*arabiyya*, with its implied claim of cultural superiority; they created their own version of that idea, using Hebrew. When they wrote Arabic they did not generally use the classical language, but wrote more or less as they spoke. Better educated writers writing in a more formal vein would tone up their style and approximate to classical grammar; but ordinary Jewish written Arabic is a valuable record of Middle Arabic.

This Middle Arabic spoken and written by the Jews was not a specifically Jewish language that distinguished them from their Muslim neighbours; it differed only in employing Hebrew rather than Arabic script. This was probably done to simplify communication within the community, as Hebrew literacy was far more widespread among the Jews than Arabic literacy. The same phenomenon occurred in many other Jewish communities, both those in which the language spoken by the Jews eventually developed into a different language from that of the host culture (Yiddish and Judezmo) and those in which they did not (medieval Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Persian). As in other communities, they employed many Hebrew loan words when writing on religious themes, though we find them sometimes replacing Hebrew religious terms with Islamic ones, like *qāḍī* for *dayyan*, *sharī'a* for *misva*, and even *Qur'ān* for *Tora*.

The Jews in Arabic-speaking territories had no compunction about using Arabic, even when writing on religious subjects. In the Middle Ages, Arabic-speaking rabbis wrote their responsa on religious law, their books on Jewish

theology, and certainly all books dealing with pure philosophical and scientific subjects, in Arabic. In Muslim Spain, only secular and religious poetry or ornate prose were written in Hebrew. The situation in Arabic-speaking lands was thus quite different from that in the Christian territories of Europe, where all writing pertaining to internal communal affairs or religious matters was in Hebrew, and where Jews almost never knew Latin and had no access to high culture.

IV. *Breakdown under the Almohads*

The Almoravid invasions had caused some disruption of the Jewish Golden Age, but the Almohad invasions effectively ended it. In line with their fanatical variety of orthodoxy, the Almohads simply outlawed religions other than Islam in their domains; nearly three-and-a-half centuries before Ferdinand and Isabella, it was they who first imposed on the Jews the choice of conversion or death, thereby creating the first large group of crypto-Jews. This degree of intolerance may have been an isolated episode in the history of the Jews under Islam, but it had a permanent effect on the Jewish community.

Some actually did convert. One famous convert of the period was Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Ishbili (d. ca. 657/1259), a courtier under the Almohads, and an important Arabic poet. But large numbers fled to the Christian territories in the North, their attitudes to Christianity and Islam now reversed in favour of Christianity. Judah Halevi had left just before the invasion, apparently motivated not by political prescience but by personal religious convictions. At the same time, Abraham b. Ezra, a grammarian, philosopher, scientist and Bible commentator, left to embark on a life of wandering. He carried Andalusī Jewish learning and literary taste to Christian Europe, so that we soon find French rabbis who know nothing of Arabic culture attempting to write synagogue poetry using the 'arūd system. More importantly, Abraham b. Ezra reached England in his wanderings, where his mathematical works were eventually translated into Latin.

Other exiles settled in Provence where they too played a role in mediating the peculiar Andalusī Jewish intellectual life and style to a new community innocent of Arabic. When still a boy, Maimonides was taken by his father, a Jewish judge in Córdoba, to Morocco; here this distinguished family may have pretended to profess Islam until they were able to leave for Palestine, and then Egypt. Once arrived in Fāṭimid Egypt, Maimonides embarked on a career as physician and rabbi. He wrote on medical topics in Arabic. He also wrote important religious works in Arabic, including his *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* ("Guide to the Perplexed"), which was destined to become the classic work in Jewish philosophy ever after. In Hebrew he wrote the work that he regarded as his true masterpiece, the *Mishne tora*. This compendium of Jewish law shows, in its organisational principles and theoretical statements, the

extensive influence of Islamic philosophy, and even its elegant rabbinic style echoes the Arabic language of the author's milieu. It has continued to occupy a central position in Jewish law. Decades after Maimonides' flight from the Almohad West, when living in prosperity and honour as a physician in the Ayyūbid court and head of the Jewish community of Egypt (*ra'is al-yahūd*), he would write in his *Epistle to Yemen* that no power had ever been more hostile to Judaism than Islam. Yet his pride in his Andalusī heritage is observable throughout his writings. In the variety of his public activities, in his combination of religious orthodoxy and philosophical-scientific orientation, in everything but his disdain for poetry, he remained the very model of the Andalusī rabbi.

V. *Judaeo-Arabic culture during the reconquista*

From the mid-6th/12th to the mid-7th/13th century the Andalusī Jewish élite was to some extent able to replicate its style of life in Christian Spain. As the Christian conquests reached deeper into Muslim territory, Muslims themselves had control of the country wrested from them, but Jews who had been attached to Muslim courts were simply kept in place, and Jewish refugees in the North were welcome there as courtiers. Not only were they experienced in government administration and diplomacy, but, as before, they were not contenders for ultimate power and were thus more trustworthy than Christians. They were well-informed about the territories which the Christian kings were bent on conquering, and had good reason to be hostile to the Almohads. Their knowledge of the Arabic language was indispensable for dealing with the masses of Arabic-speakers who now came under Christian control, and for negotiations with Muslim rulers. As in other Christian lands, the Jews were outside the feudal system; they were completely dependent on the ruler to guarantee their rights and to protect them against the masses and the Church. Thus the Christian rulers found the Jewish élite both useful and reliable. Before long the Jewish courtier class had reconstituted itself, partly out of the same families that had provided the old. In Castile, Toledo immediately became a major centre of Jewish culture. There Joseph Ferrizuel, known as "Cidellus" ("the little Cid") served Alfonso VI, as, later, would a whole series of Jewish courtiers; one of the most distinguished of these was Isaac ben Zadok, known as Don Çag de la Maleha, under Alfonso X. Similarly, in Aragon, Sheshet Benveniste served in the court of Alfonso II and Pedro II. The Jewish communities were allowed considerable autonomy, and, as before, the officially recognised heads of the community were drawn from the courtier class.

In a broader sense, the Jewish courtiers were desirable as the bearers and mediators of the culture of prestige among the far less sophisticated knights and clerics of the Christian kingdoms. Arabic retained its status well into the

13th century, and in the meantime its tradition was maintained in Christian Spain by Jews. The Jews thus found themselves in the anomalous position of being the respected bearers of Arabic culture, when the actual creators of that culture were under subjugation. In this role the Jews were active participants in the wave of translation into Latin of philosophical and scientific writings through which Arabic science at this time first began to reach Latin Christendom. Some of the translators were apostates like Petrus Alfonsi (b. 453-4/1062); others, like Abraham bar Ḥiyya, remained Jewish. A doubtful case is Avendauth, who may be identical with the Jewish historian and philosopher Abraham b. Dā'ūd. In most cases the Jewish translator, who knew Arabic, worked together with a Christian scholar, who knew Latin.

Hebrew literature fell silent for the space of about a generation; then, towards the end of the century, new poets and literary figures emerge. Nor did the influence of Arabic literature on Hebrew suddenly stop. Just at this time of relocation in Christian lands, Hebrew literary prose appeared, in the form of narratives in rhymed prose with short poems inserted, a pattern derived from the Arabic *maqāma*. To be sure, the first example of this kind of writing in Hebrew had appeared just before the Almohad cataclysm, at about the time the Arabic *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī reached al-Andalus, where they were destined to become enormously popular. But the Hebrew narrative, which seems to have gotten its start in the *maqāma*, bloomed in Christian Spain as if Hebrew writers were still an integral part of Arabic literary life.⁶

Yet for all their rhetorical similarity to the *maqāmāt* of the Arab East, most of the Hebrew fictions in rhymed prose are different in ways that seem to link them to the nascent Romance literatures. One of the outstanding works is *The Book of Delight* by Joseph b. Zabara of Barcelona, a lengthy continuous narrative that displays features linking it to both cultures. Particularly in its treatment of character, this work and other Hebrew narratives of the period recall the romance more than they do the *maqāma*. To be sure, the *maqāmāt* of the Arabic writers of al-Andalus have not yet been sufficiently studied to permit a final judgment on this question, but at the present stage of research, and with the important exception of Judah al-Ḥarīzī, we may generalise that, though the Hebrew narrative prose of the period seems, in its form, to look back to the symbiosis with the Arabic-speaking world, in theme it looks forward to a potential new symbiosis with Christendom. Certainly such a shift seemed possible at the end of the 12th century.

In any case, the Almohad persecution had cut Andalusī Jewish culture off at the root. The Jews of Iberia would retain their link with Arabic for another century, but the signs of change were apparent almost as soon as the new Hebrew literature emerged in the triumphant Christian kingdoms. One such sign is the abrupt cessation of Judaeo-Arabic literature in Spain, as, from the mid-12th century on, Hebrew predominated as the language of Jewish books there.

Catalonia had never been deeply Arabised to begin with, and had close links with southern France. Here the Andalusis soon lost their connection with Arabic and came under the influence of intellectual and cultural trends that had gotten their start north of the Pyrenees. By the 13th century the Jewish culture of Catalonia, and of all Aragon (the former was absorbed by the latter in 531-2/1137) had almost completely lost its Arabic cast. While philosophy and science were still being studied (now from Hebrew rather than Arabic texts), and while Arabic-style secular poetry continued to be written (by such poets as Meshullam Dapiera), the emphasis was now on the Talmud, which was studied according to Northern European methods, and Kabbala. At the same time individual Jews continued to serve the Aragonese government as Arabic interpreters.

Castilian Jewry retained its ties with Arabic and Arabic culture longer. Toledo had been a major centre of Arabic civilisation prior to its reconquest in 477/1085, and Arabic continued to be spoken there long after it was forgotten in Aragon. Jews in Castile continued to bear Arabic traditions: Meir Abulafia, a famous Toledan rabbi, wrote Hebrew secular poetry in Arabic forms, introducing his poems with Arabic superscriptions; he even translated a short poem by al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād into Hebrew. Abraham b. al-Fakhkhār, a Jewish grandee, wrote Arabic poetry considered good enough to have been transmitted by Muslim sources. One Arabic couplet by him is addressed to Alfonso X El Sabio. Judah al-Ḥarīzī translated the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī into Hebrew, along with a number of Judaeo-Arabic works, then wrote his own collection of Hebrew *maqāmāt*. Here he reverted to the narrative type of the pure Arabic *maqāma*, showing little interest in the type of narrative cultivated by Jews of eastern Iberia, and even by his townsman Jacob ben Elazar. Al-Ḥarīzī left Spain and travelled, via Provence, to the Muslim East, where he was probably more comfortable culturally.⁷

Under Alfonso X El Sabio Jewish activity in the field of translation took a new direction, for the king encouraged the growth of Castilian, and under his patronage many works were translated into the vernacular.⁸ Hebrew literature also flourished. Todros Abulafia, a Jewish man of letters who was close to Alfonso's court Jews, left a large *diwān*, including a Hebrew couplet addressed to the King. His Hebrew poetry is mostly in forms derived from Arabic, but he experimented, also, with verse forms derived from Romance.

As the *reconquista* progressed into the mid-7th/13th century, the Christian rulers found themselves less in need of Jewish administrators and courtiers. With the development of local culture, Arabic declined in prestige, and, as Christians acquired the linguistic skills, administrative experience and scientific training, the Jews gradually lost their role as indispensable administrators and mediators of Arabic culture. At the same time the anti-Jewish pressure from the masses and the Church mounted; by the end of the century Spain was far less hospitable to Jews than it had been at the beginning.

Jewish fortunes rose and fell until 793-4/1391, when pogroms and mass conversions heralded the collapse of the Jewish community. But individual members of the Jewish élite continued to uphold the Arabic scholarly tradition and the Hebrew literary culture that was so closely tied to it. Even in the 15th century we hear of Jews translating Arabic texts into Latin or Hebrew, and secular Hebrew poetry cast in Arabic meters and rhyme schemes was written in Spain right down to the expulsion of 897/1492.

Meanwhile, in what was left of Muslim Spain, the Jewish community had been reduced by the Almohads to insignificance, never to recover. Jews returned to Granada after the establishment of the Nasrid dynasty, but we have hardly any information about them, and after the anti-Jewish riots and forced conversions that raged throughout Christian Spain in 793-4/1391, many *conversos* also made their way there, so as to be able to return to Judaism. The last Hebrew poet of Spain was a Granadan Jew, Saadiah b. Danan, who was among the Jewish exiles of 897/1492.

After the edict of expulsion took effect on August 1, 1492, Jewish life in Spain for all practical purposes came to an end; many Jews chose to remain in Spain as Marranos, or crypto-Jews, but in their culture the effect of the Judaeo-Arabic symbiosis was attenuated. On the other hand, those who left Spain carried with them the aristocratic heritage of Jewish letters and philosophy that had its roots in Arab al-Andalus.

¹ While under Muslim rule, the Jews must have been glad to claim that they had assisted in the Muslim conquest; in the *reconquista* it was the Christians who charged the Jews with having done so. Similar claims and charges arose in connection with other areas of the Muslim conquests. The entire motif appears to be an invention arising out of medieval polemics. See Norman Roth, "The Jews and the Muslim Conquest of Spain", *Jewish Social Studies*, 37, 1976, pp. 145-48; David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1985, p. 194, n. 7.

² The *geniza* is a huge cache of manuscripts and manuscript fragments, dating from as early as the 10th century and coming down to modern times, which was found in a Cairo synagogue in the 19th century. For a detailed and authoritative description and evaluation, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, Berkeley, 1967, pp. 1-28.

³ According to 'Abd Allāh b. Bulughghīn b. Bādīs, the ruler of Granada at the time of the Almoravid conquest, the entire Jewish population of Granada was killed. See his memoirs in E. Lévi-Provençal, "Les 'mémoires' de 'Abd Allāh, dernier roi zirid de Granada", *Al-Andalus*, 3, 1935, p. 273; trans. *ibid.*, pp. 300-01.

⁴ Besides the *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa 'l-muḥāḍara*, mentioned above, he also wrote the *Maqālat al-ḥadiqa fi ma'nā 'l-majāz wa 'l-ḥaqīqa*, which is still in manuscript.

⁵ See Raymond P. Scheindlin, "Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra on the Legitimacy of Poetry", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, N. S. 7, 1976, pp. 101-15; Ross Brann, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry*, Baltimore-London, 1991, especially pp. 84-118.

⁶ For a few examples, see "Asher in the Harem", "The Misogynist" and "The Sorcerer", trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin, in *Rabbinic Fantasy*, ed. David Stern and Mark Mirsky, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 253-311.

⁷ His *maqāmāt* were translated by V. E. Reichert, *The Tahkemoni*, Jerusalem, 1965-73, 2 vols.

⁸ For a survey of the translators and their activities, see Norman Roth, "Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work", in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X The Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S. J., Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 59-71.

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THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE MORISCOS

L. P. HARVEY

INTRODUCTION

The history of al-Andalus, of Islam in Spain, stretches over nine centuries, from 92/711 to 1611. The final "Morisco" period, lasting for a little over or a little under a century (depending on how precisely we define it), may at first appear to be one of unmitigated decadence as compared with what went before. Certainly it produced no manifestations of high culture, whether in the arts or in literature or in philosophy; one could hardly expect masterpieces from a people subject to persecution. What is more, the Morisco community was brought to a sudden end by the mass expulsion of 1609-11; there are no remnants left anywhere in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet it would be wrong not to pay close attention to this final period, for if we examine with care the record of what happened to the diverse Muslim communities of the regions of Spain, we cannot but admire a people so stubbornly determined to preserve its identity, its culture, to resist the ideological onslaught mounted against it by the most powerful state in the world at that time. What makes a proper understanding of the final stages of Islam's presence in Spain desirable is, however, more than a matter of curious details in the field of cultural history. The quite sudden process whereby Spain's well-established Muslims were rejected and extruded as part of the larger process of the formation of Spain as a unitary nation-state will never be forgotten. Stories of families of Hispano-Arab descent who preserve with pride the keys to their houses in Spain may belong to the realm of myth, but the myth is a powerful living reality. Inevitably the reaction of the whole Islamic world to the nation-states of Europe will always be coloured by what went on in 1609. We need to know what that was.

"Morisco" is a term in wide use among modern historians. To cite the definition given by E. Lévi-Provençal in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (s.v.), it is "the name given in Spain to the Muslims who remained in the country after the capture of Granada by the Catholic [Monarchs] Ferdinand and Isabella, on January 2, 1492, and the dethronement of the last of the Nasrid dynasty." That wording omits one vital aspect of the meaning of the term. Although it is couched in encoded language, it may be useful to look at how the *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy* sets about defining *Morisco*: "applied to Moors who stayed on and were baptised after Spain was restored" (my translation from the 1956 edition, s. v.). This mentions the es-

sential characteristic of the Moriscos: that they were baptised as Christians. What even this definition omits is that the baptism of these "Moors" (Muslims) did not take place of their own free will. Not surprisingly, most of them continued to be, in the words of one Inquisition indictment, "tan moros como los de Argel"—"just as much Muslims as the people in Algiers". They were, however, Muslims of a most unusual kind: crypto-Muslims.

In order to obviate possible confusion, it should be made clear that in Spanish the word *Morisco* has always, both in earlier times and indeed up to the present day, continued to be used in its broad, basic and original sense of "Moorish" (*Morisco* is to *moro* in Spanish as *Moorish* is to *Moor* in English). When the Archpriest of Hita, for example, in his *Book of Good Love* (early 14th century) speaks of the *guitarra morisca*, the instrument in question is obviously Moorish and not Morisco in the special sense which concerns us here. In practice there is rarely any difficulty in determining whether the broad or the specific historical sense is intended in a Spanish text; in English, of course, the ambiguity does not arise.

For at least two and a half centuries before 897/1492 the Muslims of Spain were divided into, on the one hand, the inhabitants of the independent, Arabic-speaking, exclusively Muslim Naşrid kingdom of Granada, and, on the other, those Muslims who were subjects of the various Christian kingdoms, who were known as Mudejars. The Capitulations of Granada in 897/1492 did no more than repeat with minor variations the type of terms of surrender which had been accorded to many other towns and cities in the course of the centuries. In general, cities which resisted to the last were taken over and the inhabitants expelled, as happened in Málaga in 892/1487, whereas where negotiations were initiated before the Christian forces were committed to the final attack, Muslims were usually permitted to live on as subjects of the Christians if they wished to do so. By the end of the 9th/15th century there were such Mudejar communities in all the Christian kingdoms (there was even a small but flourishing Mudejar minority in the Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre). So Lévi-Provençal was in a sense wrong to point to January 1492 as the beginning of a distinctive Morisco period. At that point we simply need to register a large increase in the number of Mudejars—apart from that, nothing changed. Certainly nobody in contemporary documents ever uses the word "Morisco", or indeed any equivalent expression.

However, the existence of an independent Granada had provided the ultimate guarantee for the rights of Muslims everywhere in the Iberian Peninsula. It was not merely that Granada was there across the mountains as the ultimate place of refuge. Granada's existence as a Muslim state meant that Christian rulers—Christians at all levels—had to treat Muslims with respect. There were at all times in the Christian camp those who would have liked to see more done in order to bring about the conversion of their Muslim fellow-countrymen, but such enthusiasm had to be restrained so long as

Christians might find themselves in the hands of Muslim rulers. The Castilian victory of 897/1492 upset this long-established equilibrium. In that sense Lévi-Provençal and others are correct in placing the beginning of the Morisco period as 897/1492, but neither in Granada itself nor in any other part of Spain was there any sudden change of status at this date.

Although from 1500 onwards there were living in the Castilian territories (not yet, be it noted, in Aragonese or Navarrese lands) Moriscos, in the sense that the former Muslims were now baptised crypto-Muslims under Christian rule, the word "Morisco" as such was not yet in use; it did not become current until well after the mid-point of the century. The documents speak only of "people newly converted from being Moors" ("los nuevamente convertidos de moros") and similar cumbersome locutions. The question arises as to whether we should nowadays employ the term in speaking of events in, say, 1501. That it is anachronistic is beyond doubt, but a more powerful objection from its generalised use must be that it was an ideological tool employed by those desirous of marginalising the community and depriving it of its right to continue loyal to Islam. By reclassifying people as Moriscos rather than *moros* (Muslims), the authorities made them subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition (from which all unbelievers were exempt). Thus the very word itself begs the vital question whether Muslims would be free to exercise their religion in Spain in the 16th century. However, Morisco is a term so well entrenched by now in the historical literature that to eschew its use would be to create a risk of misunderstanding. Even in Arabic nowadays the word has wide currency (*mūriskiyyūn*). It is perhaps too late to seek to replace it, but every effort must be made to avoid the ideological pitfalls which it creates. (The problem which we face is not dissimilar to that of would-be feminist analysts condemned to formulating their critique in our inherently sexist common tongue.)

Let us, then, return to the beginning, to the period in the late 1490s when the Muslims of Granada, conscious of their powerlessness now that their state had been liquidated, decided to make an appeal to their fellow-Muslims elsewhere.

I. THE MUSLIMS OF GRANADA, FACED WITH FORCIBLE CONVERSION, SEEK OUTSIDE HELP

When, in the closing years of the 9th/15th century, the Muslims of Granada found that, in contravention of the promises made in the Capitulations of surrender of Granada of 897/1492, they were not being left to live in peace as Muslim subjects of the Catholic Monarchs according to the Mudejar-style settlement which both sides had willingly accepted, they eventually responded by taking up arms against their new rulers. The question of whether such a course of action was justified was, of course, answered in totally opposing ways by Christians and by Muslims. From the Christian point of

view, the revolts of the Muslims of the various regions of the little Kingdom of Granada were treasonable. They provided ample justification for regarding the Capitulations of 897/1492 as being void. The benefits which, according to these Capitulations, were enjoyed by the Muslims of Granada were forfeit. And because the Castilian Crown was obliged to undertake all over again the conquest of the region, a new settlement could be offered. The obligations assumed by the Castilians in 897/1492 were, as it were, wiped away, and the fresh start which was offered was a stark choice between conversion to Christianity or exile.

If we look at what happened from the point of view of the Muslims, the same events appear very differently. Such harsh treatment as that to which one of their leaders, el Zegrí, was subjected before his spirit was broken and he was converted by Cisneros and his tough subordinate León ("a lion by nature as well as by name" says Cisneros' adulatory biographer Alvar Gómez de Castro), or such harassment as that endured by the *elches* (converts to Islam from Christianity who had been guaranteed the right to continue in their new religion) seemed to the Muslims gross infractions of the terms under which the city had been surrendered. Taking up arms was the last resort of desperate men, a forlorn attempt to arrest the process whereby their religion was being suppressed.

The Muslims of Granada must have realised at this juncture that, however hard they fought, they stood little chance of resisting the Christian armies. Although they had in their favour their knowledge of the difficult mountainous terrain, in every other respect (numbers, weapons, supplies) the balance of advantage was with the Christians. The logical conclusion to be drawn was that the only hope for the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula lay in seeking help outside. None of the Christian powers of Western Europe was likely to wish to come to the aid of the Granadan Muslims; indeed it had been a matter of rejoicing everywhere in Christendom when Granada fell. And even if any Christian nation had wished to intervene, it was not immediately obvious that any possessed the capacity to do so. Spain's Muslims would have to rely on Muslims elsewhere, but the crisis came for them at a time when little could be expected from the more obvious quarters. Twice in the previous half millennium help had come to al-Andalus from North Africa, but about the year 1500 there was no Muslim state from which any effective intervention might be expected. The refugees who crossed the Mediterranean were often well received, but help and hospitality was all that could be hoped for, and indeed both Castile and Portugal were in the process of establishing military bases on the North African coast. In the west, the Sa'dids were still pushing northwards against Waṭṭāsid resistance; in the centre and east the Ḥafṣids of Tunis were patently in decline, but it was to be a third of a century before the Ottoman Turks began to extend their rule along the Mediterranean shore.

It was, therefore, a rational decision on the part of the Muslims of Granada to direct their appeals first to Mamlūk Egypt. Here was the nearest powerful Muslim state to Granada, near enough, because of the constant movement of seaborne trade, to be aware of the plight of their co-religionists, though much too far away for the Mamlūks to be able to send troops to help, even if they had wished to do so. As far as can be made out, the Granadans made no serious attempt to secure actual military support: as we will see, the plan seems to have been to persuade the Mamlūks to exercise diplomatic pressure by threatening to visit on the Christians of the East the same treatment as was being meted out to the Muslims of the West. Here we see how, in a very explicit way, the fate of Spain's Muslims was linked with general relations between the two world religions, Christianity and Islam; for what must have been at issue above all was pilgrimage to the Holy Land, then in Mamlūk territory. For the Spanish monarchs the question of how to deal with their Muslim (or as they saw them, ex-Muslim) subjects was an internal matter, important enough, but, after the actual military victory of 896-7/1491-92, not the greatest of the many preoccupations of the Spanish crown; yet that question, and how it was handled, is remembered when so many of the burning issues of the day are forgotten.

The Granadan emissary who went to Cairo to plead for help was Ibn al-Azraq, a most distinguished scholar who had served as chief *qāḍī* in Granada, and who was in fact holding a similar office among the Mālikīs of Jerusalem at the time of his death. There is some uncertainty as to the year in which he began his campaign to win friends in the East, although al-Maqqarī's statement that it was "after the triumph of the enemy in al-Andalus" would seem to place the date after 897/1492. We are told that the Mamlūk ruler who received him was Qā'it Bey, who died in 901/1496. What Ibn al-Azraq was seeking from Qā'it was "the restoration of al-Andalus". It was just as if he had asked for "something totally unattainable" (*bayḍ al-anūq* is the expression used in Arabic: the egg of a type of vulture for some reason proverbial for its rarity). From al-Maqqarī we might well conclude that the mission was a complete failure, but from the response which the Castilian crown felt obliged to make, we can gauge better how effective this propaganda must have been. By 1501, when, after the suppression of the revolt in the Alpujarras, the problem had become even more acute, the Catholic Monarchs were taking reports reaching them from Cairo and Alexandria so seriously that they determined to send a special envoy, the scholar Peter Martyr (perhaps better known for his subsequent service as chronicler of the history of the Americas) to put their case.

Peter Martyr's mission was not, of course, by any means the first contact between the two countries. Ferdinand had attempted with some success to assume the role of protector of the Holy Places (which fell under Mamlūk jurisdiction), and there was already a consulate at Alexandria to deal with

the considerable maritime trade. Peter Martyr's instructions were (according to Santa Cruz) "to do his very best in his dealings with the Great Sultan (i.e. the Mamlūk ruler) to make sure that the Christians of Asia and Egypt came to no harm".¹ We know surprisingly much about the main lines of the discussion between the two sides, above all from Peter's own version of events (the *Legatio Babilonica*) and from Santa Cruz. No doubt Peter presented his own interventions in a favourable light, but the themes on which he touched must have borne some reference to what we find in the printed texts. Did Peter really say to the Mamlūk with whom he was negotiating that the Spanish Monarchs were not obliged to give account of their actions "because they are so powerful, and are subordinate to no king or lord in the world"? Perhaps it would have been unwise for him to say so in so many words, but the argument of the might and the power of the Spanish monarchy and the comparative weakness of the Muslims was the underlying truth which determined the fate of the Muslims of Spain from 897/1492 to 1501, and through to 1611.

In a sense Peter need have made no further points. We are told that he went on to allude to Rodrigo and Julián, i.e. to the historical myth by which Spanish Christians asserted their right to reconquer lands which had once been in Christian (Visigothic) hands. He then passed on to the vexed question of the infraction of the Capitulations, especially by forcible conversions. Not true, he replied: "For the Moors of their own free will desired to become Christians. They had disturbed the peace (*alborotado*) of the whole kingdom of Granada, and had risen against the Christians among whom they were living, killing many of them. For this reason they deserved the death penalty, and the Catholic Monarchs conquered them for a second time, and brought them to such a pass that they had been obliged to sue for mercy. This had been granted to them on the condition that those who wished to continue to reside in the kingdom should become Christians, and those who did not wish to do so should cross to Africa."

Who broke the terms of the surrender of 897/1492? We are dealing with two views of what happened which are as incompatible as the Israeli and the Palestinian accounts of the events accompanying the setting up of the state of Israel.

At this stage in his speech to the Mamlūks, Peter claims to make a brilliantly effective debating point. He brings into the argument the Muslims of Aragon and of Valencia, places where "most of the Moors lived quite peacefully among the Christians, having their own mosques, riding their own horses with their own lances and other arms. They were dealt with as justly as were the Christians". The implication is clearly that good subject Muslims lived in peace, those who were rebellious must be bad. There is also a veiled threat here; if the Mamlūks did cause trouble for the Eastern Christians, as they were threatening, then trouble could be made for the Mudejars of the Crown of Aragon, who up to then had been well treated.

To close, Peter Martyr developed another veiled threat of force. The threat came in the form of an offer of assistance. If only "fraternal friendship" could be established between Spain and Egypt, then the Spanish fleet which was based on Calabria could bring Egypt help; a clear reminder this of the naval strength of Spain and its allies, and of the ease with which the fleet could disrupt the trade of Alexandria.

Peter Martyr's mission seems to have been entirely successful. Any idea of making the Christians of Palestine in some sense hostages for the Muslims of Spain seems to have been abandoned.

We must now turn to relations with the Ottoman Turks, a subject of far greater importance, for whereas the Mamlūk state ceased to exist in 1517, the Mediterranean rivalry of the Ottoman and Spanish empires is a major theme of world history throughout the 16th century and beyond. The text which I wish, briefly, to examine tells of what was probably the first approach made to the Turks by the Muslims of Spain after the adoption by the Christians of policies of forcible conversion (there were missions from Nasrid Granada in the years before 897/1492, of course).² Quite explicit and detailed allusions in the text point to its belonging to the period after 1500, and I believe we can also place it after the Peter Martyr mission to Egypt.

The text in question is preserved for us by al-Maqqarī in the *Azhār al-riyāq*,³ not in an archive, but there seems no reason to reject it as being a mere literary exercise. Even if such a missive never reached Istanbul, the text has interest as embodying the sort of appeal that Spanish Muslims would have wished to make to the Ottomans after the failure of their propaganda campaign in Egypt. It is addressed to Abū Yazīd Khān, the Ottoman, i.e. Bayazid II (886/1481-918/1512). (A late copy of this section only of the *Azhār* was edited from an Algiers manuscript by M. Soualah in the early years of this century, and re-edited with a useful translation by James Monroe.) After describing how the Christian Spaniards had failed to keep the promises which they had made at the time of the Conquest, as before, the suggestion is made that the Eastern Christians should be used to put pressure on the rulers of Spain to treat their Muslims better; for, the Ottoman sultan is reminded, "the [place of] origin of the religion of the Christians is under your rule". A frequently reiterated theme is the failure of the Spaniards to keep faith. There is explicit mention of the earlier contacts between Egypt and Spain, and the type of argument put forward by Peter Martyr to the effect that conversion had been freely accepted by the Muslims is indignantly denied: "They say that we had willingly accepted the religions of unbelief, and had not been subjected to force, but by God we did not willingly assent to that profession of faith, they lie in what they say, it was from fear of slaughter and conflagration, and we only said what we did against our will, and the religion of God's Messenger continued to be ours". At one point we find the clearest possible reference to the fighting in the Alpujarras in 1500-

01: "Thus did they treat Andarax, burning its inhabitants in the fire, so that all those in the mosque were reduced to charcoal".⁴ One might perhaps argue that atrocities such as this unfortunately occurred at several stages in the fighting, but in the face of the following incident recounted by Alonso de Santa Cruz, who places it just after the surrender of Andarax in 1500, we can be quite sure of the date:

The next day, after the Moors had handed in their arms, some of the Christians broke away from the army and made their way into where the Moors were being held, to pillage. When these Moors perceived that they were being ill-used, they began to struggle with the Christians. When the main body of the army got to hear of this, many more soldiers went across to join in, and they killed many Moors, both men and women, to the number of more than three thousand souls, and in the mosque alone there died more than six hundred women who had taken refuge there. This was a terrible thing.⁵

However effective the Morisco appeal may have been in arousing Ottoman sympathy, its practical consequences were as limited as those of the missions to the Mamlûks. No Muslim power in the Mediterranean basin possessed the capacity to mount a successful operation against Spanish territory, other than a brief raid. The Morisco suggestion that the Eastern Christians should be made to suffer in revenge for the sufferings of the Muslims of al-Andalus was fortunately not taken up. From our perspective in time we can see that one factor which contributed greatly to the enduring strength of the Ottoman state was its *millet* policy. The persecution of, for example, the Syrian Christians would have undermined that policy. In Istanbul too, the Moriscos were asking for the egg of the *anıq*. But the Ottomans were from this time onwards genuinely concerned about the fate of their co-religionists in the West. No doubt the Ottoman drive towards the West, the successful establishment of the Ottoman Regencies of Tunis and Algiers, the unsuccessful adventures further into the Maghrib, the great defeat of the Turkish fleet by the joint fleets of Spain, Venice and the Papacy at Lepanto in October, 1571, are phenomena to be explained by many factors quite unrelated to the woes of al-Andalus, but the spokesmen for the Moriscos were able to make sure that the circumstances of the forcible conversions were not passed over in silence.

II. THE RISE OF CRYPTO-ISLAM IN SPAIN

The Muslims of Spain must have realised very quickly that no effective help was likely to reach them from fellow-Muslims abroad. It became necessary for them to discover how they might survive. It would seem that in theory there were three possible courses of action open to them: (1) full and sincere conversion to Christianity; (2) open refusal to convert, and acceptance of the consequences of that refusal; (3) insincere and nominal conversion, with the "convert" maintaining in secret the religion he was not allowed to practise in

public. We find examples of all three choices. We may be sceptical about the sincerity of some of the converts to Christianity, especially when physical violence was employed. In the long history of relations between Islam and Christianity, converts from Islam have been few in any period, but there were undoubtedly some who fully adopted the religion of the Conquest (the Jesuit of Morisco origin, Ignacio de las Casas, is a notable example). Open refusal to accept conversion was common in the early days when the consequences of that refusal were expulsion, for *hijra*—taking refuge from godlessness in a country where Islam was the state religion—was what Islamic law taught should be the choice of the believer. Neither the acceptance of Mudejar status (so common in Aragon and Valencia, not uncommon in Castile from the 13th to the 15th centuries) nor insincere conversion were in any way condoned by orthodox Islamic theologians. However, flight into exile was an option available only during a limited period. Once nominal conversions had taken place, some Christian theologians refused to countenance the loss to Islam of souls promised to Christ. And apart from the theological obstacles, there were economic ones. The landlords in many areas were unwilling to see their lands depopulated, and the transfer of funds to ensure the well-being of refugees while they were re-establishing themselves was difficult to arrange. Once the Inquisition had begun to operate, open refusal to accept Christianity became a punishable offence (all ex-Muslims were deemed to have accepted Christianity, and thus their continued attachment to Islam was heresy). The second of the three options thus ceased to apply.

There remained the third option: nominal conversion to Christianity, with the “convert” maintaining his ancestral faith in secret; those who chose this way are the community which we call the Moriscos. It is to be stressed that this is, within the world-wide context of Islam as a whole, an aberration. There is no parallel to this development anywhere else at any time in Islamic history. The overwhelming weight of opinion among jurisconsults (*muftis*) requires Muslims to leave countries ruled by infidels, even if they are not subject to persecution. There can be no doubt whatsoever that Muslims ought not to accept conversion unless they are under an imminent threat of death, and then they should endeavour to bring the situation to an end as soon as possible. Temporary suspension of some aspects of religious practice has been regarded as permissible—as, for example, the “prayer when in fear” (*ṣalāt al-khawf*) on the battlefield—but for the religious life of a whole community to be carried on clandestinely generation after generation is quite another matter.

Could those Muslims who opted to stay in their ancient homeland, Spain, and to live there as crypto-Muslims, be regarded as true Muslims at all? To settle this vexed question, someone, and we do not know who it was, must, at some time in 1503 or 1504, have consulted a mufti living in Oran, ‘Ubaydallāh Aḥmad b. Bū Jum’a ’l-Maghrāwī. Why this particular juriscon-

sult was chosen is not recorded—perhaps it was simply that Oran was easily accessible. The answers which this religious lawyer provided must have carried weight and authority among Spanish Muslims, for besides the Arabic text of the *fatwā* dated 910/1504, there are extant two, possibly three versions of a translation into Spanish in Arabic characters dated 970-1/1563 (the later date came to the notice of scholars before the earlier Arabic original, and in consequence the *fatwā* itself is often wrongly dated). The Oran *fatwā* seems to have provided a pattern for the Morisco modality of Islam which continued in force throughout the Morisco period.

The answers given by the mufti to the problems submitted to him all, without exception, permitted the relaxation of the strict rules and precepts of Islam. There was virtually nothing which the Muslims could not do, so long as they were under duress (al-Maghrāwī can hardly have known, in 1503, that the period of persecution was going to last for 106 years):

- They might bow down to idols [i.e. images in Christian churches];
- They might substitute for public ritual prayer some covert gesture;
- The code of ritual purity could be suspended: in case of need a gesture in the direction of the ritually pure object would suffice as a substitute;
- Wine might be drunk, so long as the believer had no intention of making use of it;⁶
- Pork and other forbidden foods might be eaten if they could not be avoided, so long as they were still considered unclean;
- Usury might be taken, but subsequently the profit should be given away to the poor;
- If forced to do so, Muslims might in the last resort even deny their faith: what they were forced to say openly they should deny in their hearts.

Various subterfuges and quibbles were suggested to help persecuted Muslims avoid committing blasphemy, as, for example, that a Muslim forced to curse Muḥammad should pronounce the name as “Mamad”, since that was how the Christians said it anyway; they should mean thereby either the Devil, or the Jewish Mahamad, for many Jews had that title (this is the case among some Sephardic congregations). After suggesting a number of other quibbles of a grammatical nature, the mufti concludes by urging Moriscos with further problems to submit them to him. Strangely enough, no such further latitudinarian *fatwās* have come to light thus far. Perhaps the very broad freedom to suspend any aspects of the religious law which might give rise to difficulties which is to be found in the 910/1504 text provided a satisfactory framework for the new clandestine religion which was emerging.

Curiously enough, it is in a Christian source that we find independent confirmation of the existence of a new, relaxed Islamic theology adapted to the circumstances of the day. Fray Marcos de Guadalajara was a Carmelite who contributed to the relatively voluminous Christian apologetic literature which was stimulated by the edicts of the Expulsion of 1609. His *Prodición y destierro* is almost exclusively concerned with the signs and wonders (such as comets) which signalled divine approval for the Final Solution, but in his

Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España, Pamplona, 1619, he is also arguing that the stubbornness with which the Moriscos had, over a long period of time, resisted all attempts to convert them justified the action taken. Because it is told in such a context, I see no reason to reject as untrue an anecdote concerning an incident in 1526. The forcible conversion of the Muslims of Aragon in that year had led to a minority of them rising against the Crown. One small group of Muslims were preparing to go down in a desperate last-ditch stand in their village when a Christian noble came forward and offered to try to negotiate a surrender:

When matters had reached this point of crisis, and many [Christians] there present were moved to pity, a gentleman of good and candid intentions put himself forward to negotiate the surrender of Maria [a place whose exact location is unknown to me], because it seemed to him that he could thereby do notable service to God, the Emperor and to the lords. With the permission of the Viceroy and of the Count of Fuentes, he made his way into the village and addressed them as follows:

"Sad and unfortunate people, who in this way are handing yourselves over to your enemies! If you refuse Baptism out of obedience to your Koran, you should be informed that you are permitted to put on a show of being Christians, and to be baptised, keeping your heart for Muḥammad, and in this way you can escape from the present danger which you face of being brought to surrender by force of arms, and from future dangers as you wander the world."

Marcos de Guadalajara goes on to tell us:

These words were so efficacious and of such power that on the spot they laid down their arms and accepted baptism. In this way what evangelising missionaries had been unable to achieve with true and well-founded arguments was achieved by this gentleman with erroneous and offensive [*malsonantes*] propositions. The harm which all this causes, and the regret felt by good Catholics when they came to hear about it cannot be exaggerated. Suffice it to say that they [the Moriscos] kept to their part of the bargain, and the gentleman was not held in high esteem. [Presumably this implies that the conversions were indeed insincere.]⁷

Considerable space has been devoted to the Oran *fatwā* because of its far-reaching consequences, for Muslims and for Christians alike. In the history of Islam, the practice of *taqiyya*, "the technical term for dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.) was no innovation. We find, for example, inserted within the strict Quranic verse condemning apostasy ("Whoso disbelieveth in Allāh after his belief—on them is wrath from Allāh. Theirs will be an awful doom") the saving clause "save him who is forced thereto".⁸ Such an orthodox commentator as al-Ṭabarī, when dealing with this passage, explains: "If anyone is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue while his heart contradicts him, to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe."⁹ Nevertheless, and in spite of the orthodoxy of the practice, Sunni Islam has made remarkably little use of this easement (indeed, in Islam as a whole it has been a doctrine developed above all by Shi'ites to afford them some protection from Sunni

harassment). It was the misfortune of the Moriscos to be the first large population of orthodox Mālikī Sunni Muslims to find themselves in a situation in which their continued existence in their homeland depended on their willingness to conceal their true beliefs, not just with respect to one isolated incident, but regularly and throughout their lives.

The consequences for the Moriscos who adopted *taqiyya* were twofold and contradictory. On the one hand they were enabled to survive in Spain, and indeed their religious faith was placed safely beyond the proselytising endeavours of their Christian neighbours. Christian writings on the Moriscos in the 16th century (indeed, the writings of Christian apologists right up to the 20th century, e.g. Boronat) abound in assertions that the Moriscos might outwardly appear Christians, but in their hearts they were still Muslims (this was an argument put forward to justify the Expulsion: the Moriscos were insincere, could never be trusted, etc.). Clearly the *fatwā* was successful in creating a safe inner refuge to which the persecuted Moriscos could retreat, and where they could preserve their essential Islamic loyalties. On the other hand, by adopting the external signs of Christianity the Moriscos exposed themselves to the erosion of their religious and cultural distinctiveness, and when, in the early 17th century, groups of Morisco refugees arrived in Islamic countries, the local populations often felt these newcomers to be suspiciously European and Christian. The baroque-style mosque buildings which some of them put up in their settlements in Tunisia (Testour) are a visual demonstration of the way in which generations who had lived within and not outside Christendom had absorbed influences which marked them off as distinct.

It is surprising that there has been so little debate within the Islamic world about this final aspect of the experience of Spain's Muslims. In 1991, when the Islamic peoples are in the midst of a great debate on where they stand in relation to the modern Western world, the experience of the Moriscos is not without relevance. Rather than focus on the Moriscos, however, modern Muslims seem to prefer to direct their attention towards other aspects of the experience of al-Andalus, on the philosophers of the 5th/11th-7th/13th centuries, or on the heroic conquerors of earlier periods.

III. THE MUDEJAR CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE CREATION OF AN ISLAMIC LITERATURE IN ROMANCE

It would be wrong to attribute all the distinctive features of Morisco religion to the *fatwā* of 910/1504. If we are to judge from their own religious literature, the greatest single influence on them in the 16th century lay in the writings of a remarkable *imām* and mufti from Segovia in the previous century, Ice de Gebir (this is not the place to go into uncertainties about the exact form of his name). Ice's manual of Islamic faith and practice, the *Breviario*

Sunni (also known as the *Kitāb segoviano*, the "Book from Segovia") was clearly itself widely read throughout the Morisco period, and extracts and adaptations from it, some openly mentioning Ice's name, others silently taking over his material, are to be found in Morisco writings right up to the time of the Expulsion (and beyond into North African exile).

It may come as a surprise to some otherwise well-informed about Spain and about Spanish Islam to learn that there was a not inconsiderable literature in Hispanic dialects (mainly in varieties of Castilian and of Aragonese) which circulated among the Moriscos. This was a literature for crypto-Muslims, and so was itself secret. To the best of my knowledge there is no evidence that any Christian Spaniard, however well-informed, was ever aware of its existence. Even the Inquisition, which certainly impounded some manuscripts, seems to have been content to classify them as Qurans, and to have left matters there. The language, basically Romance, was often much influenced by Arabic, not only because it incorporated many more elements of Arabic vocabulary than did standard Spanish, but also because, at the levels of morphology and syntax, Semitic models made themselves felt. This literature in Spanish using Arabic characters is known to modern scholars as *literatura aljamiada*, or simply as *aljamía*.

A word of clarification and warning may be needed here. This particular usage is a relatively recent one, that is to say that it goes back probably to the brilliant pioneering work done by the 19th-century scholar and collector Pascual de Gayangos. The words (*aljamía*, *aljamiado*) did of course already exist in medieval times in the sense of "Romance vernacular" (this is the sense which was current in the Iberian Peninsula; the Arabic etymon, *ʿajamī*, *ʿajamiyya* means "non-Arab" in general, so that in Iran, for example, *ʿajamī* will mean specifically "Persian"). In the first place it is necessary to stress that in early texts *aljamía* refers to spoken language, and never to manuscripts in Arabic characters. In the second place the use of the term does not seem to imply that the form of the language was in any way particularly Arabised. A final aspect of the usage of *aljamía* which no dictionary seems to note, but which is certainly present, is that although it means Romance it is never employed in a context where there are only Christian Spaniards. Somewhere in the picture, whether as a speaker or as an observer, there must be a Muslim. When Gayangos and others began to identify manuscripts in Arabic characters as being in Romance, it was quite natural for these linguistic curiosities to be called *manuscritos aljamiados*, and from there the modern scholarly usage emerged.

This literature in Spanish, using Arabic characters, flourished in Spain in the 16th century, and seems to have begun in the 15th. It is sometimes asserted that the phenomenon began in the 14th or even 13th centuries, but there is not one single manuscript of such a date. There certainly are *texts* which for linguistic, metrical, stylistic or other reasons are judged to belong

اَي شَرِيكَ لَدَيْكَ لَعَنَ اَبْرَهَةَ جُرْتُ بَوَاك : اَلْحَوْدُ لَيْسَا رَ
 هَاشَتَ تَانَشَتَ اِيَّاهُ شَبَوَانَا تَانَشَتَ لَعَنَ اِيَّاهُ شَبَوَانَا لَعَنَ
 بَارِدُ * اَنَشَتَ مَاشُمُ حَوْنَدَ لَمَنَاشَتَنِمَ عَا تَانَبَوَاك تَانَجُ
 بَلَنَدُ اِيَّيَاكَ دَاشَا اَشَدَ دَ اَبْرَهَةَ جُرْتُ بَرَشَا اَلَمَ : هَاشَتَا
 شَرُ لَجَارَدَ اَدَشَمَشَتَ اَشَدَ اَوَ دَا لَكَبَارَتَرِي دَا لَتِيَارَ : مَشُ
 حَوْنَدَ لَمَنَاشَتَنِمَ تَانَشَرَبَرَكَنَشَتَ شَاغُشَتَ اَدُرَشَا
 دَكَمَبَا اَبْرَهَةَ تَانَبَوَا دَا لَنَسَرُ جُرْتُ بَوَاك بَرَشَا اَلَمَ

كَمِيْلَه حَكُوْرَتُ كَمَرُ شَمَشَرُ مَهْمَ اَنَبَشَتُمُ بَرَلَمَلُ كَا بَرَلَبَوَاك

* دَرَاكُ اَلْعَشَمُ هَبَلَنَدُ اِنَطُرَوَاك مَانَتَا مَاشُمُشَتَ مَشَا اَبَشَرُ
 بَرَلَمَلُ كَا بَرَلَبَوَاك : يَنْدُ عُنَدَاك اَي دَ بَارَشَتَ حَوْدُ لَشَا
 شَتَ اَجْرَا سَا بَرَلَاكُ طَمُ بَرَلَاكُ اَشَرُ * يَانَعَا شَتَا عَا لَعَمَشَرُ
 اَلْعُ شَاوَرِيَاك دَشَتِيغَرُ هَاشَتَ حَوْمَشُ * * : تَانَشَرَا مَجَشَرُ اَبَشَرُ
 كَا شَتَا لَمَشَتَ شَرَعَلُ شَتَا اَبَشَتَ كَا دَشَتِيغَرُشَتَ اَلْبَرَوَا
 دَلَا اَوَ دَا تَسِيْنُ نِيْمَشَتَ نَرَشَدَا شَتَا دَا مَنَدَ : يِيَا شَدَ اَرَنِيخَلُ دَا بَا
 اَدَاغَرَا تَانَسِيْ * دَرَا لَمَرَبَايَا هَنَكَنَدُ اَلْعَشَمُ اَجَا شَتَا
 تَانَدَا جَا شَرَدَا اَوَ دَا تَسِيْنُ : شَطَمَبَرَا شَتَا لَشَعَشَتَا اَعَنَتَا
 جَبَلَا شَتَا اَلَا اَوَ دَا تَسِيْنُ بَرَلَا دَشَتِيغَرُشَتَا تَانَشَتَ حَرِيْدَرُ اَدُرَشَرُ
 تَانَبَارَا شَتَمَشَرُشَتَا جَا شَطَمَنَدُ شَتَشِيْبِلَدُ دُ بَدُ اَبَا
 اَلْ هَلَرُشَتَا اَرَدَاكُ اَدَا شَرَدَاكُ : حَوْنَدُ اَلْعَابَا اَمَشَتَ بَرَشَرُ
 سَا شَدَا اَر : دَرَا مَشُ : اَلْبَاكُ اَيَسِيْدُ كَا اَشَتَا هَا جَرَبَا : يِيَا كَا

Figure 1b

to earlier periods, but since we know that texts were sometimes transliterated from one script to another, it seems reasonable to assume that this may have happened in such cases. It is to me significant that the only Arabic-character manuscript of the *Breviario Sunni* has been shown by Father D. Cabanelas to have been copied from a Latin-character original. (The author's name is given in Arabic characters as Ike, a form inexplicable in terms of Arabic palaeography or phonology, but easy to understand if we posit a copyist faced with a form *Iça* from which the cedilla has been omitted, or *Iça* with the cedilla written indistinctly.)

As specimens of the religious teachings to be found in Ice's *Breviario*, we may take the following:

Principal Commands and Prohibitions

- It is your Creator alone whom you must adore, attributing to him no likeness or semblance, and honouring his well-chosen and fortunate Muḥammad.
- You are to desire for your neighbour whatever good you desire for yourself.
- Keep clean at all times by ritual ablutions and by purity; observe the five hours of prayer.
- Obey your father and mother, even though they be unbelievers.
- Do not take the name of your Creator in vain.
- Do not kill, steal or commit fornication with any creature.
- Pay alms [*zakāt*]; fast the honoured month of Ramadan; carry out the Pilgrimage.
- Honour scholars.
- Defend the religion with your person and your property.
- Honour your neighbour, whether he be an outsider [*estraño*], a relative or an unbeliever.
- Be hospitable to the traveller, and to the poor, with all pleasure.
- Do not drink wine or any intoxicating thing.
- Do not eat ham, or carrion flesh, or blood, or any dubious or improperly slaughtered thing, or anything offered up on an altar to God's creature.
- Be truthful to your lord, even though he be a non-Muslim, for, should you not have an heir, he will inherit from you: pay him his due.
- Honour the rich, do not despise the poor, avoid envy and anger, and be patient.
- Do not live in the land of the unbelievers, nor in any land devoid of justice, nor among evil neighbours, and do not keep company with bad Muslims. Live among good men, and spend one third of your goods, if you are able, so long as you have no cause to regret it.
- Forgive him who leads you astray, and ask forgiveness of anybody whom you lead astray.
- Learn the Law, and teach it to everybody, for you may be called to account for this on Judgement Day, and cast into the fire.
- Do not follow the practices, uses or customs of the Christians, nor use their clothing, nor their likenesses, nor those of sinners, and you will be free from the sins of hell.
- Execute and preserve the sayings and teachings, uses and customs, habits and clothing of the excellent and fortunate Muḥammad, etc., etc.

The contradictions of this code of maxims are obvious enough: the prohibition on living among the unbelievers hardly squares with the commandment

to honour one's unbelieving neighbour, for example. The very fact that it is drawn up in Spanish indicates that it is intended for those resident in Spanish territories—but those are lands which Muslims ought to avoid. Such inconsistencies presumably arose because ancient laws or instructions long ignored could not be scrapped altogether without offending the pious. We can see that Ice was seeking to preserve the essentials of Islam (the five pillars), but at the same time to stress civic virtues necessary for those living in a mixed community (good relations with neighbours, with lords, etc.). This was a mutation of the code of Islam which helped it to adapt to its hostile new environment. It is significant that after the harsh experiences which the Moriscos underwent in the course of the 16th century, they still continued to value this book and to transmit it.

One of the Morisco writers whose debt to Ice is most apparent is the so-called Mancebo de Arévalo. As we might expect in the case of an author whose whole career took place under conditions of clandestinity, we know very few precise biographical details about him: his name, his date and place of birth, where and when he died, are all shrouded in mystery, but we do have three substantial manuscript works by him. One of these was in collaboration with an Aragonese *faqīh* called Baray de Remincho, from Cadrete (of whom we will shortly be hearing more), but the greater part of the work was clearly by the Mancebo. Even if we assume that what has survived represents his entire output as a writer, the sheer quantity is not negligible. At times his accounts of his travels over the face of Spain, from one Muslim haven to another, have a refreshing directness. We can hardly believe our good fortune, for, thanks to the Mancebo, we are privileged to sit in on secret Morisco discussions on their trials and tribulations—or on quite abstruse problems of Islamic theology. But there are passages of the utmost obscurity. All that we can be sure of is that the difficulty of the language is intentional. The Mancebo de Arévalo is striving to create a new form of Islamic Spanish adapted for devotional purposes, intentionally far removed from everyday speech.

The Mancebo is beginning to yield up some of his secrets thanks to the patient detective work of recent scholarly investigations. In particular Gregorio Fonseca of the University of Oviedo has surprised everybody by demonstrating that one of the books, the *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual* has as one of its sources Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*! All specifically Christian elements in the language are stripped out and replaced by Islamic ones, but whole sentences are frequently simply transposed. María Teresa Narváez of the University of Puerto Rico (Río Piedras) has similarly been able to demonstrate a more limited but equally incontrovertible connection between one passage of the *Tafsira* and the Petrarchian prologue to the *Celestina*! Such discoveries confirm what has been known for some time: that the Moriscos' intellectual and spiritual isolation was far

from complete. The Moriscos energetically cultivated their distinctiveness; their allegiance was to Muḥammad and his Companions; but the 16th-century moment and milieu could not be prevented from showing through. However hard they might try to belong elsewhere, the Moriscos also belonged to Spain. The selection of their writings which has survived is a restricted one. Much of it is pedestrian in quality and impenetrable to any but specialist readers, but a few pieces of finer writing might merit wider dissemination. In various ways a variety of scholars have been concerned in recent years to make texts transliterated from *aljamía* available in print, so that another minority literature can now be set alongside the great Golden Age literature of the Catholic majority. It is curious to think that at the same time that Lope de Vega and Cervantes were creating the great masterpieces of Spanish literature, Morisco authors were struggling with Spanish to mould it into a medium fit for the transmission of Islamic culture.

Most texts written in *aljamía* are apersonal and traditional. We do not know who wrote them. One of the many ways in which the Mancebo de Arévalo departed from the norm was that, although he did not give away his name, he nevertheless conveyed a great deal about his personality, and his writings are full of personal reminiscence. In the following passage he tells of a visit he paid to a famous Muslim holy woman, the Mora de Ubeda, in Granada, just before he was due to leave on his Pilgrimage:

Whilst I was in Granada, where I had gone to spend the time of the festival, I went, towards the beginning of the month of *Dhū 'l-Hijja*, to take my leave of the Mora de Ubeda. She said to me: "Since you are taking your leave, and we will not see each other again till Judgement Day, take this written tablet [*lūh*], and keep it safe in your heart, for it is greatly blessed: Gabriel presented it to Muḥammad (*s'm*). If Allāh grant you grace to reach Makka, you must pray on my behalf at Muḥammad's tomb. [The tomb is, of course, not at Mecca, but at Medina.] What is more, I beg you, even though you are already in your days of grace, go and visit Yuce Benegas, for he is a most outstanding man. He is no great grammarian, as Alí Sarmiento is, but he is a great Arabic scholar, and so many people go to visit him that it is amazing. You will not be disappointed by what you see, you will find it exceeds what I am telling you. He lives on the Cuesta de la Higuera, a league from Granada, where he possesses the most resplendent farm [*alquería*] in all the confines of the Vega. You must convey to him my greetings, for he is a friend and a relative."

I did what the Mora told me, even though I had no mind to spend more time there. I reached his house on the last day of the said month, and he gave me the welcome one would expect from a noble in his position. After our exchange of greetings—this was on the third day—he took out a gilt folio Koran, and had me read two sections [*hizbes*]. When I had finished, he took it from my hand, and said to me: "May God favour you and grant you salvation, as is your own desire." Nevertheless, he did not refrain from correcting my mistakes, for he was very strict, and I, for my part, welcomed his corrections. Some time later, when we had got to know each other well, he took me one Friday to see his estate. This was in the hands of more than a hundred individuals who looked after it. We sat by a stream, and he said to me: "My son, I am aware that you know nothing of the

affairs of Granada, so, if I call them to mind, do not be shocked by what I tell you, for there is not a single moment when they do not reverberate within my heart. There is no time, no hour, when I do not feel the pain deep within me. I have read the *timola* [?] of the Jews, and the *Faraida* [perhaps read *Eneida*?] of the pagans, and other accounts of great losses and sufferings. It was all very affecting, and they all wept for what they had lost, but in my opinion nobody has wept over such misfortunes as the Sons of Granada. Do not doubt what I am saying, because I am one of them, and I was an eye-witness. With my own eyes I saw the noble ladies mocked, widows and married women alike, and I saw more than three hundred maidens put up to public auction. I do not want to tell you any more about it all, for it is more than I can bear. I lost three of my sons, who all died in defence of the faith, two of my daughters, and my wife. This daughter of mine alone remains to console me. She was four months old at the time. So did I lose my family, as Allāh willed: may he grant me full pardon.

He then went on:

Son, I do not weep over the past, for there is no way back, but I do weep for what you have yet to see, if you are spared, and live on in this land, in this peninsula of Spain. May it please Allāh, for the sake of the nobility of our Koran, that what I am saying be proved empty words. May it not turn out as I imagine. Even so, our religion will so decline that people will ask: What has become of the voice of the muezzin? What has become of the religion of our ancestors? For anybody with feelings it will all seem bitter and cruel. What troubles me most is that Muslims will be indistinguishable from Christians, accepting their dress, and not avoiding their food. May God grant that at least they avoid their actions, and that they do not allow the [Christian] religion to lodge in their hearts...

It must appear to you that I am saying all this because I am overwrought. May Allāh, in His infinite love grant that what I am saying is as far from the mark as I would desire, for I would not wish to know anything of such weeping. If we say that the Children of Israel wept, is it any great matter that we too should weep? ... If now after such a short space of time we appear to have difficulty in keeping our footing, what will those in years to come do? If the fathers scant the religion, how are the great-grandchildren to raise it up again? *If the King of the Conquest fails to keep faith, what are we to expect from his successors?* I tell you more, my son, that our decline will continue. May His Holy Goodness direct His pity towards us, and support us with His divine grace.

He would not have stopped, had the hour of the evening prayer not come. I remained with him two months, and may Allāh never grant me forgiveness—I swear it did not seem two hours, for never did any man possess a finer understanding. I could find nothing against anything which he said or did, unless it were that he could be very abrupt in the way he reproved one, and issued commands. I never saw anybody with his facility for reading and explicating the Koran, and any Arabic or Hebrew [*sic!*] work of commentary. His voice was very masterful. His daughter was not like that. She was very learned, and knew the whole Koran by heart, and led a very holy life. It was a cause of consolation to see such unsullied magnificence [?]. When I took my leave from father and daughter, there was no lack of tears on either side. The daughter gave me a ring, the father a small jewel, saying: “Son, I would have wished to give you some other present, but my treasures are now exhausted, Take this jewel. It weighs 10,000 maravedis, but if it were 100,000 I would not stay my hand.” On the day I left, he pronounced a homily on Muḥammad’s coming which he would not allow to be given to me.¹⁰

It is difficult to imagine a more affecting passage. Here we have one of the leaders of that Granadan aristocracy which had decided in 897/1492 to come to some accommodation with Ferdinand and Isabella now conscious that he could not trust the "King of the Conquest".

IV. THE MUSLIMS OF THE CROWN OF ARAGON

In his speech in Cairo, it will be recalled, Peter Martyr made the point that the changes in status which affected the Muslims of Granada and then the other lands of the Crown of Castile had no impact in the territories of the Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia), where the rights of the king's loyal Mudejar subjects to continue to worship as they always had done in the past were entrenched in the local legal codes (*fueros*) that the king on his accession swore to protect. A striking demonstration of the difference between the treatment of Muslims in Castilian lands and those in Aragon occurred in 1515 over the question of the small Muslim community of Navarre (Tudela and some nearby villages). This ancient and well-integrated group of Muslims had throughout the later Middle Ages proved to be loyal subjects of the kings of Navarre. As skilled artificers and artillerymen they performed notable services in the wars, both in France and south of the Pyrenees. When the Duke of Alba took over Navarre for Ferdinand in 1512, assurances were given that the rights of the Muslims would not be extinguished, and those promises were kept for two years. (An extant account of a trial in 1513, therefore after the Castilian occupation, specifically mentions that the judge took his oath "as a Moor should", and incidentally refers to one of the town officials having been in the mosque at the time.) In 1515, however, the Cortes of Burgos determined that the constitutional mechanism whereby Navarre should be annexed would be the extension to it of legislation in force for Castile. Thus it was that the decree of 1502 ending Mudejar status in Castile was put in force in the Northern kingdom in 1515.

What were the Navarrese Muslims to do? There is no record of any of them fleeing to a Muslim country: we hear of them simply moving a few leagues down the Ebro valley, and into Aragonese territory where they continued as Mudejar subjects of the very king who had thrown them out of Navarre!

The anomaly did not continue for long. The impetus for change does not seem to have come from the crown. When Charles (Charles V as he was to be) arrived in the Peninsula in 1517, he was above all anxious to take over the machinery of government, not to stir up trouble by interfering with existing institutions, above all in the difficult Aragonese lands. The forcible conversions in those parts of Charles's realms stemmed from the actions of the rebellious *agermanats* (members of *germanías*, or revolutionary brotherhoods) of Valencia in 1521-22. It would be quite impossible in the present context to do justice to the many facets of the revolutionary movements

which posed such serious threats to good order and government in both Castilian and Aragonese lands in the early 1520s. In some places, particularly in those parts of the kingdom of Valencia where relatively large Mudejar communities might find themselves in direct economic competition at the base of the social pyramid with the Christian proletariat, *agermanat* rebels seized the opportunity offered by the breakdown in law and order to strike at their neighbours and competitors, the Mudejars.

The story of the disgraceful scenes of mob violence in which, in a travesty of the rites of baptism, the Muslims of one Valencian *morería* (Moorish quarter) after another were christened *en masse* has often been told,¹¹ and there is no need to enter into details here. At Gandía, where the movement began, it would seem, Christians took brooms and branches, dipped them into irrigation channels and by general aspersion converted the Mudejars into Christians at a stroke. Such "New Christians" could perhaps count themselves lucky. In Polop the Mudejars took refuge in the castle and held out there for a few days. They finally agreed to surrender and accept baptism, and in return the Christian rebels promised to leave them alone. When the baptism was complete, 600 of those who had been in the castle were put to death, a procedure which, the *agermanats* were pleased to point out, meant "More souls in heaven and more money in our pockets" (no doubt from the valuables which they stripped from the corpses).¹²

Nobody could imagine that conversions effected during this terrifying outbreak of intercommunal violence were voluntary. Were the rites of baptism therefore void? Many learned theologians considered the question at great length and in great detail, and by 1525 they had reached the firm conclusion that the baptism was effective. Those Mudejars who had asserted that they had not of their own free will become Christians, and who had accordingly returned to their Islamic faith, were told that if they did not "return" to the Church the penalty for apostasy was death and the confiscation of their property.¹³

The suddenness, and the sheer injustice, of the conversions of the 1520s in the Aragonese territories came as a great shock to Muslims and to moderate Christians alike. There is a very touching account in one Morisco manuscript of the meeting which took place between the *alfaquí* (*faqih*) of the village of Cadrete near Saragossa and a Carmelite friar who was a member of a well-connected Aragonese family of merchants, the Martels. It is a fine specimen of *aljamiado* prose, and we must allow the *alfaquí*, the above-mentioned Baray de Remincho, to tell the story himself:

I remember in the year of our conversion [a marginal note adds: "when they baptised us"], a much-respected friend of mine, a Carmelite called Fray Esteban Martel, who was a great friend of the Moors of this kingdom [i.e. Aragon] more than elsewhere, sent to me a servant of his father's household to convey his love [*amor*]. I at that time was living in the mosque of Cadrete. I straightway did what

was my duty, and when I reached his house, where he was waiting for me, as soon as he caught sight of me he uttered a loud greeting, and then began to weep, with his face half hidden. He had me sit down at table with him, for it was mealtime and he gave me pomegranates and Valencian conserve, then by way of dessert [*sic: postre!*] a piece of roast meat, though he did not eat any, for it was Passion Sunday.

After the meal we went into the study of his father's house, and with tears in his eyes he said to me: "Señor Baray, what do you think of all this upheaval, and of the un-Christian way they have treated you? For my part, and it grieves my heart and soul to say so, what they have done to you is an outrage [*sinrazón*]." I replied that I was amazed that His Holiness had given his consent, and had decreed any such thing. He replied to me that the Pope had not given his agreement, but that we had been sentenced by the Mantuan decree [I have as yet no explanation for this expression], and His Holiness had signed the decree because of certain French cardinals who had conspired against us. After many other things, I said that they had had scant regard for the Honour of their God [he says *Dios*]. The insults which we had to endure each year in the streets ought to have been enough. He replied, better informed now of what I thought, that we were no longer in a period of grace, but of weeping.

This friend felt such compassion for us that he would not cease presenting our case before prelates and before assemblies [*cabildos*: whether ecclesiastical or secular bodies are meant is not clear], and inveighing against those who gave their assent to it. He collected together many others to protest, and to argue against His Majesty and his ministers, and would have done so had he not died two months later. He had already asked me, should he die, to say obsequies for him—for I had visited him in his illness. I wept at his death, for he was a loyal friend. From that time on our religion grew ever weaker. Within three months they had closed the mosques, and for that cause many scholars [*ulamā*?, or religious leaders] fled abroad until matters had calmed down.

I began this work eight years after the aforesaid conversion, with the help of a student who was well-trained, of lively intelligence and with great powers of textual explication [*sharḥ*]. He had been born in Arévalo, and said his mother had been a Christian for 25 years. With his help I assembled most of this compilation, to the praise of our great and true Allāh.

From this time onwards, from 1525 or 1526, nobody could openly live as a Muslim in any part of the Iberian Peninsula. Spain of the three monotheistic religions came to an end in 897/1492. Mudejar Spain ended in 1501-02 (Castile), 1515 (Navarre) and finally 1525-26 (Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia). Islam certainly continued to exist, but it was a clandestine faith.

V. ISLAM AFTER THE FORCIBLE CONVERSION

What happened to Spain's Muslims after they had all been forcibly converted is, surprisingly: nothing very much. No energetic campaign of mass evangelisation, no wave of repression or persecution followed. And nothing very much continued to occur for the next quarter century or so. Why this should be is not altogether clear. We know that deals were struck between the Moriscos and the Crown whereby the Moriscos literally bought time. In exchange for large cash subsidies to the royal treasury they secured promises

that they would be free from the attentions of the Inquisition for long periods of time. We hear of 50,000 ducats being paid by Valencian Moriscos, for example, in 1525, and of the deal having the assent of Cardinal Manrique, Cardinal Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor General from 1523 to 1538.

Why the Spanish Crown should have entered into such deals is an interesting question, but a question to which the answers must be sought outside the history of the Moriscos themselves. It was obviously of critical importance that they were able to receive this breathing-space of a generation. If we are to judge from the writings of the Mancebo de Arévalo, this was the period when the *'ulamā* of Aragon took steps to see that the faithful were provided with a manual of Islamic faith and practice in the vernacular: it was the period when what Ice de Gebir had done for the Mudejars of Castile was adapted for wider use. Why then did the Christian authorities fail to profit from the momentum given to the policy of conversion by the Valencian *agermanats*? Among the relevant factors was the fact that the monarch of the world's wealthiest empire was chronically short of ready cash, so that offers of substantial subsidies were not to be scorned. We have also seen from the work of Baray de Remincho that the new policy was not without its opponents. Fray Esteban Martel would seem to have objected on grounds of conscience to the un-Christian nature of what was being done. Other members of the Aragonese and Valencian aristocracy may have had economic grounds for their discontent. To end the separate status of so many agricultural labourers was to risk disrupting the equilibrium of the social order. The Christian owners of large estates worked by formerly Mudejar hands feared that profitability might be impaired. In any case, to force through effective change implied the deployment of human resources which may not have been readily available. In Valencia the Moriscos may have constituted 30% of the population still, and in certain zones of Aragon there were similar concentrations. It must be borne in mind that these were crucial years for the preaching of Christianity in the New World. Enthusiastic priests who felt themselves called to the mission field would have found great opportunities awaiting them in the Americas, whereas they would have been conscious that if they attempted to preach to Muslims at home they would be tackling a task at which few priests before them had ever been successful. It is small wonder that after the nominal conversions the new converts were, by and large, left alone. So long as they avoided public confrontations, they could expect to live more or less as they had as Mudejars.

For the Moriscos the end of the régime of de facto toleration came in with the new reign of Philip II, although the new policies were not implemented until the late 1560s. In 1567 legislation was promulgated which went beyond the stage of simply requiring that the empty religious conversions of the early 16th century should be made into a reality. (It is, incidentally, at this point that one begins to find the word "Morisco" in use in contemporary

sources as a less clumsy way of referring to the New Converts; by the end of the century "Morisco" in this special sense has become standard usage.) The edicts of 1567 concerned themselves not only with religious observance but also with the Moriscos' distinctive cultural characteristics. They were to be obliged to abandon their Arabic language, their distinctive dress, their marriage customs, their hygienic practices (baths), etc., etc. A stout and reasoned defence of the old ways was put forward by Francisco Núñez Muley, a distinguished member of one of the noble families that had successfully made the transition from belonging to the Naṣrid élite to being Christian aristocrats. He argued that the cultural features of Granadan society against which the new legislation was directed were not in themselves subversive. As far as language was concerned, were there not good Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle East and in Malta (and, of course, Malta had been part of Spain's empire up to 1530, so that that was a particularly telling argument)? On costume and dress he pointed out that Spain, like many other countries, boasted a great variety of regional dress. What the new regulations banned was simply the regional costume of Granada. And in any case, he pointed out, "it is not the habit which makes the monk". As for the legislation against bath-houses, he pointed out that baths had always existed in all provinces. And if people were not to go there to wash, nor do so at home, where were they to go?

Núñez Muley easily had the better of the argument, but his memorandum failed to persuade the authorities to desist. The Moriscos of Granada were driven to organise themselves in order to try to protect their interests, and before long Philip's attempt to accelerate the process of assimilation led to open revolt. The rebel leader, Fernando de Valor, to mark his status as successor to the heritage of al-Andalus, assumed the name Aben Humeya (i.e. Ibn Umayya, in reminiscence of the great days of the Caliphate). He also took his full Quranic complement of wives (drawn from a number of areas, so as to help cement the political alliances on which he relied).

We have seen that in earlier times, when the Granadan Muslims appealed to the Ottomans for help, none was forthcoming. Now, however, the Regency in Algiers could send supplies, weapons, and even military experts with small numbers of troops. The rebellion thus presented Philip with a direct threat on peninsular soil; it could not be ignored. The rising was not suppressed easily. Fighting on their own terrain, the local men had great advantages. One cause of weakness was dissension among the Muslim leadership. First Aben Humeya was assassinated in a coup sponsored by the Turkish military experts, then Aben Humeya's successor Aben Abóo was killed by his own men. After Philip had committed great bodies of troops to the mountains, and in some places had conducted siege operations against Morisco strongholds (e.g. Galera) which would not have been out of place in major military campaigns, the Spanish forces did eventually prevail. How could they fail to do so?

We move now into the sad but fascinating final period of Morisco history. Although the military supremacy of Castile had been obvious to all from the late 9th/15th century onwards, up to 1570 it had been possible for Spain's crypto-Muslims to think of military resistance as a desperate last alternative. The crushing of the Granadan rebels, the expulsion from Granada of almost all the Morisco inhabitants, and the adoption by the authorities everywhere of a much more warily hostile attitude towards the Moriscos, transformed the atmosphere, even in areas where hitherto peaceful Mudejars had given no trouble ever. The Granadans and other groups adjudged dangerous if they remained in their homelands were transported to safe areas inland. The object of this policy was to speed the process of acculturation and evangelisation. What was achieved was often to bring conflict into otherwise tranquil *morerías*, and the disaffected incomers heightened consciousness of cultural and religious differences in communities where the local people had learned how to avoid such awkward questions. Up to 1570 the diversity of the Muslims of the various regions of the Peninsula had been remarkable. The history and the culture of the various kingdoms need to be understood as complex and distinct phenomena. After 1570 regional differences were not all wiped out, and Valencia in particular, as the last large community of Arabic-speakers on Spanish soil, was always something of a case apart, but from 1570 we can speak of one Morisco problem. The policy of shifting Moriscos from one region to another was an almost unmitigated disaster from the point of view of the Christian authorities.

Faced with the realisation that their policies were leading nowhere, that the Moriscos (safely protected by their doctrine of *taqiyya*, as we now know) were largely impervious to the attentions of missionaries, Christians debated endlessly how to solve this intractable problem. There were two broad approaches. One would have been to redouble missionary and educational efforts in order to bring about complete conversion. The other would accept that no conversion was ever going to take place because of the sheer perversity of this people (the same conclusion as reached with regard to the Jews in 1492). From that realisation of failure it was a short step to go on and talk of Expulsion (again on the model of 1492). There was, of course, a third possible course: admission that the original conversions had been wrong (theologically, morally, politically) and that they should be rescinded. Nobody advocated such a total reversal of policies. It would certainly have been unpopular among almost all circles in the majority community. Opponents of the case for Expulsion do not seem to seek to present general arguments about the proposed Expulsion itself; instead they tend to concentrate on peripheral issues such as that of infant deportees.

It is difficult for a 20th-century investigator of these events to appreciate that the fate of possible infant deportees constituted a moral problem for a number of Christians who otherwise would have been quite ready to go

along with the proposals for the indiscriminate expulsion of all adults. The scruples felt by opponents of Expulsion arose from the realisation that if the whole Morisco community were sent to live in Muslim countries, they would take with them a number of children of tender years who could not be held accountable for their actions. These infants, who in Spain might possibly have been saved as Christians, would, in exile, inevitably be brought up as good Muslims. The policy of Expulsion thus carried with it a penalty. Religious purity and unity was to be secured at the price of the damnation of a few individuals.

That the idea of Expulsion remained as a mere proposal for so long was no doubt not because of the difficulty of resolving dilemmas such as this. The Expulsion, when it came, was promulgated as soon as the necessary military forces (released at last by the truce of 1609 in the Low Countries, peace with France and peace with James I of England) could put it into effect. But it would be wrong to write off the opponents of Expulsion as insincere and muddle-headed. Perhaps concentration on the problem of the children who were under age arose in part from the realisation that it was only through quibbles such as this one that the majority who welcomed Expulsion could be made to realise its inhumanity.

I know of no indications that the Moriscos within their own communities were aware of these divisions among their Catholic adversaries. Until the end we find there are some intent on securing their survival inside Spain (just as there are some who longed to be allowed to leave). We may divide Moriscos seeking to secure their survival in Spain in this final period into two categories. In the first place, and most importantly, there were those who even at this late stage sought help abroad. As we shall see, such schemes ended in disaster. In the second place there were those who sought survival in a process of what we might call cultural and spiritual infiltration. These, as we will see, were at first, and for quite a long time, surprisingly successful, although eventually the enterprise was frustrated.

VI. HELP FROM ABROAD IN THE FINAL PERIOD

It was natural that the thoughts of a Morisco seeking some help overseas would turn first and foremost towards Ottoman Turkey, if only on the principle that my enemy's enemies are my friends, but the same maxim provided the Moriscos at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th with a number of potential allies in Europe as well, particularly in Protestant Europe.

The full story of Ottoman policy towards the Moriscos has yet to be told, although the work of Hess, Temimi and many others is already shedding light on what was obscure. When the Ottoman archives have been fully explored, one can be fairly sure that materials will not be lacking. De Groet, in a pioneering study on Dutch policy towards the Porte (1974), has brought

out the importance of this theme throughout the career of Khalil Pasha, for example. But for the Moriscos of Aragon and Valencia, the Turks, even the Turks of Algiers, were distant, whereas the Protestants of France were there in the Pyrenees. It is not surprising that they opened talks with Henry IV's Viceroy of Navarre, the Duc de la Force. There seems no reason to doubt that both sides were in earnest (though whether the Moriscos could really have put into the field the 40,000 men they promised is another matter). Henry IV, of course, in 1593, ceased to be a Protestant, and the dangers of stirring up Catholic opinion at home against himself were great. For him to play the Morisco card would have been to court disaster.

If the Moriscos were unfortunate in their French negotiations, they were perhaps even more unfortunate with the English, or, to be more precise, the English and the Scots. Queen Elizabeth I was certainly never likely to go the way of Henry of Navarre and become a Catholic, and whilst she was alive there were English agents in Spain, and English diplomatists active in Morocco and elsewhere. In the web of intrigue they wove, the Moriscos may not have been destined to play a central role, but at the end of Elizabeth's reign they were being encouraged. What went wrong was that Elizabeth died in 1603, and her successor James I (of England) was not well pleased to learn that his new country was involved in negotiations which, if they came to fruition, might lead to the subjects of the King of Spain rebelling. It was not merely that James had strong views on the divine right of kings, he had actually published a book, *Basilikon Doron*, on the subject (and another, his political testament, in which the subject loomed large). He would have looked very foolish if the contacts had continued; it was, in any case, the policy of his government to make peace with Spain, and that was speedily concluded by the Treaty of London of 1604. The Moriscos thus saw yet another foreign ally disappear, and indeed things could hardly have been worse for those engaged in the earlier plotting, for it seems likely that, as a demonstration of the new accord between the two countries, many of the old régime's secrets were passed on to the Spanish ambassador.

Another ruler potentially well-disposed towards the Moriscos was the Sa'did Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, and he too died in 1603. Morisco troops had played an important role in his conquest of the Sudan (i.e. the Songhay Empire) in 1591, and the vast quantities of gold which were sent north to Morocco provided the means for Aḥmad to make the most ambitious plans. Perhaps the Moriscos might have had some reason to hope for assistance, but after Aḥmad's death the succession was disputed for a time by three rival claimants to the throne. Once again the hope of help from overseas proved illusory.

One most interesting individual Morisco whose career deserves to be better known was the man who acted as Spanish interpreter to Aḥmad's eventual successor, Muley Zaidān. The Morisco in question, Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-

Ḥajārī, was to undertake missions to the French court, and even in Holland, where he spent time at the court of the *stadtholder* Maurice. These and other travels he describes for us in his autobiographical *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, a work which deserves to be more widely known, but in it we learn above all of the Moriscos in their exile, and that is beyond our present scope.

VII. THE SACROMONTE OF GRANADA

Thus it was that all the attempts which the Moriscos made to secure help led nowhere. The final chapter of Morisco religious and cultural history I have styled the pursuit of survival by spiritual infiltration. It is a subject which has been carefully studied in modern times by Kendrick, Father Cabanelas, Carlos Alonso, Hagerty and others, and in the space available I will be able to add nothing to what they have written. However, I cannot fail to say something on the subject, if only because at the heart of what is still in part a mystery are the last books to be written in Arabic in Spain.

It is necessary to truncate a long and quite involved story. When in 1588, and again in 1595, on the first occasion in the cathedral precincts, and on the second on a hill outside the city (the Sacromonte as we now know it), people discovered what appeared to be Christian relics dating back to the 1st century A. D., most Granadans were delighted. Christians were delighted because in this way the Church in Granada, which since the Conquest of 897/1492 had lacked antiquities of its own, now had relics as venerable as any in Spain; for what was discovered purported to go back to the evangelisation of the country by the disciples of St. James. In spite of the expulsion from Granada of all the Moriscos after the rising of 1569-70, there were still resident in the city a small number of people of Morisco descent. These were such trusted servants of the Crown as Alonso del Castillo, an interpreter and translator who had rendered invaluable service during the Granadan rebellion, translating captured enemy intelligence, and, indeed, creating propaganda which was disseminated among the Moriscos. Alonso del Castillo was among those called in to examine the leaden tablets inscribed with extensive texts (*libros plúmbeos*, or "lead books") which constituted the most remarkable part of the finds. In spite of the very unusual script, the lead books were recognised as being in Arabic, and so Alonso del Castillo, as official translator (he had dealt with diplomatic correspondence with Morocco, for example), was one of those invited to produce a translation.

The books (more than twenty, in the main relatively short texts, so that the total length was perhaps the equivalent of the whole New Testament) turned out to be what one might describe as a sort of supplement to the Acts of the Apostles, and, if genuine, would have been of primary importance, for *inter alia* they contained accounts of otherwise unknown Councils of the

Church in Jerusalem, they reported the actual words spoken by the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter and others. Now the fact that these books were in Arabic was in itself quite sufficient demonstration of their spurious nature. They were not supposed to be texts translated into Arabic, but were put forward as original compositions in that language dating from the earliest years of the history of the Church, and preserved undamaged on the lead tablets over the intervening centuries.

There were not lacking in Granada and elsewhere learned men (among them a Jesuit of Morisco descent, Ignacio de las Casas) who pointed out that Arabic was not in use at the relevant time (it did not appear for half a millennium). The defenders of the books, and there were many ready to spring to the defence of such valuable relics, got round this difficulty by pointing out that Arabic is the vernacular in Palestine. The texts must be the earliest examples of that vernacular being used as a written language. Such arguments among scholars became of secondary importance when a wave of popular devotion swept over the site of the excavations, leaving it covered with crosses.

The books were Christian in their theology, and, indeed, one of the reasons that they were welcomed with such enthusiasm was that they appeared to give support to the as yet undefined doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Mary, untouched by sin, they declared), but it was a Christianity which avoided offending Islamic susceptibilities. The status of Jesus as the Son of God is not mentioned, he is rather *Rūḥ Allāh*, the Spirit of God, a form of words which occurs in the Quran itself. Much work remains to be done on these linguistically very difficult texts (and the Arabic originals of most of them are quite inaccessible in the archives of the Holy Office in Rome, whither they were consigned after the books were finally anathemised in 1682, so that we can have direct knowledge of certain books only); we are still not sure what these forgeries were intended to achieve. It is even possible that perhaps two teams of forgers in some form of rivalry were using the tablets as a medium for the publication of their ideas. There is no escaping the conclusion that some of the books, notably the *Kitāb mawāhib ṭhawāb ḥaqīqat al-Injīl*, contain what one might describe as a lowest common denominator of Christianity and Islam. The religion is Christianity, but it is a Christianity pruned of those doctrinal features that a pious Muslim would find offensive or unacceptable (such as the divine sonship), and with emphasis on some special elements which some Muslims would find pleasing. There is respect for Arabs, to whom is assigned a special role in the eschatology of the books, and respect for the Arabic language: many words and phrases known from Quranic and other Islamic sources occur.

If a group of Moriscos were to have despaired of being able to live on in Spain even as crypto-Muslims, this is a version of Christianity which they might have found in some way acceptable. Here then are the last of the long

line of Arabic books written in al-Andalus: Christian apocrypha probably produced by a Morisco who had been involved in intelligence work for Philip II!

VIII. EXPULSION

The political problem of the Moriscos occupied the attention of Spanish statesmen throughout the 16th century. The Moriscos were thought of as a threat because of their links with Spain's enemies, particularly Spain's enemies in the Islamic world, but their real offence was not so much what they did as the very fact of their existence. By simply being they challenged the predominant conception of national identity. How could a true Spaniard choose to be anything other than a true Catholic?

Radical policies for dealing with this problem had been advocated as early as the second war of the Alpujarras (1569-70), and by the beginning of the 17th-century expressions of opinion in favour of some drastic and final solution had become increasingly common. When, then, was the decision to expel finally reached? One important stage in the crystallisation of the policy was the report dated January 1602 made to the Crown by a special *ad hoc* committee set up to study the matter, consisting of the Duke of Lerma, the Count of Miranda, and Gaspar de Córdoba, confessor to the king, but it would be to misrepresent the decision-making mechanisms of the period to suggest that these three should bear the whole responsibility (though certainly Lerma was in the forefront both of those who advocated the policy and of those who saw to it that it was put into effect). It was not, however, until April 9th 1609 that the firm decision to expel all Moriscos was taken in the Royal Council. It can be no coincidence that on that same day there was concluded the Twelve Years' Truce with the Netherlands. (And it must be borne in mind that peace also reigned with France and with England.) Spain had available at long last troops who could be deployed to police the expulsion. The first edict of expulsion, relating to the kingdom of Valencia, was published on August 22nd 1609. There was no single decree for the whole of Spain. The complex constitutional realities of Spain in the early 17th century, and also common prudence, required a number of enactments and proclamations on a number of dates: in Aragon, for example, the edict was not published until May 29th 1610, and the process cannot be said to have been completed until 1614. The staggering of the dates permitted the Spanish authorities to redeploy forces, and to deal with the various areas and groups one by one. The operation must be accounted as much of an administrative success as was the gruesome organisation by the Nazis of the emptying of Europe's ghettos. Careful records were kept of those expelled, and these figures provide not just estimates but highly reliable statistics (often susceptible to checking and cross-checking) of the Morisco population. H. Lapeyre,

in a painstaking and definitive analysis of the documentation, gives the total of all those expelled as 272,140, pointing out, however, that this is a minimum figure. If we make some allowance for those who for some reason escaped enumeration, or who died on the road, we must be speaking of a figure approaching one third of a million (out of a population of 8 or 9 millions). This enormous number of people were shifted from their homes in the space of less than five years, most of them in the first two years following the initial decrees.

Armed resistance by the Moriscos was feared, but in fact it was only in a small number of locations, the Sierra de Espadán, the Muela de Cortes, that young men took to the hills and fought. With their improvised weaponry they were no match for professional soldiers seasoned in the wars of the Low Countries and of Italy.

In some areas the expulsion was almost welcomed as presaging an end to persecution and as opening the way to a return to Islam. For long the Spanish authorities had endeavoured to *prevent* Moriscos from leaving Spain for Muslim countries. The news that they could leave openly, and, what was more, have their fare paid by the government, seemed too good to be true (it was: ships freighted by the Crown soon began to collect passage money). In Murcia, the relatively small and well-integrated Morisco community succeeded, with the help of Christian well-wishers, in putting off the dreaded day of departure, but then, in 1614, they were all expelled. Curiously, those most successful in eluding the legislation were the residents of the diocese of Tortosa. On the coast only a few miles from Tortosa itself, El Puerto de los Alfaques was the place where the 40,000-strong Aragonese Morisco community was obliged to take ship, but the Catalan-speaking Moriscos of the coastal area seem to have received the support and cooperation of the ecclesiastical authorities of their region, and to have escaped expulsion altogether (although no Muslim communities are known to have survived).

Just as the Expulsion was a complex operation inside Spain, with Christian reactions to it ranging from overt sympathy with those expelled to delight at the discomfiture of ancient enemies, so outside Spain some were treated with great kindness, others were exploited, harassed and in some cases murdered for the little property they were carrying with them. On the Pyrenean frontier administrators who only a few years before had been plotting with Morisco emissaries were now embarrassed by the appearance of waves of hungry refugees. In general a levy was collected at the frontier, and they were hastened on to the port of Marseilles, where they could take ship for Muslim countries. Cervantes, whose fictions usually bear some relation to fact, tells us that his Morisco Ricote went to Germany, but we hear little of Moriscos in Protestant Northern Europe (except occasionally as emissaries). In the patchwork of states in the Italian Peninsula, some were welcoming, some not. The Medici appear to have attempted to persuade

Morisco agriculturalists to settle on land they were developing near Leghorn, but without success. Venice, with its good diplomatic relations with the Ottomans, was a safe port of departure for the Eastern Mediterranean. Abdeljelil Temimi has demonstrated from archival sources that the Ottoman authorities intervened at the highest level both to encourage friendly Christian governments (as, for example, the doge of Venice) to assist the Moriscos on their journeys, and to order dignitaries in his own realm to help them settle once they had arrived.¹⁴ In Tunisia, a province which welcomed many Moriscos, intensive and large-scale plantations (olive groves, for example) replaced desultory bedouin subsistence crops in some areas.

Besides the many cases where the Moriscos were settled successfully alongside existing populations, there were cases where they came into conflict with their fellow-Muslims, sometimes as victims, sometimes as aggressors. Much was made by Spanish propaganda of bedouin attacks on Moriscos after their arrival on the North African shores. A series of paintings commissioned in Spain to celebrate the Expulsion from the ports of Valencia and Catalonia displays a label recording such depredations with some smugness. Since the method adopted by the Christian authorities at Oran (then a Spanish base or *presidio*) was to ship the Moriscos into the town and then eject them over the land frontier without long-term provision for their sustenance, Spanish Christian criticism of the handling of the immense refugee problem which they had created is, to say the least, hypocritical.

The most striking case of Morisco aggression directed against a host community is that of Sallee (Sala) on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, where the immigrants set up what was effectively a city-state republic of corsairs which not only preyed upon its Spanish (and other) Christian enemies, but also ousted former Muslim inhabitants of the region. Even to enumerate the towns where Moriscos were settled, from Sallee in the West to Kars on the Armenian frontier in the East, or the places visited by Morisco travellers and adventurers, from the court of Maurice of Nassau at the Hague in the North to Timbuktu and the Bilad al-Sudan in the far South, would be quite beyond the scope of this survey. In most of these places the Moriscos have disappeared, merged into the local population, but where the Morisco contingents were large, particularly in North Africa, there are still families who identify themselves with pride as of Andalusi origin. Many emigrants crossed over from Spain before the beginning of the Morisco period, of course, and in North Africa no distinction is made (*Andalus*—normally used nowadays rather than *ahl-al-Andalus*—tends to be an ethnic rather than geographical term). However, the specifically Spanish rather than Arabic names which many of them still bear after nearly four centuries—Castillo, Blanco, Negro, etc.—point to a Morisco forebear. The determination shown by such families to preserve and hand on their customs, their literary traditions, their characteristic cuisine, etc. is our guarantee that something of al-Andalus will live on.¹⁵

- ¹ For this and the immediately following quotations, see Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, Seville, 1951, I, 270-73.
- ² See Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman et le problème morisque*, Zaghuan, 1989, p. 10.
- ³ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqari, *Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār 'Iyād*, Cairo, 1939-42, I, 107-15.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 114.
- ⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 203.
- ⁶ *Sic*: Arabic *isti'mālihi*. The *aljamiado* translation has *de hazer bisiyo*, which might indicate a base text with different reading, perhaps *istimtā'ihī*.
- ⁷ Leonard Patrick Harvey, "Crypto-Islam in Sixteenth-century Spain", in *Congreso de Estudios Arabes e Islámicos I*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 170-71.
- ⁸ *The Bee*, XVI, 106.
- ⁹ Quoted from *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s. v., *taḥṣya*.
- ¹⁰ Leonard Patrick Harvey, "Yuse Benegas, un moro noble en Granada bajo los Reyes Católicos", *Al-Andalus*, 23, 1956, pp. 300-02.
- ¹¹ See Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, I, 127.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, I, 127-28.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 137.
- ¹⁴ Temimi, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 7-22 and 33-37.
- ¹⁵ At a very late stage in the writing of this paper I had the good fortune to attend a five-day conference at Sant Carles de la Ràpita in commemoration of the "380 Aniversari de l'Expulsió dels Moriscos". The Proceedings (*Actes*) of this conference will be published. I was able to make my final revision to this final section in the light of information derived from the many valuable papers presented: I would make special mention of Jesús Massip i Fonollosa's study of "Els moriscos de Tortosa i Ribera d'Ebre a l'Arxiu de Tortosa".

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AL-ANDALUS AND NORTH AFRICA IN THE ALMOHAD IDEOLOGY

MADELEINE FLETCHER

I. *Introduction to the anthropological method used*

One method of gaining more information from historical texts is to use anthropological knowledge to provide a context for their interpretation—though of course, for this method to be applicable to historical texts, there must be a continuous presence of certain phenomena. Applying this method to the Islamic West, and starting with anthropological evidence available from present-day observation, it is interesting to note the persistence of customs involving a belief in magic or miracles among the Berber-speaking population of South-Western Morocco. For example, in talking to a man who grew up in that region and spoke Berber as his only language outside of school until he was seventeen years old, I learned that there is an area of expertise which a *faqīh* derives from information contained in traditional literature and from following the practice of other *faqīhs*, extending from pure magic (for example, finding buried treasure by divination)¹ to other, therapeutic practices such as curing psychological and physical illnesses, and that this latter activity is particularly widespread in Morocco, but known to all of North Africa. My informant said, referring to his part of the country, that the traditional education of many *faqīhs* there includes learning tricks of prestidigitation, and that when the *faqīh* performs these tricks the educated people take it as an amusement, but the illiterate think it is a power he acquired through his education and take it more seriously. This sort of data on the observable practice of magic by *faqīhs* or *ṭālebs* today will be a guide for our research into some of the customs and activities described in historical texts.

Of course it is not merely casually acquired information which buttresses our premise that magic is to be associated with a Berber substratum. There is an enormous number of anthropological studies on the use of magic among Berbers, of which we can list only a few selected examples in the bibliography at the end of this article, but to give an illustrative anecdote I might mention a seminar I attended in Morocco where a foreign anthropologist was presenting field work done in the Valley of the Darca on one of the many magic practices: that of the *istinzāl* or *mḥallā*, in which the *ṭāleb* anoints the palm of a child, and the child is then asked about the vision he (or she) is expected to see in the palm concerning the arrival of beings whom he can ask about the proper cure of a patient. A Moroccan historian with whom I attended the seminar mentioned later that when she was a little girl she had

been tried out as a medium for a *mḥallā*, but that since she failed to see anything in her hand, the *faqīh* told everyone that she was afraid and hence incapable. We can safely state, in conclusion, that there are other beliefs and practices like the *mḥallā* which are not simply matters of rural custom but involve the urban culture as well, and that they are not limited to the past—for example, to the pre-colonial period studied by E. Doutté—but are still in use at the present time.

For the connection between Berber culture and miracles in the Middle Ages we have the testimony of the editor of two of the most important biographical collections of saints' lives. In connection with the Berber-speaking saint, Abū Ya'za, whose shrine near *Khanifra*, in the Middle Atlas among the Imazighen Berber tribes, is still the scene of recent miracles, we are told:²

Since by far the greatest task [for Abū Ya'za] was that of encouraging repentance through the improvement of worship and the restraint of things contradictory to Islam, such as adultery, ill-gotten gains, imbibing intoxicants and various other transgressions which had blighted the observance of Islam among many people, the question remains: why did people who were bored by the sermons of other men repent and submit through the guidance of Abū Ya'za? Although allusions to religious and social tasks are apparent between the lines of the *manāqib*, they are not emphasised the way the miracles are emphasised. It is as if the miracles were the basis of the credibility of Abū Ya'za, like the rod of Moses, and indeed Ibn 'Arabī mentions Abū Ya'za in his *Futūḥāt* as one of the heirs of Moses.

Miracles are a power which can hardly be reproduced, and by which the prophets have been helped. The first phenomenon which shows this power in Abū Ya'za is *kashf*, or knowing what could not normally be known: as in being aware of people approaching before they arrive, or of the inner thoughts of those who refuse to believe, or of the actions of the guilty, or of the inner thoughts of the lustful, or of the circumstances of someone whose ablution is unclean.³

In view of the sheer bulk and pervasiveness of this information on the tradition of magic among Berbers, we have chosen it, along with the mahdism of Ibn Tūmart, as a marker which can be used to identify a Berber cultural presence and as a factor in the success of the founder of this great empire. It seems to us that the indications for the correctness of this methodology are so strong that the burden of proof falls upon anyone who wishes to assert the contrary.

The success of mahdism is another factor which can be explained by a Berber cultural presence, for it is the paradigm of the politico-religious leader who works miracles which is the essentially Berber element in mahdism. Mahdism, both in this sense and as a key political idea connected to Islamic reformism, has had a continuing history in North Africa, while the religious leader remains an important political force in Morocco today. Ibn Tūmart, who fascinated the Berbers by his eloquence in both Arabic and Berber, taught them the new theology he had learned in the East and organised them militarily. It is into this context that we can fit the document that has

been attributed to him, *A'azzu mā yuṭlab*, or the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*. Analysis of this book permits us to use our understanding of Berber customs to make a close textual criticism in the light of the two elements we have isolated, namely, the importance of magic and the belief in mahdism.

II. *The Book of Ibn Tūmart*

In this paper I look at this 6th/12th-century religious document, *A'azzu mā yuṭlab*, or the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*, for the light it sheds on the question of power-sharing between Andalusis and Berbers during the Almohad dynasty.

In order to build a context for the interpretation of the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*, it is necessary to enter into the political and historical details of the real situation behind the formation of the credal statements and to become acquainted with the anthropological background to the different issues which it reflects. This is not to be found on the surface of the text, where the purpose is to appear to innovate nothing and to provide a Quranic or *Sunna* precedent for everything. The process of interpretation involves several steps, whose sequence is approximately as follows:

The contradictory views expressed within the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* will show this document to be a compendium of texts rather than merely a collection of Ibn Tūmart's writing and preaching, although these elements are found in it. This initial fact of internal contradiction already suggests to the historian the necessity of interpreting these discrepancies, which I have come to consider as evidence that different texts come from different stages in the Almohad intellectual evolution.

As can be established through an analysis of historical texts and parallel anthropological examples, two elements in this document, mahdism and miracles, are particularly expressive of a Berber substratum. Once this is accepted and understood, these two elements track the evolution in Almohad dogma from the early period of the dynasty in North Africa to the later period in al-Andalus, as the belief in mahdism and miracles drops away. Some texts state that Ibn Tūmart is the messianic Mahdī whose coming signals the end of the world, while other texts show extreme scepticism even about the miracles of Ibn Tūmart. The progress of this transformation can be seen in the contrast between the material from the historical chronicles and the *murshida* of Ibn Tūmart and the Almohad *'aqida*, and even more clearly in the internal contradictions within the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*.

III. *Historical background of the Almohads: the career of Ibn Tūmart*

The connection between North Africa and al-Andalus was never as close as in the period of the Almohad Empire in the 6th/12th century, when the two regions were ruled by one government. In the documents⁴ which record the Almohad ideology we can see the alluvial layers of its transformation over

time as a result of the empire's expansion from Morocco into Spain. At this time, as we know, Andalusī culture experienced an enormous cultural flowering in many fields, such as philosophy, grammar, jurisprudence and mysticism.⁵ This paper can, however, only deal with one facet of this Almohad renaissance: its political and ideological foundation.

When Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130), a jurist born in the Anti-Atlas, returned from his voyage to the East, he raised a rebellion against the Almoravid dynasty, whom he considered guilty of anthropomorphism. His followers declared him to be the Mahdī, and he called his followers *al-Muwahhīdūn* (Almohads). The subsequent long military campaign ended in the defeat of the Almoravids, and the Almohads became governors of North Africa and al-Andalus in their place. By the time it reached Spain, the Almohad movement was mature; the Mahdī was dead and the leadership was in the hands of his disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min, from the region of Tlemcen, whose military and political talent was important for Almohad success.

During the struggle the Almohads had two basic constituencies upon which they were forced by circumstances to rely. The first and most essential of these was the tribes of the Maṣmūda, especially the Hintāta, whose tenacious faith and military prowess brought the movement out of its mountain stronghold in Tinnel to triumph on the plains of Morocco. These Berber tribes had their own framework of cultural traditions, which placed requirements upon the Almohad ideology. The second constituency comprised the many inhabitants of the cities of al-Andalus and North Africa who were influenced by the urban '*ulamā*', or religious scholars, who had developed their ideas within an existing framework of closely circumscribed Islamic tradition. The elements of Almohad ideology which corresponded to the tribal constituency were mahdism and miracles, while the pro-Almohad group in the cities defended the ideas of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, the famous Eastern Sufi intellectual whose writings (as pro-Almohad historians never tire of reminding us) had been burned by the Almoravids. Common to both city and country was a protest against Almoravid injustice,⁶ an allegiance to the reformist Almohad doctrine of *tawhīd*,⁷ a defence of mysticism and, in certain cases, suffering inflicted by the Almoravid régime.

The nature of Ibn Tūmart's world meant that he understood and communicated with people from both rural and urban backgrounds. Most scholars follow Alfred Bel⁸ and Henri Terrasse⁹ in noting the eclectic nature of Ibn Tūmart's doctrine, but other scholars try to fit the Almohad-Almoravid wars into a political blueprint for conflict based on opposed beliefs, as is done for modern European history, for example, in studies of the Protestant Reformation or the French Revolution. Ignaz Goldziher outlines just such a political dynamic when he says that Ibn Tūmart brought Ash'arī dogma to the West "like a sword unsheathed from its scabbard",¹⁰ as if to say that the Almohads overthrew the Almoravid régime because they had become convinced of the

rightness of Ash'arism. But the notion of ideology as the key to this conflict is formed upon a set of inappropriately Eurocentric assumptions about the historical and sociological reality of North Africa.

An opposite but equally reductive point of view, which shows the effect of eighty years of anthropological studies on Morocco since Goldziher's time, is that of J. F. P. Hopkins:¹¹

[Ibn Tūmart's] theology is not important. His career followed a pattern, familiar in the Maghrib, of a charismatic personality being able briefly to unite groups who live normally in anarchical fragmentation. It is a question primarily of personalities, that of the Berber race and that of the leader, and doctrine is of minor importance.

This interpretation makes the important connection between Ibn Tūmart and the mountain setting in which his movement began, but, by reducing his role to that of a Berber tribal holy man, it fails to account for the success of his movement beyond the Berber tribal milieu or the effect on him of ten or fifteen¹² years spent on a voyage of studies in the East. Ibn Tūmart's career parallels that of rural Islamic reformers throughout the Muslim world, showing that we are dealing with an Islamic rather than an exclusively Berber phenomenon.¹³

Thus it is necessary to develop a different blueprint for the relationship between doctrine and politics during the Almohad period, one which would account for the simultaneous existence of several anthropological strata within one political system. For a start, we must be less concerned with reconciling the inconsistent elements in Ibn Tūmart's thought,¹⁴ because in his time the sociological diversity of the milieu meant that all politically successful ideas had to be porous enough to accommodate this wide diversity. This notion of the multi-valence of ideas is only imperfectly expressed by the political formula of a coalition of a number of constituencies (tribes, townsmen, élite). In Ibn Tūmart's case it is not a question of conscious deceit or double dealing, although this is an accusation brought against him, and against others, such as the Fāṭimids,¹⁵ who found themselves involved with a number of different milieus and were aware of the concerns appropriate to each.

Even though we have elsewhere established¹⁶ that ideology is the cohesive principle in the segmentary mosaic of the tribal milieu, the objective content of ideology is subordinate to its presentation through certain channels set out by tradition and custom. It is here that anthropology becomes a necessary study of politics. Tribal alliances provided the basic building blocks for the entire military and political strategy of the Almohad and Almoravid empires at this time, but the notion that tribal alliances would be made on the basis of abstruse points of doctrine flies in the face of the most basic historical reality of the sociological (and military) environment, which is its segmentary structure.

IV. *The Moroccan attitude: Ibn Tūmart as the Mahdī foretold in the ḥadīth*

As Hopkins stated summarily in the passage quoted above, there is a distinctive religious attitude among the Berber tribes, and a belief in traditional holy men or *igurramen*. In the same vein, the anthropologist Ernest Gellner says: "the most characteristic social institution of North African religious life is the saint, the holy personage."¹⁷ Mahdism, which justifies itself as an Islamic phenomenon through the *ḥadīths* about the Mahdī, gets its real political dynamic from its congruence with the aforementioned cultural pattern familiar to anthropologists who study North African lands: the *agurram*, or holy man. The political paradigm of the holy man seems to have remained unchanged through centuries: a religious reformer emerges who relies upon a political base within a tribal confederation. His propaganda is directed by a hierarchically ordered network of leaders among the Berber tribes, and there is a tendency for him to perform miracles to impress the people with his claim to leadership.

Thus it is not surprising to find that the Almohads had important predecessors and successors in the political and military use of mahdism in North Africa. For his own time, Ibn Khaldūn reports that "the common people, the simple mass" seek the Mahdī in remote tribal areas outside the control of the tribes who support the central government; and he further states that "most of our contemporary Sufis refer to the (expected) appearance of a man who will renew obedience to the Muslim Law and the ordinances of the truth. They assume that his appearance will take place at some time near our own period".¹⁸ These two aspects are exactly the paradigm we see in Ibn Tūmart, and indeed the history of North Africa is filled with such mahdis. An early example is the Fāṭimid movement, which began in 289/902 when the Fāṭimid propagandist 'Abd Allāh converted the Kutāma Berber tribes to the cause of the Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh, who gave his name to Mahdiyya, the town he founded on the Mediterranean coast of what is now Tunisia. Eventually the Fāṭimids were able to conquer Egypt with the help of these tribes, and the Fāṭimid dynasty lasted there for over 200 years, until 566/1171. A modern mahdist movement in the 1880s of the last century, directed against the British in the Sudan, culminated in the death of General "Chinese" Gordon at Khartoum.¹⁹ There have been innumerable mahdis, less successful than these, who have left faint traces in history.²⁰ Even during the height of Almohad power in the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min, another minor and ephemeral mahdī raised a rebellion in Morocco which had to be suppressed.

In short, the idea of a charismatic holy figure, which is fundamental to mahdism, fitted the instinctive religiosity of Berber tribesmen all across North Africa; and the military preponderance of these tribesmen at the time of the Almohads made their attachment to mahdism extremely important politically. The Islamic belief in the Mahdī is based on *ḥadīths* which are

part of the accepted Islamic tradition, one of the basic mahdian *ḥadīth*s being the following from the collection of Abū Dāwūd, which is supposedly a quotation from the Prophet Muḥammad:

If only one day of the whole duration of the world remained, God would send a man of my family who would fill the world with justice as it had been filled with injustice.²¹

According to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Tūmart's close followers proclaimed him the Mahdī after hearing a speech in which he alluded to the above *ḥadīth*;²² in the words of the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min: "When the Mahdī finished speaking, ten men, among them myself, addressed themselves to him, and I said to him: this description is only to be found in yourself. And you are the Mahdī!"²³

What did Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min understand by the term "mahdī"? This can be seen in a passage which is the voice of Ibn Tūmart himself; the text breathes of a moment in the first desperate struggle with the Almoravids, when it was crucial to force the believers to accept the dangers and sacrifices of war. The references to his favourite *ḥadīth*s and the short phrases, tensely knotted with balanced opposites, are characteristic of Ibn Tūmart's rhetorical style, which imitates the rhythms of speech:

... and *hegira* ["emigration"] from among the enemies to God and His messenger is a [legal] duty on all of [his] servants and [the duty] of going out from houses and property to religion is not cancelled for anyone, in any way, for any reason. And the execution of God's command is an obligation and it is [to be] without delay, it is not licit to tarry. Consideration for the execution of the command of God is prior to the highest concern for bloodshed and the loss of lives and property. Indeed it is necessary to repel corruption totally. There is no adhering to less or more of it. For him who withholds a single religious duty, it is as if he had withheld all of them. He who withholds [as much as] a camel's hobble [a reference to Abū Bakr's words²⁴] or anything more important than that, why it is as if he had withheld [the performance of] the whole of the religious law. Adhering to an atom of falsehood is like adhering to all of it, and he who leaves off repelling corruption is like he who aids it with his life and property. And corruption is not repelled by slacking, it is only repelled by mutual cooperation.

As for whim and prevarication, it is not licit to prefer it over truth, nor is it licit to prefer this world to the next, nor what is invalidated to what invalidates it, nor should atheism be set over piety. Truth should not be adulterated with falsehood. If knowledge is eliminated, ignorance will prevail. If guidance is eliminated, then error will prevail, and if justice is eliminated, tyranny will prevail. If the ignorant rulers take over the world, and if the deaf and dumb kings take over the world, and if the *dajjālūn* ["impostors", "antichrists"] take over the world, then only the Mahdī will get rid of falsehood, and only the Mahdī will carry out truth. And the Mahdī is known among the Arabs and the non-Arabs and the bedouins and the settled people. And the knowledge concerning him is confirmed in every place and in every collection of documents. And what is known by the necessity of information before he appears is known by the necessity of witness after his appearance. And faith in the Mahdī is a religious obligation, and he who doubts it is an unbeliever. And he is protected from error [*ma'sūm*] in the matters of faith

which he invokes. No error is conceivable in him. He is not to be contended with, or opposed, or resisted, or contradicted, or fought, and he is unique in his time and truthful in his words. He will sunder the oppressors and the impostors, and he will conquer the world both East and West, and fill it with justice as it had been filled with injustice, and his rule will last until the end of the world.²⁵

This passage gives a sense of what Ibn Tūmart understands as his mandate from God as the Mahdī. We see that it originates in a sense of the prevailing injustice of his society and the feeling that something should be done;²⁶ and since it was an accepted principle that legitimate government upholds the ordinances of the *sharīʿa* and guarantees their enforcement,²⁷ rebellion could be an instrument of reform. The overwhelming urgency of this task of reform brought Ibn Tūmart to the idea of the necessary coming of the Mahdī, but it was the pre-existing pattern of the Berber *agurram* which provided a social framework for his leadership role.

V. *The Andalusi attitude: Ibn Tūmart not the Islamic Messiah*

By the time the Almohads arrived in Spain the notion that Ibn Tūmart was the Mahdī, the Messianic figure whose coming presaged the end of the world, seemed fatally flawed, given that, twenty years after his death, the world continued as before. Eventually mahdism centring on Ibn Tūmart came to be seen by many as heretical or mistaken. It is this view which can be seen in another chapter on mahdism in the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*²⁸ entitled "On the necessity of the belief in the imamate in its totality"; this reveals a more urbane Andalusi outlook which would be typical of the later period. The first part of the section dealing with belief in the imamate has the characteristically energetic, brief sentences, with the balanced opposites and reasoned structure, typical of the previously quoted text. But then, following this, there is a changed prose style, with no reference to mahdian *ḥadīths* such as we have seen above in what we take to be the earlier text. These *ḥadīths*, which would assuredly have been the heart of the argument in an earlier time, are an embarrassment because they say the Mahdī is to come at the end of time.

What is emphasised at some length in the body of the text is the idea that mahdism is a "pillar" without which "the roof will fall". This is a broad hint at the practical political consequences of a disavowal of mahdism in view of its importance for the adherence of the Berber tribes, which is clearly to be read between the lines. There is no attempt to justify or explain Ibn Tūmart's claim to mahdism, since the text sets out a very watered-down claim as to the nature of the imamate, including a history of different caliphs, prophets and messengers of God (Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jesus, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿAlī), and describing how they came at periods of great spiritual decadence and restored good conduct and order, and how the last of these *imāms* was Ibn Tūmart, who restored justice and good behaviour; no-

thing is mentioned about the *Dajjāl*, or Antichrist, nothing about the end of the world. There is also a deliberate attempt to erase any possible association of Ibn Tūmart with Shi'ism through the inclusion of the names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first and second caliphs, whose caliphates are not recognised by Shi'ites.

Thus a most important difference, in which this chapter contradicts the chapter previously quoted, is that its formulation has done away with Ibn Tūmart's identification as the Islamic Messiah. He is presented as just another reforming *imām*, in other words, he is *an imām* but not *the Imām*, the Mahdī, the Messiah. He is last in the sense of most recent, rather than in the sense of presaging the end of the world. The strong emphasis in this chapter comes only at the end of the text, and concerns the necessity of memorising the imamate material.²⁹ Yet the exhortation rings hollow in the face of the dilution of the mahdian claim. The tentative or defensive attitude about Ibn Tūmart's claim to be the Mahdī clearly corresponds to the period of the Almohad dynasty in Spain during the reign of the second Almohad caliph, Yūsuf, rather than to the ideas of the first generation of Almohads.

VI. *The claim of the 'aqīda to express the essence of Almohad doctrine*

In this connection, it is interesting that statements enjoining a specific belief in the Mahdī are absent from the Almohad '*aqīda*, or creed, upon which some scholars have based their analysis of Ibn Tūmart's thought.³⁰ This section of the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*³¹ is undoubtedly an '*aqīda*, since it ends with the unmistakable words: "and the '*aqīda* is completed with the praise of God and His help, and God bless Muḥammad, his Prophet and servant."³² The absence of a mention of mahdism from the '*aqīda* presents a puzzle, however, since mahdism was an important element of Almohad faith according to all the historical chronicles, and is included in other texts of the compilation. The explanation which seems most likely is that the text of the '*aqīda* was edited and arranged in a later period, perhaps in 579/1183 when the manuscript was copied down,³³ and hence reflects the hesitancy of the Andalusī élite with respect to mahdism at this late date (53 years after the death of Ibn Tūmart).

To support this hypothesis, we have plenty of clear evidence that mahdism was part of the explicitly stated Almohad belief in the early days. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's chronicle mentions a book, written by Ibn Tūmart and memorised by his followers,³⁴ which specifically includes faith propositions about mahdism, including a declaration that whoever does not obey the Mahdī is an infidel. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's text gives a list of the topics dealt with in that book:

One of the good things which the Mahdī conferred upon them was his commanding them to read one portion of it each day after the morning prayer, after they

had read a portion of the Quran. And it is a book written on parchment, which contains the knowledge of God the High and the science of the truth of fate, destiny, faith, Islam, the divine attributes, what is necessary, what is impossible and what is contingent with regard to God the High and faith about what the Prophet told, in the things which he recounted by virtue of God's teaching him of His unseen. *The book also contains perceptions of the principles of the religion and the recognition of the Mahdī; that he is the Imām, and the necessity of the imamate and what is owed to him (the Mahdī) of discipline and honour, and that emigration [hegira] to him is a duty. Neither family nor children nor property is to prevent anyone among the Muslims from it, and anyone who hears of him is obligated to emigrate to him. There is no kind of valid excuse for not emigrating. The man who doesn't say "may God pray for him", and who doesn't obey him, is an unbeliever.* [my italics]

Along with the Quran, which they memorised like other Muslims, this "book written on parchment" is described as the source of material Ibn Tūmart made the Almohads memorise:

He made them memorise it, and trained them through it, and made learning it easy for them through his personal commentary and through that of the notables among his followers.

There are two possible reasons for the absence of mahdism in the 'aqida: either (1) that there was an original 'aqida from which the section on mahdism was removed and perhaps relocated as a separate entry in the compilation by the copyist in 579/1183 or before that date; or (2) that in Ibn Tūmart's day there was no 'aqida as such, but only the "parchment book" and the two shorter spiritual guides (*murshidas*) devoted to the doctrine of the oneness of God (*tawhīd*),³⁵ in which case an 'aqida may have actually been put together at a later date, omitting mahdism in order to diminish its centrality and importance because of the above-mentioned embarrassment about the end of the world. Whichever of these solutions seems the most probable, the main point to bear in mind is that the 'aqida, which has been taken as fully representative of the thought of Ibn Tūmart, omits a major element of Almohad belief.

Parts of the 'aqida may in fact well be the work of Ibn Ruṣḥd (Averroes), since there is an Escorial manuscript which includes in a list of his works the title *Sharḥ 'aqīdat al-Imām al-Mahdī* ("an explication of the dogma of the Mahdī"). No work of that name is to be found, according to Renan,³⁶ but in the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* there are certain passages of subtlety and extremely skilful phrasing which suggest a highly refined intelligence.

VII. *The miracles of Ibn Tūmart*

The Almohad documents give two different views on miracles, corresponding to the North African and the Andalusi mentality. In the Almohad historical chronicles and, to a lesser extent, in the 'aqida, there is incontrovertible

evidence for the sempiternal Berber custom of confirming the holy man through his miracles or magic, while a passage from the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* most probably written in 579/1183 reflects an Andalusi mentality previously seen in the opinion of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) that miracles *per se* ended with the Prophet Muḥammad, or, at least, that a belief in miracles is irrelevant to faith.

The importance of miracle-working for the success of Ibn Tūmart's movement has been indicated by medieval historians—both by those hostile to the movement, like the Marinid Ibn Abī Zar' (d. 710/1310) and the Easterners Ibn al-Athīr (555/1160-630/1233) and Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263-728/1328), and by Ibn Tūmart's partisans like Ibn al-Qaṭṭān and his companion and contemporary al-Bayḍhaq. To take an extreme example, Ibn Taymiyya's rather fantastic account is as follows:³⁷

[Ibn Tūmart] also found it licit, in order better to call them to religion, to make appear to them diverse sorts of miracles. Thus he went to cemeteries where he had caused to be buried accomplices who were to answer his calls and bear witness as he expected them to ... These accomplices should also bear witness, among other things, that whosoever followed the Mahdī would know success and whoever opposed him would fail. These Berbers, convinced in this manner by such witnesses, felt their faith in him strengthen and obeyed his orders more faithfully. Later they crushed down the tombs on the men who had been hidden there. Since they disappeared, they could not reveal the secret of the matter. He was convinced that their blood was licit and that he had the right to have recourse to such tricks in order to convince those ignorant people.

Ibn al-Athīr's equally accusatory statement of this story³⁸ involves the voice of an angel emanating from a well, corroborating the tale of al-Bashīr al-Wansharīsi's miraculous cure. The Mahdī then orders the well to be plugged with earth and stones on the pretext of keeping it undefiled, thereby killing his accomplice. The only Moroccan to present this idea, the Marinid historian Ibn Abī Zar', clearly uses it with the idea of discrediting Ibn Tūmart. He writes:³⁹

A proof of [Ibn Tūmart's] tricks and the facility with which he spilled blood is that he took some of his followers and buried them alive, leaving each a breathing hole in his tomb ...

One may suspect a kernel of truth in these legends, in spite of the obvious malice in the telling.⁴⁰ The variable details in these accounts betray an imaginative effort to reconstruct a scenario for the transmitted *datum*, which would be an account of a "miraculous" event such as people speaking from their graves. The transmitter makes up his own explanation of how a voice could emanate from an inanimate object because he has no understanding of ventriloquism⁴¹ or tricks of throwing the voice, and these interpretations are then used by inimical historians to put the worst possible light on events. The Marinids had a great interest in denigrating the Almohads, whom they

had replaced in power in Morocco, and the Eastern historians took their accounts from them.

But these mysterious "voices from the grave" would have been what caused Ibn Tūmart's more credulous followers to think that he resuscitated the dead—by far the most important miracle to be ascribed to him—and this circumstance would explain for us why the Marīnids went to such elaborate lengths to explain away and discredit this particular miracle in their verbal accounts⁴² and chronicles. We have evidence of the survival of this particular skill or practice from the early 20th-century anthropologist E. Doutté,⁴³ who says that a voice was emanating from the ground at the sanctuary of Lalla Taquandout, answering the requests of sick people and often recommending a sacrifice at the sanctuary of a certain saint, or a ritual banquet.

Sand-reading, or geomancy, another kind of "magic, was attributed to Ibn Tūmart by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, who says that "Ibn Tūmart was the first in his age in the knowledge of sand reading".⁴⁴ It is a complicated occult art involving mathematics, described by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muqaddima*.⁴⁵

Ibn Tūmart's choice of adherents from outside the tribes of the Maṣmūda confederation bespeaks his interest in recruiting men with talent in magic, two individuals being examples of this. The first is a member of the "fifty", Mallūl b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣinhājī, who was one of the Mahdī's two secretaries. The *Kitāb al-ansāb* says: "He was eloquent and quickly understood diverse languages, he wrote in 'Syriac' [A secret language employed in magic] and in secret code. For this reason he was given fiefs in the territory of the Hunaya, where they are known by his name."⁴⁶

The other outsider was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥsin, also known as al-Baṣḥīr al-Wanṣharīsī. Magical and miraculous stories collect around this figure, who was a member of the inner "council of the ten" and the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart's lieutenant and personally chosen successor. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, whose sources are hostile to the Almohads, tells of accounts from several Westerners concerning a miracle performed by Ibn Tūmart with the help of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣḥīr al-Wanṣharīsī, who had pretended to be a drooling idiot and then, at a critical point during the siege of Tinmal, when the people needed to take heart, appeared at the mosque totally transformed, claiming that during the night an angel had come to him and had taught him the Quran, the traditions, the *Muwatta'* and other books. This transformation of al-Baṣḥīr is described by Ibn al-Qaṭṭān who presents it with variant details as a miraculous occurrence. Interestingly, it was al-Baṣḥīr al-Wanṣharīsī who decided the fate of the Mahdī's followers⁴⁷ at the first *tamyīz*, where those judged disloyal were afterwards killed. Obviously, as an unknown outsider considered a simpleton (Ibn al-Aṭhīr says his speech was defective), he had been in a position to overhear the thoughts of many people who might have done better to be more guarded. Ibn al-Aṭhīr connects him with the miraculous "angel's voice", since he says it corroborated his testimony. We

know that 'Abd al-Mu'min became the Almohad leader upon the demise of al-Bashīr, and the circumstances of the latter's death are somewhat mysterious. The *Kitāb al-ansāb*, a document from the centre of the Almohad ideology, reports the eyewitness account of the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī Yūnus as saying that he was raised into heaven.⁴⁸

The Mahdī Ibn Tūmart died following the defeat at al-Buḥayra, and, after his death had been kept secret for three years, 'Abd al-Mu'min emerged as the Almohad leader. He had a very different personality from al-Bashīr al-Wanṣharīsī; he was a military genius and a good administrator, with no pretensions to magic or supernatural gifts. Later histories were written with the idea of pleasing Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min and his descendants, and, as we shall see, the fashion in al-Andalus was to de-emphasise magic. Thus we do not know for certain how great a role miracles and soothsaying played in the establishment of mahdian influence among the Berbers in the early days of the Almohads, but the prominent role of al-Bashīr al-Wanṣharīsī and the nature of his activity during the life of Ibn Tūmart forces us to conclude that magic had a large place in inspiring and controlling the Berber tribesmen at that time.

Historical and anthropological data corroborate the political importance of the miracles of Berber soothsayers and holy men from the era of their pre-Islamic beliefs⁴⁹ until quite recently.⁵⁰ The custom was observed 200 years before Ibn Tūmart, when the Fāṭimid Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh, who justified his Islamic title by his descent from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the last known *imām* in the 'Alid line, finally met with his Berber supporters; they demanded that he perform miracles to justify his claim, almost causing the Fāṭimid movement to collapse when it was revealed that he was unable to do so. Ibn Ḥayyān tells of another 4th/10th century example of the political use of miracles, the rebellion of Ibn al-Qiṭṭ, who was proclaimed Mahdī in al-Andalus in Los Pedroches (Fahṣ al-Ballūt) and the Sierra de Almadén (Jabal al-Barāniṣ) among the Nafza Berbers; he was at the same time a direct descendant of the Umayyad prince Hishām I and a magician who influenced his Berber followers by performing acts of legerdemain and prestidigitation.⁵¹

Thus it is appropriate to consider Ibn Tūmart's involvement in miracle-working as evidence of the influence of a Berber substratum in his thought, especially as seen against the background of Islamic restraint on this subject attested in the Quran and the *ḥadīth*. Early Islam is sparing with miracles as compared to Christianity. Unlike Christ, the Prophet neither raised a man from the dead nor turned water into wine, and apart from his miraculous reception of the Quranic revelation, and a few prodigious acts such as finding water in the desert and feeding a multitude with little food,⁵² he led a perfectly normal human existence, even demonstrating a few human foibles which have been recorded in the *ḥadīth*.

VIII. *The importance of miracles in the 'aqida*

The Almohad creed or *'aqida* presents the miracle as central to faith. This is the standard Sunni point of view in so far as Islam's central revelation, the Quran, is said to be a miracle of God which was intended to serve as a sign that the Prophet Muḥammad was sent by God. Nevertheless, more than any other such example of dogmatic statement, the Almohad *'aqida* has given formal prominence to the miracle by beginning and ending with passages on miracles. The *'aqida*'s first major statement, after the opening quotation of three *ḥadīths*, confirms and validates the whole of religious life (faith, devotion, law) through the manifestation of the miracle (of God to the Prophet); and then, more significantly, the *'aqida*'s concluding section is on the confirmation of the prophetic mission through miracles worked by the prophets. It includes a discussion of what kinds of act are to be considered miracles, that is, signs of God's favour, as follows:

(*'Aqida*, Section 17: *On the Confirmation of Prophecy through Miracles*)

The truthfulness of the messenger is known by necessity from the appearance of extraordinary signs (*āyāt*) which accord with his message. And the proof of this is that he who claims to have received a message from God is not exempt from being in one of three possible conditions. Either he presents everyday actions like eating, drinking and wearing clothes and alleges that they are miracles, in which case his allegation is vain because there is no indication of its veracity, since no one is unable to perform these acts which he alleges indicate his veracity. Or else, if he presents actions which he attained through trickery or instruction, like writing, building, sewing and other trades, and he claims that these are miracles of his, his claim is vain, since anything which is achieved through trickery and instruction is not truthfully a miracle which can be attributed to a messenger of God. Or else he can present extraordinary actions: the parting of the sea, a stick turned into a serpent, the dead made to come back to life, the moon splitting, as miracles to be attributed to him. In this case his veracity is established, since the Creator is the only one who produces and manifests these actions, in accordance with what His messenger has claimed. The accordance between the miracle and the claim made is evident to the senses; that is, there is no way to reject what the senses have perceived, nor to annul things known by experience.⁵³

The above list of miracles includes only examples universally accepted by Muslims. It is instinctive to the Islamic style to keep to the externals of strict orthodoxy and to appear to innovate nothing, but a closer inspection of the intent of the passage reveals that it exists to answer the question; "Who has been sent by God?" Now this question is totally superfluous with reference to figures like Muḥammad, or Moses, for whom the sea parted and who turned a stick into a serpent, or Jesus, who raised Lazarus from the dead, because the legitimation of their prophethood is provided by the Quran. It is only in the case of a new miracle that an independent judgement would be called for. The point of including the paragraph in the *'aqida* must be that it gives criteria by which to judge new miracles, criteria by which the miracles of Ibn

Tūmart would be seen as proof of his having been chosen by God. The text speaks of *mawtā* ("the dead", "brought back to life"),⁵⁴ and Ibn Tūmart, according to the indications in the accounts, was supposed to have spoken with dead men. The fourth miracle, *inshiqāq al-qamar*, the sundering of the moon, mentioned in the *'aqida*, is from the Quran, Sura LIV, describing the Day of Judgement. This Sura, called "the Moon", contains many more references to the Day of Judgement, a context which is fully associated with the Mahdī, the Islamic Messiah, who will come at the Last Day.

In conclusion, of the last two miracles in the *'aqida*'s list, one supplies the context of the coming of the Mahdī, while the other can be understood to refer to Ibn Tūmart's miracle of raising the dead. In this way the *'aqida* clearly seems to refer to Ibn Tūmart's miracles, even while omitting any direct reference to mahdism. The persistence of miracle in the face of the disappearance of mahdism in the *'aqida* is an accurate reflection of the centrality of miracles to Berber culture and a corroboration of our view that mahdism simply provided the Islamic formulation of the leadership role traditionally granted by Berber custom to the holy man. Thus, after Ibn Tūmart's death, mahdism was a superfluous adornment, while the memory of his miracles still persisted.

IX. *The anti-miracle bias of the first part of the Book of Ibn Tūmart*

Miracles are associated with Berber culture to the extent that an Andalusī influence may be suspected in the text of the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* where we see Ibn Tūmart's miracles treated with great restraint or muted scepticism. An example of this is the paragraph on miracles in the long disquisition on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, or theoretical jurisprudence, which begins the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*.⁵⁵ In the section on the question of how certain kinds of information are known, there is a subtle passage which goes far in the direction of denying miracles, among them, of course, those of Ibn Tūmart himself—an almost certain sign that it is part of the material re-written in 579/1183. I suggest that its sophisticated subtlety may well be evidence that it is the work of the famous commentator of Aristotle. Consider the following passage from the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*:

As for miracle, the way of knowledge of it is necessarily by factual evidence, because when we see the comparison and the concordance of the miracle to the propaganda or message of the messenger, along with the fact that it is not an act which is possible for created beings to perform, it takes a place as factual evidence which allows for no choice, as, for example, the yellowing of the fearful one from the contemplation of a lion, and his change of colour and the trembling of his limbs, and it is known by necessity from factual evidence that this trembling and yellowing are only from what he saw, since there is no choice in it. And analogous to this is the miracle, since we saw it to be in accord with the propaganda of the messenger, and it is not in his power to tell us absolutely to believe in it, and

there is no place for multiple transmission in the knowledge of the miracle, and as for its existence, it has been transmitted to us through multiple transmission and its existence differs from the knowledge about it.

The above statement that the existence of a large amount of transmitted eye-witness testimony about miracles is not the same as knowledge of them, and that the messenger has not the power to tell us absolutely to believe in them, indicates that in the author's opinion people should be free to believe in miracles or not.

The diffuse way in which this is phrased is typical of texts directed to more than one audience. It does not conceal the author's fundamental scepticism about miracles from the discerning reader, but the careless or more naive reader could overlook it. In contrast to the *'aqida*, which states that sense perception attests the fact of the miracle, the logical implication of the analogy in this disquisition is that factual evidence merely gives proof for the psychological state of the people who perceive the miracle. The author is saying that the yellowing and trembling of the people in the analogy means that they are convinced they see a lion (i. e., a miracle); but he will not allow that it proves that they really do see one in fact. Whether or not Ibn Rushd is the author of this passage, it is clearly indicative of the urban Andalusī attitude towards miracles previously voiced by Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī: that miracles, far from providing confirmation of prophecy, are unnecessary and, as al-Ghazālī states,⁵⁶ are as likely to be causes of doubt as of faith.

X. *The deep structure of this debate on miracles*

Thus, in these Almohad documents, we have two polar opposites within the Almohad concept of miracle, namely: (1) the sempiternal Berber custom of confirming the holy man through his miracles or magic, seen in the Almohad chronicles and the *'aqida*; and (2) the diametrically opposite idea seen in the above passage, reflecting a spirit similar to that of the Andalusī Ibn Ḥazm, that miracles *per se* ended with the Prophet Muḥammad.

A scrutiny of the history of these two attitudes reveals the cause of their polarity. In the strong-minded Andalusī Islam represented by Ibn Ḥazm there is a continuing effort to hold the line against belief in magicians; Ibn Ḥazm draws a firm line between sober, literate classical Islam and the sooth-saying pre-Islamic past, which in many regions had not disappeared, but maintained a parallel existence. The question of miracles contains an important kernel of political relevance in view of Berber susceptibility to miracle-performing mahdis, since from the earliest times Berber insurrections repeatedly created problems for the governors of al-Andalus. There is a long history in al-Andalus of such Berber revolts, and for Ibn Ḥazm a recent and traumatic memory was of the massacre of the citizens of Córdoba by the

North African Berber mercenaries during the *fitna*, or civil war, which ended the Umayyad Caliphate, the life-long focus of his political loyalty.⁵⁷

Berber religious sensibility provides a deep rhythm underneath the superficial incident of the religious history of the Peninsula. Significant for our contention that early Andalusī Sufism can be associated with Berber tribal religious practices is the fact that the outburst of protest in the city of Almería against the burning of the books of al-*Ghazālī* was led by the Sufi Ibn al-ʿArīf al-Ṣinhājī (d. 536/1141), whose father was born in Tangiers, an ethnic Berber (the *nisba* al-Ṣinhājī indicates that he was from the Ṣinhāja Berber tribe). If we take it that it was principally the Sufis who were protesting the book burning, it is significant that all the cities participating in the protest (Almería, Marrakesh, Fez, Qalʿa of Banī Ḥammād) were in Berber territory, with the sole exception of Almería. But Almería, the most important Andalusī seaport at the time, was of all the Andalusī cities the closest to Morocco.

The Berber *agurram* or miracle-working priest-leader paradigm is seen in the fact that this same Ibn al-ʿArīf al-Ṣinhājī, who was one of the first Sufis in al-Andalus, claimed for the Sufis twenty miracle-like *karāmāt*, or supernatural signs of God's grace, of which the last five clearly correspond in kind to the powers of the magician,⁵⁸ to wit:⁵⁹ (1) the curative properties of the Sufi's clothing, etc., or, after his death, of the dust from his tomb; (2) that the Sufi can go all over the earth, through the air, and walk on water, and that he can go round the whole surface of the earth in less than an hour; (3) that wild beasts submit to him and love him; (4) that where his hand strikes a treasure will appear,⁶⁰ and that he can get food and drink at will; (5) that he has special influence with God which he can transmit to others, so that people hope, in serving him, to obtain a favourable welcome on the part of God.

Comparing this list with the miracles described in *Risālat al-quḍs*,⁶¹ the biographical collection of Sufi lives written by the Andalusī Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560/1165-638/1240), we see that such *karāmāt* are fully accepted two generations later, and considered a grace God concedes to his saints, showing that the expectation of miracles native to Berber culture has become an important component of Peninsular Sufism.⁶² That it had also been to some extent a component of popular religion among non-Berbers may seem to be confirmed by certain Christian beliefs which perhaps indicate a common pre-historic substratum.

An important feature of the Almohad period was the ripening of a synthesis between Berber culture and Andalusī intellectual traditions. A whole category of supernatural signs of God's grace comes into prominence during the Almohad period with the common acceptance of the *karāmāt* attributed to saints. The intellectual adjustments which brought Sufism into the framework of classical Andalusī orthodoxy are an important legacy of this process, which grounded the tradition of the North African saints in orthodox Islam.

Conclusion

In this paper, the analysis of the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* in the light of our anthropologically based knowledge about Berber susceptibility to magic and mahdism has revealed a composite document. In the case of mahdism, its notable absence from the Almohad *'aqīda* and its faded and weakened position in other passages in the *Book of Ibn Tūmart* are at variance with the original Almohad concept, seen in historical chronicles, that Ibn Tūmart is the Mahdi foretold in the *ḥadīths*. This clearly points to an interpolation and editing of the material in Ibn Tūmart to conform to the mind-set of a later generation in al-Andalus, most probably that of 579/1183, the year the manuscript was dated, when Ibn Ruṣḥd and Ibn Ṭufayl were advisers to the Almohad caliph Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb.

In the case of miracles, the same sorts of difference can be seen. According to both pro- and anti-Almohad historical chronicles, miracles were instrumental in the creation of Ibn Tūmart's first following among the Berbers; yet the emphasis on miracles in the Almohad *'aqīda* is contradicted by a passage from the beginning of the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*, which states that no one can be obliged to believe in miracles. Again, we take this passage as certain evidence of the ideology of the later Andalusī generation, with respect both to the opinion itself and the way it is phrased.

The frontier of the dispute, within Andalusī Islam, between the mythic and the rational is silhouetted in these sharply differing attitudes towards miracles. On the mythic side there is an easily identifiable Berber cultural substratum. However, the potential for political uprisings from this quarter is one of the factors which forced the official Umayyad state, throughout its history in al-Andalus, to lean towards the opposite, anti-supernatural position far more than was typical in the East.⁶³ Ibn Ṣā'id of Toledo (419/1029-462/1070), in his book *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, names a great number of scholars who cultivated mathematics, astronomy and medicine, disciplines which were officially encouraged in al-Andalus, but he names only three metaphysicians, one of whom was a Jew. Political necessity would go far to explain the legalistic, rationalist⁶⁴ flavour of pre-6th/12th century Andalusī Islam, an intellectual legacy which can be felt in the Almohad world-view.

An examination of the miracle, extended beyond its trivial or anecdotal aspect, has led us to the lines of force converging in the new synthesis of the rational and the mythic characteristic of the Almohad period. By the Almohad period neo-Platonic elements had played their part in the construction of an intermediary position which reconciled the rational with the mythic through the experience of mystical union, or gnosis, as seen in the *Ḥayy ibn Yaqqān* of Ibn Ṭufayl. Most importantly, this was achieved without any tendency towards the destruction of the tools of rationality which characterised the Eastern Islamic Aṣḥ'arī tradition.⁶⁵ This wide and inclusive

intellectual horizon was inherited by Western Christianity (and Western Judaism),⁶⁶ resulting in the intellectual developments of the European 13th century and beyond.

In this paper we have tried to indicate the extent to which North African elements are present in the Almohad synthesis which made these developments possible. It was through forcing the introduction of new content, which could not possibly fit the dry old conventions of Mālikī *naql* and *taqlid*, that the Almohads promoted mystical and rational traditions that have survived in some form, in Western Europe, up to the present day.

¹ See note 60 below.

² Aḥmad Tawfiq, "Al-Tārikh wa adab al-manāqib min khilāl manāqib Abū Ya'za", in *Al-Tārikh wa adab al-manāqib*, Rabat, 1989, p. 88.

³ Here, as in later passages, the translation is mine unless otherwise stated.

⁴ The principal material that we have available to indicate Ibn Tūmart's views, and, hence, the Almohad doctrine, is a disparate collection of texts assembled and copied down at the end of the reign of the second Almohad caliph, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, who was himself a philosopher and patron of Ibn Rushd. As will be demonstrated, there are insertions which originate in the late, Spanish period. The manuscript (Paris B.N. arabe 1451) is dated 579/1183-4, that is, a full 53 years after the death of Ibn Tūmart. Since the manuscript was published with an introduction by I. Goldziher under the title *Le livre d'Ibn Tūmert* (ed. J. D. Luciani, Algiers, 1903) it will be referred to from now on in the notes as *Le livre* and in the text as the *Book of Ibn Tūmart*.

There is a new edition by 'Ammār Tālibī, Algiers, 1985, but my page numbers are from the Luciani editions.

⁵ This is the subject of a forthcoming book: Madeleine Fletcher, *Western Islam: The Almohad Renaissance*, Columbia, South Carolina.

⁶ A good discussion of the various factors in the Almoravid defeat by the Almohads is to be found in Muḥammad Kably, "Ramz 'al-Ihyā' wa qāḍiyyat al-ḥukkām fī 'l-Maghrib al-wasīṭ" in *Marājī' ḥawl al-muḥtama' wa 'l-ḥaqāfa bi 'l-Maghrib al-wasīṭ*, Casablanca, 1987.

⁷ For a characterisation of *tawhīd*, see Madeleine Fletcher, "The Almohad *Tawhīd*: Theology which Relies on Logic", *Numen* (Journal of the International Association for the History of Religions), 38/1, pp. 110-27.

⁸ *Religion musulmane en Berberie*, Paris, 1938, pp. 247-58.

⁹ "La doctrine d'Ibn Tūmert, prise dans son ensemble, est donc fort eclectique. On y trouve, à tout le moins, de l'acharisme, du ghazalisme et du chisme. Mais de ces éléments divers, le Mahdi des Almohades a su faire une synthèse habile et assez cohérente." (*Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca, 1949, p. 268).

¹⁰ *Le livre*, p. 63.

¹¹ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, article on "Ibn Tūmart".

¹² Ibn al-Qaṭṭān says that Ibn Tūmart spent fifteen years abroad for study, quoting Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā b. Yahyā Wasnār, a member of Ibn Tūmart's council of the fifty (*Naẓm al-jumān*, ed. Maḥmūd 'Alī Makki, Rabat, n. d., p. 4).

¹³ For example, there are a surprising number of parallels with the life of the Kurdish Muslim thinker Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (d. 1960). Cf. Serif Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, New York, 1989, pp. 42-102. The notable difference is the absence of an attribution of mahdism or miracles to Nursi.

¹⁴ In response to this impulse, Dominique Urvoy seeks to find coherence in Ibn Tūmart's views by positing a Khārījī substratum and relating Ibn Tūmart's doctrine to its supposed Khārījī origin. See "La pensée d'Ibn Tūmart", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, 27, 1974, pp. 19-44.

¹⁵ See for example Duncan B. MacDonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, London, 1903 (Amarko Book Agency New Delhi reprint), Chapter II.

¹⁶ Madeleine Fletcher, "The Anthropological Context of Almohad History", *Hespéris Tamuda*, 26-27, 1988-89, pp. 25-51. For the impact of the segmentary structure on Islamic political theory see Madeleine Fletcher, "Vida y teoría política en la España musulmana del siglo XII", in *La voluntad del humanismo*, ed. B. Cipijauskaitė and C. Maurer, Barcelona, 1990, pp. 31-43.

¹⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society*, Cambridge (England), 1981, p. 131.

¹⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, London, 1958, II, 196-98. Ibn Khaldūn also mentions three historical mahdis from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries.

¹⁹ Another point of view on mahdism views it as a present-day phenomenon: "It is the European states like France who, implanting themselves in the land of Islam, have sometimes renovated (in Morocco) the function of the sovereign; but the attraction of power has, in all times, encouraged vocations of mahdi in favour of chronic revolutions, today with a 'socialist' connotation, of which the land of Islam has not ceased to be the theatre." (Raymond Charles, *Le droit musulman*, Paris, 1965, p. 33.) French colonial experience also sees it that way: "Mahdism, the appearance of the 'Master of the Hour' in our lands, is the classical form of insurrection." (Edmond Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909, pp. 13-14.)

²⁰ An interesting article on this is Halima Ferhat and Hamid Triki, "Faux prophètes et mahdis dans le Maroc médiéval", *Hespéris Tamuda*, 27, 1988-89, pp. 5-23.

²¹ Ibn al-Qaṭṭān includes a letter written by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṭāhir of Murcia, addressed to the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min, in which the applicability of these *ḥadīths* to Ibn Tūmart is discussed in the form of a dialogue between "the calm soul and the soul that counsels evil". See *Nazm al-jumān*, pp. 50-73.

On the general subject of mahdian *ḥadīths* Ibn Khaldūn has a chapter in the *Muqaddima* (Chapter III, section 51; Rosenthal's trans., II, 156-86), in which he shows himself to be somewhat sceptical, finally saying: "These are all the traditions published by the religious authorities concerning the mahdi and his appearance at the end of time. One has seen what they are like. Very few are above criticism." It is to be noted that none of these *ḥadīths* occurs in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Muslim or al-Bukhārī.

²² According to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Tūmart said: "Praise to God who accomplishes what he wishes and decides what he wants. There is no obstructing his command and no appeal from his sentence, and may God bless our Lord Muḥammad who foretold the Mahdī would fill the earth with justice and fairness, as it was filled with oppression and outrage. God sends him when truth is abrogated by falsehood and justice is displaced by iniquity. His place is the far west, and his time is the end of time, and his name is that of the Prophet. The iniquity of the princes has become manifest and the earth has been filled with corruption. And this is the end of time, and the name is the name, and the lineage is the lineage, and the deeds are the deeds." (Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *Nazm al-jumān*, p. 60.)

²³ As told to the historian al-Yasa', quoted by Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *ibid*.

²⁴ This is a reference to the famous statement of the first caliph, Abū Bakr, after the death of the Prophet: "If they held back [from the *zakāt* they used to give the Prophet] as much as a camel's hobble, I would fight them for it." (*Law mana'ūni 'iqālan lajahadtuhum 'alayhī*, in *Al-Muwatta'*, ed. al-Zarqānī, Cairo, n. d., I, 356.

Ibn Tūmart's own abridged and re-arranged version of the *Muwatta'* of Mālik, entitled *Muwatta' al-Imām Mahdī* (Algiers, 1905, p. 220), gives this *ḥadīth* great prominence, placing it right after the first *ḥadīth* from the Prophet at the beginning of the chapter on *zakāt*, while in Mālik's *Muwatta'* it is in the section on *zakāt* in Book 3. This *ḥadīth* is also found in all five other basic collections of *ḥadīths*.

The preceding sentence, "and he who withholds a single religious duty, it is as if he had withheld all of them", refers to the next *ḥadīth* in Ibn Tūmart's *Muwatta'*, p. 221.

²⁵ *Le livre*, pp. 255-57.

²⁶ For a list of the specific reasons for the feeling of injustice see Kably, *op. cit.*

²⁷ This is consonant with the Sunni ideal of the Imamate. See Yusuf Ishih, *The Political Doctrine of al-Bāqillānī*, Beirut, 1966, especially Chapters III and IV.

²⁸ *Le livre*, pp. 245-54.

²⁹ "And all of what is mentioned above must be believed and submitted to and adhered to as long as the world lasts, and also manifesting it and declaring it and publishing it and teaching it and stating it, and it is necessary to engrave it on the hearts of children and adults, freemen and

slaves, and male and female. And it is incumbent on every ruler to manifest this [mahdian dogma] and to defend it from every enemy, and every pious person should write this memorandum, and study it every morning and evening, and realise its meaning, and apply it in his life, and make propaganda for it, and spread it, and invite others to embrace it, and urge others to accept it." (*Le livre*, pp. 252-53).

³⁰ No one has disputed the adequacy of this title for that section of the *Livre d'Ibn Tūmart* (pp. 229-39) which is deemed the 'aqida. It corresponds to the Latin document found by G. Vajda and M.Th. d'Alverny: "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart", *Al-Andalus*, 16, 1951, pp. 99-140; 17, 1952, pp. 1-56. Marcos of Toledo, a canon who made a translation of the Quran in 606/1209-1210, also translated the 'aqida, the two *murshidas* and the hymn of praise found in *Le livre*, pp. 229-44, under the title "Libellus Habentometi". His preface is dated June 1, 1213. Thus, unsurprisingly, the Latin document also follows the 579/1183 manuscript in leaving out mahdism. The translation does prove the extensive dissemination of this particular document.

Henri Massé's French translation of the 'aqida of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart is found in "La profession de foi ('aqida) et les guides spirituels (*morchida*) du Mahdi Ibn Tūmart", in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris (Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines), 1928, II, 105-21. This text is taken as the basis of the study of Ibn Tūmart's thought in Dominique Urvoy's "La pensée d'Ibn Tūmart" (see note 14 above).

³¹ *Le livre*, pp. 229-39.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 239.

³³ See note 3 above.

³⁴ Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *Naẓm al-jumān*, pp. 26-27.

³⁵ *Le livre*, pp. 240-42.

³⁶ This matter was drawn to my attention by Dominique Urvoy, *Ibn Rushd*, London, 1991, p. 71.

³⁷ Henri Laoust, "Une fetwa d'Ibn Taimiya sur Ibn Tūmart", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 59, 1960, pp. 170-71. None of the positive sources specifically mention these dead men speaking, except what can be understood from Ibn Tūmart's reply to the Almoravid prince when the Mahdi was in the cemetery of Ibn Haydus in Marrakesh: "I am not in your territory, I am with the dead." (Al-Bayḏhaq, "Mémoires", trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris, 1928, p. 111.

³⁸ *Le livre*, Appendix, p. 21.

³⁹ *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, trans. A. Huici Miranda, Valencia, 1964, II, 363.

⁴⁰ Ambrosio Huici Miranda prefers to consider these accounts total fabrications, "legends propagated by the enemies of the Almohad empire in order to discredit its origins, attributing the successes of the Mahdi to fraud and cruelty. But in the literary tangle it is not difficult to trace the facts and the motives by which they were inspired." (*Historia política del imperio almohade*, Tétouan, 1957, II, 603.)

Huici systematically excises from his history all fantastic elements, consigning them to an appendix under the heading "legend". Regarding "fantastic" as synonymous with "false", his account fails to convey the Berber sense of the supernatural which is such a part of the tribal milieu of Ibn Tūmart. It is our ambition to place these fantastic elements in a rational framework, incorporating them into the history of the Almohads, where they did play a role. In this we follow the spirit of Ibn Khaldūn in the *Muqaddima*.

⁴¹ A folk use of ventriloquism is suggested by Douṭṭé, *Magie et religion*, p. 35: "It is the Berber women who claim to make speak trilobites, which they say they are raising in a box."

⁴² Ibn al-Aṭṭār indicates that some of his material was oral: "I heard a group of distinguished (*fuḍalā*) men from the Maghrib talking about the *tamyīz*, and I heard one who said ..." (*Le livre*, Appendix, p. 22).

⁴³ *Missions au Maroc en tribu*, Paris, 1914, pp. 276-77, quoted in Hassan Rachik, *Sacré et Sacrifice dans le Haut Atlas Marocain*, Casablanca, 1990, p. 19, n. 2.

⁴⁴ See *Le livre*, p. 4.

⁴⁵ I, 226-34.

⁴⁶ "Kitāb al-ansāb", in Lévi-Provençal (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 59-60. Ibn Tūmart ordered his tribe, the Hargha, to adopt this man.

⁴⁷ We can compare Douṭṭé, *Magie et religion*, p. 29, showing how the priests were used to denounce murderers in pre-Islamic times.

⁴⁸ Lévi-Provençal (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 41-42.

⁴⁹ For example Edward Westermarck, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris, 1935, p. 121, n. 2, and p. 123 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ For example Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 53: "We think that the predecessors of the marabouts, those from whom the Muslim saints have quietly taken the tradition, were magician priests, sorts of shaman or medicine-men of the sort so widespread in primitive societies; men or women, they probably held the first rank in the clan or tribe."

⁵¹ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire d'Espagne musulmane*, Paris, 1950, I, 384-85.

⁵² For a list of these prodigious acts, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, trans. M. Asín Palacios, Madrid, 1932, II, 220-21; V, 158-59.

⁵³ *Le livre*, p. 238.

⁵⁴ We note here a difference as compared to a conventional list of miracles which gives the singular *mayyit* ("dead"): the Mālikī al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), in his book on miracles and magic, *Kitāb al-bayān 'an al-farq bayna 'l-mu'jiza wa 'l-karāmāt wa 'l-ḥiyāl wa 'l-kahāna wa 'l-sihr wa 'l-naranjāt* (Beirut, 1958) gives the following list: "The miraculousness in the composition of the Quran is more effective in its kind and more eminent than the healing of the born blind and the leprosy and the quickening of the dead (sing. *mayyit*), and the changing of the rod into a serpent, etc., since many men believe these were accomplished by tricks and clever manipulations." (Trans. p. 16; original text, Paragraph 29). However Ibn Ḥazm uses a plural in his treatise on miracles in *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, Book VI, Chapter 3; *Historia crítica*, V, 173 gives: "Signos milagrosos, v. gr., hendir la luna en dos mitades, abrir el mar en dos partes, resucitar los muertos, extraer de una roca un camello, etc."

⁵⁵ *Le livre*, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁶ Al-Ḡhazālī criticises the idea that a miracle confirms prophecy in *Al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*: "By this method [of study of the Quran and the traditions] then, seek certainty about the prophetic office, and not from the transformation of a rod into a serpent or the cleaving of the moon. For if you consider such an event by itself, without taking account of the numerous circumstances accompanying it—circumstances readily eluding the grasp of the intellect—then you might perhaps suppose that it was magic and deception, and that it came from God to lead men astray; for 'He leads astray whom He will, and guides whom He will'. Thus the topic of miracles will be thrown back upon you; for if your faith is based on a reasoned argument involving the probative force of the miracle, then your faith is destroyed by an ordered argument showing the difficulty and ambiguity of the miracle." Al-Ḡhazālī uses the miracle of Jesus even more cogently to prove the same point: "This miracle has not brought all mankind to know the truthfulness of Jesus. On the contrary, serious objections can be raised against it, which are only repelled by rational considerations. Rational considerations, however, are not to be trusted, according to your view." (*The Faith and Practice of al-Ḡhazālī*, trans. W. Montgomery Watt, Chicago, 1982, pp. 67-68, 50-51.)

⁵⁷ In the name, "Muḥammad al-Mahdī", taken by the first rebel pretender to the caliphal throne during the period of the *fitna*, we see an attempt to appeal to the mahdist traditions of his Berber mercenary supporters. The best account of the complicated political situation of the time is in R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Leiden, 1932, III, chapters XIII-XVI. Also *Encyclopaedia of Islam* new ed., "al-Mahdi, M. b. Hishām", pp. 1239-40.

⁵⁸ Given by Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 51. The magician: (1) commands natural forces; (2) can become invisible; (3) can roll the earth underneath him; (4) can move great distances in a twinkling; (5) has commerce with spirits and learn their secrets, etc. Doutté comments that the powers of the sorcerer are exactly the same as the powers of the marabout (*ibid.*, pp. 52-53).

⁵⁹ Ibn al-'Arif, *Maḥāsīn al-majālis*, Paris, 1933, pp. 100-01.

⁶⁰ This treasure-finding activity still exists. In 1989 a *faqīh* told Prof Abdurrahman Lakhsasi, who had by chance given him a ride from Marrakesh to Agadir, that people were in the habit of calling him to find treasure. When asked if he had read Ibn Khaldūn's criticism of that belief, the *faqīh* responded that he enjoyed reading Ibn Khaldūn, but disagreed with him on that point.

⁶¹ *Risālat rūḥ al-quds fī munāṣaḥat al-naṣ*, trans. Miguel Asín Palacios, *Vidas de santones en Andalucía*, Madrid, 1933. An English translation exists: *Sufis of Andalusia*, translation and introduction by W. J. Austin, California, 1971.

⁶² Georges C. Anawati's chapter on "Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism", in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Joseph Schacht and C. E. Bosworth, Oxford, 1974, pp. 378-79, generalises about popular folkloric substrata in Islamic Sufi confraternities:

It was thus that the "confraternities", which had originally been groups made up of a master and his disciples, spread among the masses. This spread was aided by the facility with which the Muslim "missionaries" accepted new converts; all that they asked was the desire to join Islam, the sincere recitation of the Profession of Faith or "testimony" (*shahāda*). They closed their eyes to ancient customs, if these were not too obviously polytheistic. The result of such liberalism was to change appreciably for some centuries the whole face of Islam. Until then, thanks to the acknowledged authority of the doctors, unity had been maintained. Once their unifying influence had disappeared, every newly converted Muslim area, and sometimes certain areas converted for a long time past, was coloured by its folklore and by the survival of ancestral customs.

⁶³ Of course this is not unconnected with the threat of the Fātimid *bāṭini* propaganda with its potential danger to the Umayyad government from 297/909. The Umayyads retained the bias in favour of the old Arab culture which emphasised an oral tradition in poetry, and rote knowledge of lineages, religious traditions and the books of Mālik b. Anas and his school, rather than the more exotic Eastern (Iranian, Nestorian, Indian, Mu'tazili) influences introduced by the Abbāsids. But the particular danger of magic was its hold over the Berbers.

⁶⁴ What we mean by this word is not easy to make evident in thumbnail sketches. To some extent, to define the first culture, one must have in mind a second one, since only in relationship to a second one can the characterisation of the first be meaningful. Scholars have noticed this rationalistic western flavour even within mysticism itself; for instance A. Schimmel, who knows Eastern mysticism well, says: "Ibn 'Arabi certainly studied the works of Ibn Masarra of Cordova, who, about 900, had spoken about the purifying illumination and who has been classified among the philosopher-mystics. Perhaps the western Muslim world was generally more inclined toward a more philosophical or theosophical interpretation of religion, as contrasted to the enthusiastic, enraptured attitude of many of the mystics in the eastern countries—trends that can be observed in the peculiarities of some of the mystical fraternities as well." (*Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, North Carolina, 1975, p. 264.)

⁶⁵ A study of this phenomenon is found in Majid Fakhry, *Islamic Occasionalism*, London, 1958. He describes the mental posture which destroyed intellectual creativity in the Muslim East. This occurred in spite of al-Ghazālī's intent, which was to preserve the integrity of the rational and the mystical, as is clear from his writing. It is certainly erroneous to see him as a cause of this phenomenon. See F. E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs*, 1968, pp. 190-91.

⁶⁶ Although some important Andalusī Jewish writers (Ibn Gabirol (Avicbron), Abū 'l Faḍl Ḥasday) were full participants in the intellectual movements of al-Andalus, and even preceded their Muslim counterparts. Cf. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, Chapter VIII, "The Sciences among the Jews", in *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam*, trans. Régis Blachère, Paris, 1935.

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MORTAL ENEMIES, INVISIBLE NEIGHBOURS: NORTHERNERS IN ANDALUSĪ EYES

AZIZ AL-AZMEH

I

It is a striking fact that Andalusī writings betray little or no knowledge of the northern enemies who engaged them in mortal struggle throughout the period of the conquest of al-Andalus (a period known under the ideological rubric of the *reconquista*). Works of history, politics and geography, together with texts of literature more narrowly defined, abound with accounts of Northerners—Castilians, Basques, Franks and others. Yet such accounts tell us little of these peoples that is concrete, beyond matters directly related to the immediate political and military issues of conflict; they convey a great many stock images and stereotypes, but there is no evidence that what must have been a very considerable body of practical knowledge, accruing from constant contact and cross-fertilisation between Arabs, Mozarabs, Berbers, Slavs and others, between Muslims and non-Muslims, was ever allowed to go beyond the confines of the oral-practical and enter the universe of literary discourse.

This is perhaps unsurprising in an age before the novel emerged as a central genre, an age when the present and its attributes, such as concreteness, were conceived as mere flow “without authentic conclusiveness”,¹ and when imperfection is construed according to criteria derived from moralising characterisation. Thus the Andalusis do not seem to convey, in their prose or verse, any impression of their northern adversaries except such as might be required by military propaganda, with its *topoi* of evil and its representative types of the Other. The portrayal of this northern Other did not in fact reflect the everyday knowledge Andalusis had of him, but was rather forced into the moulds required by the classicising sentiment and figures of Andalusī belles lettres—sentiments and figures based to a great extent on Eastern Arabic models, which, in al-Andalus, passed for the very essence of literature.

This double movement to divorce practical knowledge from literary expression, embodied in the tendencies to classicisation and orientalisation, has received scant attention, especially with respect to the manner in which Andalusī writing represented the northern foe. The voluminous work of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) on the glories of al-Andalus will constitute an excellent starting point for pursuing the indices and implications of this divorce between what the Andalusis presumably saw and knew, and what they wrote.

II

A systematic reading of al-Maqqarī's *Nafh al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* is particularly instructive for probing the manner in which the literati of al-Andalus, in the twilight of her Arabo-Muslim history, construed their mortal enemy. *Nafh al-ṭīb* is a vast celebration of the excellences of bygone al-Andalus—the place celebrated therein being, of course, an Andalus of the imagination, one that is constructed not from vision, but from nostalgia at two removes: the nostalgia for al-Andalus itself is conceived squarely in terms of eastern nostalgic poetry, with its *topoi*, forms, and sentiments.

This is well reflected in the textual sequences dealing with the various erstwhile excellences of al-Andalus: its gardens, palaces, cities, good manners and much else.² Throughout the work, an extremely bare authorial narrative constitutes no more than a topical divider of the overall movement, with a change of location indicating that extended anthologising of poetry on one topic will now give way to that on another. Thus the account of a town such as Córdoba, or of some garden or palace within a town, consists of an opening account in which the author introduces his topic, followed by a long string of poetical quotations designed to describe this topic—typically a location—juxtaposed or interwoven with another set of quotations, made up of poetry related to similar locations, to verdant life in general, or to the magnificence of other buildings existing elsewhere or simply in the imagination. Thus it is possible for al-Maqqarī, who had never seen the *jinān* of Córdoba or Granada, to find the orchards of Damascus reminiscent of them, and indeed to write *Nafh al-ṭīb* at the behest of friends he made during his stay in Damascus.³

In this way recollection of al-Andalus is conjured up through the *topoi* of eastern letters, both directly and by the infusion of Andalusī poetical conventions with eastern *topoi* and forms. Al-Andalus was poetically appropriated through *topoi*, images, forms, sentiments and concepts of eastern provenance, superimposed upon local colour, and invested with a paradigmatic value, both as poetical canon and as an appropriate representation of reality. Dayf and other Arab scholars speak of the entire Andalusī poetic corpus echoing the eastern prototype, despite the undoubted excellence of some of its voices and their innovation within the set tradition; while Pérès, with matronly indulgence, speaks of Baghdadi “tyranny” and of oriental “imposition”. The more specifically Andalusī forms, such as the *muwashshah*, are clearly related to eastern modes—which had become the Andalusis’ own—as well as to the requirements of their social setting, and was only admitted into the literary canon at a late date (in the 6th/12th century). As for the *zajal*, its later literary history (as in *azjāl* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb) betrays a progressive literarisation along classical prosodic lines.⁴

Córdoba is thus not simply recalled through the poetical types suitable for her description and for the appropriation of her memory, but is severally

reduced to the general *topoi* of grandeur, verdancy and brilliance, while, at the same time, illustrating the ruthless course of a cruel Fate.⁵ Al-Andalus, with its cities, gardens and other excellences, thus recedes not only behind al-Maqqarī's conjured recollections, but also behind the various *topoi*. Along with its constituent elements, it becomes the mere occasion for a literarisation of sensibility, concretising stock sentiments and images by attachment to a name, such as Córdoba, or particularising the cruelty of fate by recording the abject sight of the descendants of the Naṣrids reduced to penury in the Fez of al-Maqqarī's time.⁶ A recession of vision before the type is the hallmark of all classicism; with al-Maqqarī the void of private memory is filled by evoking analogues (such as Damascus) or stock images, and the nostalgia for al-Andalus is in fact an evocation of poetical images to which al-Andalus is somehow thought to correspond, or which it is felt, at least, to exemplify.

Thus al-Maqqarī's extended lamentation and celebration is a vast memorial, investing its object with the most classical of attributes, casting it, finally, in the form of a classical monument. Its pillars comprise not only the *topoi* that structure the text, but also the tangible relation with the eastern classical paradigm, as exemplified in the vast amount of space devoted to documenting the life of travellers, in both directions, between the East and al-Andalus.⁷ What is involved here is, of course, more than the documentation of a constant relationship, for the Andalusī nostalgia for the East is itself the driving force behind the desire for classicism, of which the East is the real or spurious embodiment, and, in all cases, the point of reference.

In the light of this, it is not surprising that the first four volumes of *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* constitute a prefatory discourse containing an account of the life and activities of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb. The choice of this person is not entirely fortuitous, for he exemplifies, in his celebrated prose as well as in his sentiments, the very character that we have been discussing. His interminable *saj'*, in which long strings of equivalences and redundancies make their way across the pages with the officious ponderousness of the bureaucratic epistle, is here transcribed as the very quintessence of the classical spirit, although its spiritless profligacy preserves nothing of the irony and pert deftness of earlier eastern exemplary *saj'* prose—or of the earlier Andalusī *maqāma*, which, like its eastern model and analogue, is full of irony, burlesque and evocations of daily life.⁸ Allied to this stylistic element is that of the *topoi* in terms of which Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the litterateur of his age, construed his cultural self and the northern Other. Ibn al-Khaṭīb is thus, in a substantive sense, the link between al-Maqqarī and his Andalusī past; he, along with the other writers who provide most of the material for *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, is the virtual memory of al-Maqqarī. *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* can be said to represent the end-product of Andalusī letters, not only because it is an anthology of these letters, but also because it is, as such, the compendium—the *dīwān*—of earlier forms, moods, sentiments and *topoi* which were themselves construed fol-

lowing eastern canons. The construal and representation of the northern enemy is fully conceivable within this context, and in terms of these classical restraints.

Such sumptuous provincialism was a property of the Naşrid era, as of earlier ages. The Alhambra, for all its universally acclaimed qualities, is related in composition and functions to eastern Islamic and pre-Islamic royal architecture, being in certain ways a "summary" of it.⁹ Earlier, the statement of *Shu'ûbism* by Abû 'Āmir b. García, an apologist for Mujāhid al-'Āmirī and his son 'Alī Iqbāl al-Dawla (the *reyes de taifas* rulers of Denia, of servile Slav origin) in the middle part of the 5th/11th century, also illustrates this point. His anti-Arab tract was modelled in its *topoi* on the anterior *Shu'ûbī* literature of Baghdad: we hear of the barbarous nature of the Arabs, they being congenital camel herders, not to speak of their descent from the slave-girl Hagar—a barbarousness so profound, indeed, that Muḥammad's rise among the Arabs is unsurprising, as gold is found among dirt.¹⁰ The orientalisising moods infusing Andalusi letters belong, overall, to the wider category of the literarisation of sentiment and of vision, in which the immediate register of vision and feeling is ejected from the domain of literary possibility, and relegated to the realm of solipsism or immediate practical life—not a surprising occurrence prior to the maturation of conditions which made the novel possible, and therefore brought daily life into the domain of writing.

This applies equally to the perception of Castilians and other proximate Northerners by the literati of the Naşrid era, and of earlier ages. Immediate experience of Castilians, as of other Northerners, was considerable, not only through life with Mozarabs, but also through contact with captives, refugees, soldiers and merchants in Granada, Almería, Málaga and elsewhere.¹¹ Earlier, Ibn Mardanişh (d. 567/1172), the Muwallad master of Valencia and Murcia, was bilingual, and so were other rulers.¹² Acculturation was undoubtedly strong: the Naşrids, monarch and subject alike (except for Arab soldiers and *qādis*), had abandoned the turban and adopted Castilian manners of dress, together with certain tactics of warfare and armament,¹³ and they even seem to have adopted the method favoured in the North for the execution of regicides, namely drawing, quartering, and burning—a fate which befell the murderer of the Naşrid sultan Yūsuf b. Ismā'il in 755/1354 (*muzziqa thumma uhriqa*).¹⁴ With his customary perspicacity, Ibn Khaldūn saw in the Naşrid era's acculturation, manifested in its adoption of northern dress and manners and in the carving of decorative statues, an indication of northern triumph and dominance.¹⁵ More important for our purposes here, it indicates close familiarity, though this does not appear to have permeated the representation of the historical self or of the Other. Arabic classicism predominated in an era when the Hispanic character of the Muslim population, and the extreme rarity of Arabic origins, is strongly indicated by a study of names appearing in Granadan legal documents of the 9th/15th cen-

tury.¹⁶ Yet this human, social substratum of Naṣrid polity is almost invisible in the Arabic sources, to the extent that the very existence of Mozarabs in the Kingdom of Granada has, perhaps rather absurdly, been disputed.¹⁷

Thus we need not be overly surprised by the bareness of Ibn Khaldūn's account of his visit to Seville on his embassy to Pedro the Cruel—an account which contains nothing on the city or on his encounter with Castilians.¹⁸ A careful reading of the detailed gloss on Ibn Khaldūn's theory of kingship—the *Badā'i' al-sulūk fī ṭabā'i' al-mulūk* of the Malagan Ibn al-Azraq (d. 896/1491)—which aims at discovering (for the benefit of the Naṣrid *amīrs*, then engaged in their final fight) the secrets underlying success and failure in the state—will reveal that the immediate political experience of the Naṣrids, and, indeed, of other Andalusī states, played only a negligible role in Ibn al-Azraq's reflection. There is hardly any mention of Castile, and the Naṣrids themselves are mentioned a mere three times in the course of this substantial work. Much of the historical material adduced by way of example to advert and warn, as was customary in the *Fürstenspiegel* genre, is derived from the histories of Persians and Byzantines, together with episodes from eastern Muslim history, and is clearly based on eastern works. Ibn al-Azraq's account of *dhimma* makes no reference to the very extensive experience of al-Andalus in this regard, nor does it obtain any bearings from it. It is literary and legal in nature and inspiration.¹⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb's short *maqāma* on politics is written in a similar vein: it is represented as the discourse of an unnamed Persian sage, representing sageliness, addressed to Harūn al-Rashīd in sententious tones and dispensing maxims on justice, hierarchy and virtue of the kind familiar in *Fürstenspiegel*. The text does contain some maxims concerning the connection of civil politics with *sharī'a*, but it contains no references to the politics of al-Andalus; nor indeed does it contain historical exemplars, as *Fürstenspiegel* invariably does.²⁰

In other words it is classicising, in the sense of referring to a canon, so that intellectual and literary life becomes subject to a quasi-legal notion of stylistic and typological obligation, in which the criteria are those of admissibility and legitimacy. This, incidentally, makes them unlike works of *ḥisba*, which instruct the inspector of the markets (*muḥtasib* / *almotacén*), for the latter conjoin a discourse on legitimacy with mention of instances to be corrected, thus affording a valuable glimpse of social reality; but then *ḥisba* works are mere practical manuals. This vision in terms of *topoi* and representative types is very much in conformity with the way Castilian authors viewed the Moors—a viewpoint far more primitive, and decidedly allergic to any notion of contact with them,²¹ despite the reality of socio-cultural interpenetration, and the detailed practical knowledge evinced, for instance, in the speech delivered by El Cid to the conquered Valencian Muslims in 1094.²²

There is therefore a notable invisibility of Northerners and of northern customs. But this by no means implies the absence of enunciations about

these Northerners; on the contrary, such enunciations abound, most especially in works of history, but also in works of geography, and of belles-lettres generally. Throughout, the reader is almost invariably presented with a series of standard epithets, of tokens of externality, most specifically of religious externality. Thus the neutral *ṣāhib Qaṣhtāla*, or the generic *Alfunsh* or *Adhfūnish*, constantly gives way to *al-tāghīya* or *tāghiyat al-Naṣāra* who, when angered, "swears by his gods", and appoints at the head of his armies "one from among his rabid dogs".²³ Royal correspondence from the pen of Ibn al-Khaṭīb repeats the stock images with great regularity: al-Andalus is assaulted by unbelief, by worship of the cross and other idolatrous abominations,²⁴ a not unnatural notion in time of war.

This and other texts purvey earlier stock images and *topoi* whose discursive purpose is to convey distinction by enumerating tokens of difference and implying inversions of order. Thus, in a general ethnological sense, critics of Ibn Garcíá charged Northerners in general with being swineherds, descendants of uncircumcised drunkards and insatiable women (who had often been taken as booty); and as ingrates whose condition in Muslim dominions was elevated by a pure language (Arabic) which took the place of their foreign babble.²⁵ Whereas *Ibn Garcíá praised* bloneness, his critics execrated it, and we may grasp the classical nature of these ethnophobic polemics by referring to Ibn Ḥazm. In illustrating his thesis that one persists in his attachment to the qualities of his first beloved, Ibn Ḥazm cites his own personal experiences, in which his early love for a blonde slave girl marked his taste in women for life—this being a reference to Nu'm, who died aged 17, leaving the youthful Ibn Ḥazm heart-broken. The same preference for blondes was noticeable in Ibn Ḥazm's father, as it was indeed amongst many gentlemen of the Umayyad family in Córdoba; the descendants of al-Nāṣir especially were blonde as a general rule,²⁶ and sovereigns are always trend-setters in matters of taste.

Similarly, the celebrated proverbial saying of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād fully utilises these tokens of difference—including an adaptation of the *Shu'ūbī topos*. In reply to a warning from his courtiers that his decision to call in the Almoravids is dangerous, as "two swords cannot fit one scabbard", he declared that he would rather tend camels than herd swine.²⁷ Yet swine-eaters are seen ultimately to triumph, and this inversion of the proper order of the world is accompanied by others, whereby mosques become churches, unbelief replaces belief, pulpits are replaced by crosses and thoroughbred horses are starved, as in the *nūniyya* of Abū 'l-Baqā' al-Rundī:²⁸

So ask Valencia: What of Murcia and wherefore Játiva and Jaén
 ... Pillars of the country they were; why stay if the pillars are gone?
 Unblemished Islam weeps, as a lover would on separation
 For lands of Islam bereft, gone to waste with the erection of Unbelief,
 Where morgues have become churches containing only bells and crosses.

The poem also notes such inversion within a particularly sensitive field, that of women; the abominable Northerner does to Andalusī women what Andalusī soldiers and *ghuzāt* did to northern women:²⁹

The Christian forces her to iniquity, and she with tearful eye and unsettled heart.

And indeed, Ibn Ḥayyān is quoted as saying that one "Frank", during the short-lived occupation of Barbastro by the Normans in 1064, sequestered the daughter of a local grandee so that she could bear him children, brazenly comparing his act with the ways and legal practice of his adversaries.³⁰ The abominable Northerners carry the inversion of proper order to the fullest possible extent, "raping the virgin in the presence of her father, and violating the woman before the eyes of her husband and family".³¹

This is, of course, merely the end result of the turning wheel of fortune, often called a wheel of fate by Andalusī authors—a result seen too, with decisive finality, in the application of Abū 'Abd Allāh to the Waṭṭāsīd sultan of Fez, for permission to emigrate to North Africa.³² The whole process had commenced earlier, according to Andalusī writers, at the time of the great *fitna* of the 5th/11th century, which resulted in inversions of order, like the usurpation of caliphal titles, on the part of *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* themselves. This is well-expressed by Ibn Rashīq (the same point was made in the East by al-Bīrūnī, with reference to the Abbasids, albeit with a more pronounced accent on robust realism and less on rhetorical expression):³³

That which drives me from al-Andalus, is the adoption of [caliphal titles by] Mu'taḍid and Mu'tamid,
Misplaced titles of kingship, as if a cat puffed himself up to imitate a lion.

A similar interpretation was applied to the levity and inappropriate demeanour attributed to Ibn Hūd of Saragossa, who walked the markets and treated commoners with solicitude, so bringing about a breakdown of order and, ultimately, the defeat of Muslims.³⁴ Fate, therefore, uses the inversion of order as its ruse, over and above particular acts of political folly such as the one which weakened the Muslims on the eve of the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212, in which the Almohad armies were defeated.³⁵ Attendant upon this are, as is usual in the Middle Ages, a motley collection of signs and scriptural associations, such as visions³⁶ and cosmic and climatic auguries.³⁷ One of the most celebrated signs foretelling the course of history was that of the chest at Toledo, which Roderick, the last Visigothic king, had forced open against advice, to be confronted with pictures of turbaned horsemen and Arabic inscriptions. It was commonly mentioned in Arabic writing, just as it was in the *De Rebus Hispaniae* of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1243).³⁸ Such things are seen as indications of divine wrath, an attitude epitomised by the saying attributed to the last Naṣrid Boabdil, Abū 'Abd Allāh, when transferring the Alhambra to the custody of Fernando and

Isabella—he is supposed to have stated that the calamity in which he was participating occurred only because of God's displeasure with Muslims, and His approval of the Christian monarchs.³⁹ Apocryphal or not, this statement clearly reflects the prevalent mood.

The historical and political discourse on the northern antagonist is thus not particularly revealing of the Northerners themselves. In narrative history, such as we have from Ibn Khaldūn and others, we find a rather bare political narrative, very much in keeping with the canon of Arabic historical writing, which generally regarded social life and ethnographical descriptions as beyond the limits of historical relevance.⁴⁰ The text of the *Kitāb akhbār al-ʿaṣr fi inqidāʾ dawlat Banī Naṣr*, an anonymous contemporary chronicle of events leading up to the fall of Granada, contains no reflection upon the political events so baldly narrated; any comment is perfunctory and confined to invocation of Divine Will.⁴¹ In the folds of these historical narratives are placed the magical or fatalistic causalities mentioned above, either in direct form or conveyed, as indicated above, by the representation of inversion. It is inversion, finally, which occurs with the Christian triumph; this is attested very widely, the only exception to this being—one might surmise—Ibn Khaldūn, who uniquely postulated a historical continuity between the pre-Islamic and Islamic histories of Spain, at the level of state formation, and of architectural, culinary and festive usages.⁴²

Ibn Khaldūn's genius, however, was idiosyncratic. He explicitly wrote about history, and about the state, things which violated the organisation of knowledge at his time, though without subverting its constituent elements; as such he marks a historical end, not an opening, and was largely neglected by his contemporaries.⁴³ Yet his remains the most competent and connected exposition of Christian Spanish history,⁴⁴ representing all that is best in earlier Andalusī and eastern historical writing, while not departing in any way from previous canons of historical writing—his ethnographic remarks belong not to history, but to its preliminary discourse, the celebrated *Muqaddima* being something totally apart.⁴⁵ What social and other ethnographic description there is of the Northerners, in Ibn Khaldūn as in other authors, does not form part of historical or political discourse, both of which were structured by the sequence of political events and infused, at best, with ethnological as distinct from ethnographic characterisation.

III

The primacy of ethnological types over ethnographic description marks the whole of medieval Arabic discourse (and other medieval discourse) on other peoples and cultures, although Arabic travel and geographical literature contains what must be counted classics of ethnography—Ibn Faḍlān on Turks, Bulgars and Russ, for instance, or, on a much smaller scale, the Andalusis Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb and al-Ghazāl on various European peoples and places.⁴⁶

Yet Andalusī writings on the customs and institutions of their immediate northern neighbours are cleft between, on the one hand, the requirements of misconstruing the enemy (in terms of inversion and through other forms of typological description) and, on the other, by the dictates of zonal cosmography. As for the former, an eastern analogue is amply evident in descriptions of the perennial enemy, Byzantium—descriptions in which detailed accounts of physical and economic geography are accompanied by an uncommon degree of affabulation concerning nearby regions of which there was ample direct experience. As a result, the Byzantine society of men and women exists in a strange void between these two discourses, the geographical and the fabulous.⁴⁷ And—like al-Andalus, and indeed in conjunction with her—Byzantium plays an interesting part in Arab-Islamic eschatological literature.⁴⁸

As for zonal cosmography and its attendant ethnology, Andalusī accounts of their northern neighbours are classic products of the universal Arab heritage of ethnology. This had very quickly been set, in the East, in literary moulds which were transmitted from generation to generation, with the occasional addition of significant empirical interpolations.⁴⁹ But such interpolations do not seem to have altered the overall typological orientation. Thus items of precise ethnographic description are few, and without consequence for the overall picture. Al-Bakrī, for instance, was clearly aware of principles of exogamy amongst Christian Spaniards.⁵⁰ Personal mortification on the part of Christian monarchs as a result of vows—sexual abstinence, shaving, sleeping on hard surfaces and the like—were recorded.⁵¹ Not surprisingly, aspects of martial music and heraldry were noted,⁵² and aspects of wet-nursing arrangements were also recorded.⁵³

But the most common ethnographic motifs are those which blend readily with ethnological types, these involving, more specifically, sexuality, hygiene and warfare—things which illustrate inversion and are the main instrument of inversion.

Eastern writers had long dwelt on the freedom of European (and other) women, and their Andalusī counterparts did likewise—from al-Ghazāl (d. 250/864), who records personal encounters among the Normans,⁵⁴ through Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb,⁵⁵ to Ibn Dihya⁵⁶ and others. Most noteworthy, for these and other authors, was the lack of jealousy amongst the men and the sexual freedom for unmarried women, these two elements being conjoined in Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb’s clearly typological description of the ostensible propensity of Slavic men to divorce the women they marry if they discover them to be virgins⁵⁷—which could be taken as a prototype of the inversion in question. The logical termini of this inversion are the fantastic accounts of Baltic and Melanesian Amazons in Arabic writing.⁵⁸

Matters of hygiene play a similar part in this typological ethnology. The Galicians, according to Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb, are not only a base and treacherous lot, but also never wash, “bathing only once or twice a year, and even

then in cold water, and they never wash their clothes from the moment they wear them until they become tattered, and claim that the filth with which their sweat soaks their clothes is beneficial to their bodies".⁵⁹ There are clearly important elements of truth in this; but from the perspective of the fastidious hygiene characterising both Islam and the sophisticated life, it becomes an emblem of barbarousness, and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb's text was to have considerable success and to be widely quoted by authors. The point was generalised to cover all West and North-West Europeans (the Franks generally), and widely circulated, through the very influential cosmography of al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283).⁶⁰

It is unclear why the Galicians in particular should have acquired a privileged position in accounts of Northern Spaniards—they were in fact not only portrayed as particularly filthy, but also became the representative type of northern bravery and bellicosity. Mas'ūdī regards the Galicians as the generic people of Spanish Christians forming part of a larger group, that of the Franks,⁶¹ and even Ibn Khaldūn speaks somewhat uncertainly about their affiliation.⁶² Yet all writers, including Mas'ūdī among the Easterners and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb among the Andalusis, concur in saying that these cider drinkers are braver than other Franks, preferring death in battle to flight.⁶³ Altogether, the Galicians are the representative type of northern barbarity, in whom are conjoined the inversion of reason in foolhardy bellicosity, the subversion of the proper order of gender relations and the inversion of the hygienic requirements of refined society and proper religion alike. All these elements are equally present in eastern representations of Crusaders, most notably in the diaries of Usāma b. Munqidh, for which there is unfortunately no Andalusī counterpart.⁶⁴ It is unsurprising that in a professional geographical account of Northern Iberia—that of Idrīsī—physical and economic geography predominate, and references to the bellicosity of certain peoples are particularly bare.⁶⁵ In a professional account of geography, there is barely room for ethnography—strictly speaking, it does not belong to the genre, and the paucity of ethnographic as distinct from economic material is a standard feature of Arabic geographical literature. The only exception is found in the descriptions of sheer barbarism, the *locus classicus* of the discourse of total inversion, here conjoined with literary descriptions of *mirabilia*.⁶⁶ Ethnological *topoi* are very much in keeping with the zonal cosmography which constituted part of the mental equipment of medieval Arabic culture east and west, as are the *topoi* concerning northern peoples, who, for some, include Northern Iberians. Most writers regarded the northern part of the Peninsula as forming part of the fifth zone.⁶⁷ Its inhabitants can therefore be considered, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as people partaking of the benefits of temperate zones (most especially the fourth); as such, Galicians, Franks, Greeks and Italians tend towards temperance in matters of physical appear-

ance, the cultivation of certain refinements and the use of gold and silver currency.⁶⁸ Ibn Khaldūn seems, moreover, to have had a strong sense that momentous developments were taking place in the North, and surmised that the centre of gravity of human habitation was moving northwards—for which there were (according to him) ample stellar causes, as well as mundane ones he could not quite grasp.⁶⁹ The passage is difficult to interpret, as the allusion in it might equally have been to the growing power of the Ottomans, to which there are other vague references in the *Muqaddima*. He understood better the imbalance of abundance and prosperity in favour of the East, although his understanding of the latter—also in keeping with stellar prescriptions—was circular.⁷⁰

It seems that some attempted to rationalise those manifest aspects of civilisation amongst the northern peoples which did not conform to stereotypes by saying that these peoples would be denied access to heaven in the next life, and were therefore divinely compensated by verdant surroundings in this world.⁷¹ For the rest, the inhabitants of the fifth zone, who include the Northern Spaniards, are, according to the eastern cosmographer Dimashqī (d. 727/1327), author of a famous work on *mirabilia*, of a savage and stupid disposition, owing to determinate climatic and environmental conditions.⁷² For Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286), one of the foremost geographers of al-Andalus and her most original cartographer, Castile and Portugal belong to the sixth zone, and Aragon to the fifth. The peoples of these territories tend increasingly towards pale colours and blonde hair, a highly unexceptionable statement, which is infused at its edges by the abstract requirement of this zonal cosmography, for Ibn Saʿīd also asserts a tendency towards albinism,⁷³ although he does not assert another requirement of the natural conditions of the sixth zone emphasised by eastern writers—doubtless derived from the Turkic example—that its inhabitants should have small eyes, small noses and short stature, thus being the northern counterparts of Black Africans.

But Ibn Saʿīd does mention the stellar custodians of these zones, in the context of a cosmography and cosmology of correspondences in which colours, sounds, stars, elements, tempers and everything else stand in relations of association and correspondence.⁷⁴ The fifth zone is under the guardianship of Venus, and the sixth subject to Mercury,⁷⁵ and these correspondences result respectively in good fortune and uncertain fortune—Mercury was known amongst astrologers as the hypocritical planet.⁷⁶ This is not a difficult distinction to maintain in the face of the historical unity of fortune between Castilians and Aragonese at the time of Ibn Saʿīd. Much more difficult to maintain in the face of historical reality—and, indeed, apparently without trace in Andalusī writing—is the division of the world into quarters,⁷⁷ which would have placed these peoples in the northern quarter, contiguous with the western, would have required them to be governed by Saturn,

the bringer of unmitigated ill fortune, and would have required the temper of their populations to be choleric, and the taste appropriate to them that of *‘afṣ*, a bitter leaf used, among other things, as a restraining.

¹ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin and London, 1981, p. 20. Cf. also N. Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism*, Princeton, 1957, p. 303 *et seq.*

² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥṣān ‘Abbās, Beirut, 1968, I, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 69-111.

⁴ Shawqī Dayf, *Al-Fann wa maḍḥāhibuhu fī ‘l-Shi‘r al-‘Arabī*, 10th ed., Cairo, 1978, pp. 409-55; Iḥṣān ‘Abbās, *Tārīkh al-adab al-andalusī*; *‘aṣr al-tawā’if wa ‘l-murabiṭīn*, 6th ed., Beirut, 1981, pp. 108-17, 217-79; Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1953, pp. 46, 48.

⁵ *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 500-05.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 529.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vols. II-IV. For a detailed study of a contiguous topic, see M. K. Lenker, "The Importance of the Rihla for the Islamisation of Spain", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982 (University Microfilms).

⁸ ‘Abbās, *Tārīkh*, p. 303 *et seq.*, and cf. p. 280. See also J. T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī‘ az-Zamān al-Hamaḍhānī as Picaresque Narrative*, Beirut, 1983.

⁹ Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, London, 1978, p. 207 and ch. 2, *passim*.

¹⁰ *The Shu‘ūbiyya in Al-Andalus. The Risāla of Ibn García and Five Refutations*, trans. James T. Monroe, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970, pp. 23-29.

¹¹ Rachel Arié, *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris, 1973, pp. 316-23.

¹² Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus wa tārikh al-‘Arab al-mutanaṣṣirīn*, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1966, p. 72.

¹³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Iḥāta fī akhḥbār Ḡharnāta*, ed. M. ‘A. ‘Inān, Cairo, 1955, I, 136; *idem.*, *Al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fī ‘l-dawla al-Naṣriyya*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Beirut, 1978, p. 36; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 222-23; Rachel Arié, "Quelques remarques sur le costume des Musulmans d’Espagne au temps des Nasrides", in *Etudes sur la civilisation de l’Espagne musulmane*, Leiden, 1990, pp. 91-120.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 110.

¹⁵ *Les prolégomènes d’Ebn Khaldoun*, ed. Etienne Quatremère, Paris, 1858, I, 267.

¹⁶ Arabic introduction to Luis Seco de Lucena, *Documentos árabe-granadinos*, Madrid, 1961, pp. 8m-9m.

¹⁷ See Arié, *L’Espagne musulmane*, p. 314.

¹⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Ta‘rīf bi Ibn Khaldūn wa riḥlatuhu ḡharban wa ṣharqan*, ed. M. b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, Cairo, 1951, pp. 88-89.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Azraq, *Badā’i‘ al-sulūk fī ṭaba‘i‘ al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm, Libya-Tunis, 1977, I, 58-59, II, 684-98.

²⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, "Risālat al-Siyāsa", text in Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, *Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Ḥayātuhu wa turāṭhuhu ‘l-fikrī*, Cairo, 1968, pp. 376-88.

²¹ See texts in Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, Warminster, 1988, II, 79, 85; Juan Goytisolo, *Chroniques sarrasines*, trans. Dominique Chatelle and Jacques Rémy-Zéphir, Paris, 1981, pp. 9-29; and Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1962, *passim*.

²² Smith, *Christians and Moors*, I, 115-19. See Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1979, p. 123 and *passim*.

²³ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, IV, 358, after al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-mi‘tār fī khabar al-aqtār*, ed. Iḥṣān ‘Abbās, Beirut, 1975, p. 288.

²⁴ For instance, Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, IV, 404-15, VI, 165-66 and *passim*.

²⁵ *The Shu‘ūbiyya in al-Andalus*, pp. 75, 70, 76, 78-79 and *passim*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭavq al-ḥamāma fī ‘l-ulfa wa ‘l-ullāf*, ed. Al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makki, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1980, pp. 48-49, 124, 131.

²⁷ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, IV, 359, after Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 288.

²⁸ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, IV, 487-88. See also pp. 457-60, 483.

- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 488.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 452.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 450.
- ³² *Ibid.*, IV, 529-30.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, I, 213-14; al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Āthār al-bāqiya 'an al-qur'ūn al-khālīya*, ed. C. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1923, p. 132.
- ³⁴ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 215-16.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 384.
- ³⁶ For instance, *ibid.*, IV, 362-69.
- ³⁷ For instance, *ibid.*, IV, 447.
- ³⁸ Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 393, and Smith, *Christians and Moors*, I, 9.
- ³⁹ Ṭnān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 260, 262.
- ⁴⁰ Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn. An Essay in Reinterpretation*, London, 1981, 1990, p. 11 *et seq.*, and *idem*, *Al-Kitāba 'l-tārīkhīyya wa 'l-ma'rifa 'l-tārīkhīyya*, Beirut, 1983, ch. 2.
- ⁴¹ Ed. M. J. Müller, Munich, 1863, *passim*.
- ⁴² *Les Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun*, II, 252, 309-10.
- ⁴³ Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn*, ch. 3.
- ⁴⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh al-'allāma Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, Beirut, 1956, Vol. 4.
- ⁴⁵ Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 112 *et seq.*
- ⁴⁶ For a discussion of this topic, see Aziz al-Azmeh, *Al-'Arab wa 'l-Barābira*, London, 1991, ch. 4.
- ⁴⁷ André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, Paris, 1967-, II, 462-63.
- ⁴⁸ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 204. With respect to this vast eschatological literature, reference could be made, for instance, to Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-malāhim*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'Ubayya, Riyadh, 1968, I, 65, 72, and *passim*.
- ⁴⁹ Miquel, *Géographie*, II, 124-25, n.9.
- ⁵⁰ Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī, *Jughrāfiyat al-Andalus wa Urūbba min kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik li Abī 'Ubaid al-Bakrī*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥajjī, Beirut, 1968, p. 99.
- ⁵¹ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 443.
- ⁵² Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, II, 46, and *Tārīkh*, IV, 395.
- ⁵³ Al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 50.
- ⁵⁴ Al-Ghazālī, text in A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicorum fontes arabici*, Oslo, 1928, p. 14 *et seq.*
- ⁵⁵ Al-Bakrī, *Jughrāfiyat al-Andalus*, p. 187.
- ⁵⁶ Text in Seippel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- ⁵⁷ Al-Bakrī, *Jughrāfiyat al-Andalus*, p. 187.
- ⁵⁸ Al-Azmeh, *Al-'Arab wa 'l-Barābira*, ch. 5.
- ⁵⁹ Al-Bakrī, *Jughrāfiyat al-Andalus*, p. 81.
- ⁶⁰ Al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, p. 498; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 169; Ighnāṭius Krashūfski [Krachkovskii], *Tārīkh al-adab al-jughrāfi 'l-'Arabī*, trans. Ṣalāh al-Dīn 'Uṭmān Ḥāshim, Cairo, 1963, p. 362.
- ⁶¹ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. Charles Pellat, Beirut, 1965, para. 910, 919.
- ⁶² Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, III, 484-85.
- ⁶³ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, para. 910; Bakrī, *Jughrāfiyat al-Andalus*, p. 81; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 324.
- ⁶⁴ Usāma b. Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, ed. Philip Hitti, Beirut, 1981 (after Princeton edition of 1930), pp. 83-84, 169, 174-75.
- ⁶⁵ Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. A. Bombaci *et al.*, Naples-Rome, 1970-78, pp. 725-31.
- ⁶⁶ Al-Azmeh, *Al-'Arab wa 'l-Barābira*, ch. 5.
- ⁶⁷ Al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 32.
- ⁶⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, I, 149.
- ⁶⁹ M'barek Redjala, "Un texte inédit de la *Muqaddima*", *Arabica*, 22, 1975, pp. 321-22.
- ⁷⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, II, 245-46.
- ⁷¹ Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 137.
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- ⁷³ Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiya*, ed. Ismā'īl al-'Arabī, Beirut, 1970, pp. 166, 177.
- ⁷⁴ Aziz al-Azmeh, *Arabic Thought and Islamic Societies*, London, 1986, p. 69 *et seq.*
- ⁷⁵ See Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, I, 137.

⁷⁶ Qazwini, 'Aǧā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa ǧharā'ib al-mawjūdāt, ed. Fārūq Sa'īd, Beirut, 1977, p. 53.

⁷⁷ For instance, al-Mas'ūdi, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-, IV, 2-3.

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AN ISLAMIC BACKGROUND TO THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

ABBAS HAMDANI

Introduction

Students of the Spanish *reconquista* are aware of the Islamic and Arab dimension of their European history; similarly, students of the discovery of America are aware of its European context. It is, however, rare to find an appreciation of the fact that the European discovery of the New World had an Arabo-Islamic background. This is not to claim that the Islamic dimension is the determining factor for the discovery of America. I would, rather, like to suggest that it is one of the significant factors which contributed to it; and that, as such, it deserves to be singled out here for discussion.

The year 1492 and the city of Granada provided the time and place for three important elements in the history of the great discoveries—Europe, Islam and America—to come together. On January 2, 1492, Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon, who had earlier united their kingdoms by marriage, succeeded in acquiring the last Muslim kingdom of Spain, Granada. The delay in granting Columbus the necessary permission for his voyage has been attributed to many causes, but the real cause was that stated by Columbus' son, Ferdinand: the preoccupation of the Catholic Sovereigns with waging war against Granada.¹ A few months later, on October 12th, they made it possible for Columbus to reach America, and, in the intervening period, the documents for Columbus' journey were signed and sealed at Santa Fe (May 12, 1492) in the vicinity of Granada.² Columbus' life and work in southern Portugal and Spain were conditioned by Islamic al-Andalus; in a letter to the Catholic Sovereigns, he acknowledged his "dealings and conversations" with the Moors in addition to Latins, Greeks and Jews.³ "All four historic voyages," says Nebenzahl, "were conceived, organised, provisioned, launched and ultimately concluded within the triangle comprising Palos, Seville and Cádiz;"⁴ in other words, in al-Andalus.

The discovery of America gave such an impetus to exploration, expansion, colonisation and nationalism that it is looked upon as a great event of the Renaissance, heralding the modern age; and justifiably so. Yet its birth within a medieval crusading milieu obsessed with the Muslim presence in Europe and the Holy Land is often too little noted, if not totally forgotten. So much emphasis is placed on the economic results of the discovery that its religious causes tend to be neglected.

I. *Exploration and discovery*

Before we come to Columbus and his great discovery, we should examine the whole concept of discovery and note that there was a long background of sea adventures, island hunting which Olschki calls *romanticismo insulare* ("island romance"), fishermen's exploits, tales of mythical places and exploration of real lands.⁵ The Russian scholar A. V. Efimov⁶ makes the point that discovery was a continuous process going on from the Pleistocene Age, some 35,000 to 12,000 years ago, with proto-mongoloids coming to the American continent from Asia; also, it was not a simultaneous discovery of all America, but of restricted areas from time to time. Every discovery of a small area thus became a "first", and yet none could essentially claim the entire credit for primacy. Again, one has to distinguish conscious exploration of a new land from the visits by innumerable travellers and fishermen; and, furthermore, discovering an inhabited land is hardly a discovery; it is merely an encounter between two peoples. It follows from Efimov's argument that, at least for the process of European colonisation overseas that commenced in the early 16th century, Columbus' voyages mark a beginning. Even here, I may add, America as such was not intended, and the motive was not one of colonisation but the wish to discover a new sea-route to Asia which avoided the necessity of crossing the Muslim Middle East; even, indeed, the wish to make the old route obsolete, with all the political consequences entailed by this.

The Atlantic Ocean was a great mystery in the Middle Ages; referred to as the "Ocean Sea" or the "Sea of Darkness" (Arabic *Baḥr al-Ḍulumāt*), it formed a part of a circumambient ocean (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*). Very little was known about what existed in its midst and nothing about its ultimate extent. The legend about one of its mythical islands, Antilla, is interesting. The research of G. R. Crone⁷ has shown that the name, in the form of Getulia, was first applied to the north-western part of Africa (the Moroccan-Mauritanian region). Then, in the Pizzigano map of 1367, it became the nearby island of Atulia, after which it moved westward, became Antilla and was equated with the legendary *Ilha das sete cidades* ("Island of the Seven Cities")—a mythical place of refuge for Spanish Christians from the 2nd/8th century Muslim conquest of Spain. Babcock has suggested that the name "Antilla" could have been derived from "ante illa", i.e. "the opposite island". It was pictured as a large north-south rectangular island, the physical equivalent of Portugal far away on the other side of the ocean.⁸ Thus it was the natural designation of any territory discovered in the real New World; probably it represented for some the motivation for exploration and for others the gateway to *Indias*. In 1474 a Florentine physician, Paolo Pozzo dal Toscanelli (1397-1482), sent a letter to Canon Fernão Martins of Lisbon, a copy of which he later sent to Columbus, referring to "the island Antilla, which you call the Seven Cities". Ferdinand, in his biography of the Admiral, mentions the great impact this had on Columbus.⁹ It is significant to note, behind the

process of exploration and discovery, this psychological concern with a refuge from the Muslims, a concern stretching from as early as the 2nd/8th century right up to the time of Columbus himself. Alberto Cantino's planisphere, made in Portugal in 1502 (but hidden until 1592), marks "Antilhas del Rey de Castella" as the portion of America that was assigned to Spain by the Pope in 1494. In fact, Henri Vignaud thinks that Columbus was not intending any discovery, but merely seeking Antilla;¹⁰ later, the Ottoman Admiral Piri Reis, basing his map of the New World (1513) on Columbus' lost map, actually designates America as "Antilla",¹¹

If the Portuguese, the Irish and the Norsemen were penetrating the Atlantic, and various western maps were depicting islands, real or mythical, were not the Arabs in Spain, Portugal, Sicily and North Africa concerned about what lay in and beyond the Atlantic? D. M. Dunlop notes how "Al-Mas'ūdī [the famous historian, geographer and traveller, d. 345/956] mentions a young Spanish Muslim of Cordova called *Khashkhāsh*, who, with other young men of the same place, embarked on an expedition with specially equipped vessels into the Circumambient Ocean (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*). He was absent for a time, then returned with rich booty and his exploit is well known among the Spaniards."¹² Another writer, al-'Udhri, mentions that *Khashkhāsh* al-Baḥrī ("the sailor") died in 245/859 fighting against the Norsemen.¹³

In 1920 an American scholar, Leo Wiener, pointed out for the first time the possibility of the West African Mandingo people, under Arab captains, reaching Central America. His exhaustive three-volume study *Africa and the Discovery of America*, based on copious historical, linguistic, agricultural and sociological evidence, has, with a few exceptions, fared poorly with other western scholars, not so much by way of contradiction as, perhaps, through a certain Eurocentric oversight. His two staunch western followers have been Theodore Monod (writing in 1944) and M. D. W. Jeffreys (1953 and 1954). In 1958 Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah provided supplementary evidence from early Arabic sources, and his work suffered a similar neglect. Then, two years later, Raymond Mauny published a succinct summary of the entire controversy. I shall cite Ḥamīdullah's work, not necessarily agreeing with his conclusions but in acknowledgement of his use of the earliest sources.¹⁴ Ḥamīdullah cites two reports from the celebrated Arab geographer al-Idrīsī (d. 563/1166) of the court of the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II (ruled 1101-54). One of these states that the Almoravid Sultan 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfin (ruled 500/1106-537/1142) sent an expedition of exploration to the Atlantic under a captain named Raqsh al-A'azz, but that the captain perished.¹⁵ The other report states that some adventurers (*mugharrirūn*), taking advantage of the east wind, set out on an expedition from Lisbon to the Sea of Darkness "to find out what it contained and where it ended". There were in fact eight persons, all cousins, and they sailed west for eleven days, then south for twelve more days, before arriving at an "island of goats". Then:

After sailing for twelve more days they saw an island which seemed to be inhabited and there were cultivated fields. They sailed that way to see what it contained. Soon boats encircled them and made them prisoners and transported them to a poor village situated on the coast. There they landed. The navigators found there *people with red skin* (*Shaqra*); there was not much hair on their bodies and their hair was straight. They were of tall stature. Their women were extraordinarily beautiful. The navigators were taken to another island, where they were imprisoned for three days. On the fourth day somebody came to them who talked Arabic, interpreting for the Chief of that place ... Then the natives prepared a boat, blindfolded the navigators and sailed with them for three days till they left them on a coast.

They seem to have returned to Safi in Morocco, and al-Idrīsī adds that a street in Lisbon was known as the *Darb al-Mugharrirīn* ("The Street of the Adventurers").¹⁶

Ḥamidullah thinks that the islands they visited were the Canaries; they could just as well have been Madeira or the Azores. It is surprising that the visitors found there a people with red skin. Is it possible that these islands were visited by Native Americans from the other end of the ocean? Again, an Arabic interpreter was there, suggesting previous exploration of these islands by Arabs.

Ḥamidullah also cites an interesting passage from the encyclopaedic work of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1348), the *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*.¹⁷ The Berber Sultan of Mali, the famous Mansa Mūsā had stopped at Cairo in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and was looked after by the Mamlūk governor of Cairo, Amīr Abū ʿI-Ḥasan ʿAlī, son of Amīr Ḥājib (the latter being a Mamlūk military title). Ibn Amīr Ḥājib used the occasion to obtain considerable information from the Sultan about West Africa; and when he questioned the Sultan as to how the latter had succeeded to the throne, he was given the following account, which he later related to our author al-ʿUmārī:

The ruler who preceded me did not believe it was impossible to reach the extremity of the ocean that encircles the earth [here meaning the Atlantic]; he wanted to reach that [end], and was determined to pursue his plan. So he equipped two hundred boats full of men, and many others with water, gold and provisions, sufficient for several years. He ordered the captain not to return until he had reached the other end of the ocean, or until he had exhausted the provisions and water. So they set out on their journey. They were absent for a long period, and at last just one boat returned. When questioned, the captain replied: "O Prince, we navigated for a long period, until we saw in the midst of the ocean a great river which flowed massively. My boat was the last one; others were ahead of me, and they were drowned in the great whirlpool and never came out again. I sailed back to escape this current." But the Sultan would not believe him. He ordered two thousand boats to be equipped for him and for his men, and one thousand more for water and provisions. Then he conferred the regency on me for the term of his absence and departed with his men, never to return or show any sign of life. In this manner I became the sole ruler of the empire.

Ḥamīdullah thinks the great river which this expedition witnessed was the Amazon, and that the Berber explorers named an island they discovered after the name of their tribe, the Barāzil (sing. Birzala)—hence the appellation “Brazil” for the neighbouring region on the continent. This may be conjectural, but compared to all other explanations for the name Brazil that have been advanced, it does not seem so far-fetched.¹⁸

We know that the Vivaldi brothers of Genoa made the first serious western attempt to explore the Atlantic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar in 1291 (the year of the Fall of Acre, incidentally) and that the Portuguese reached Madeira sometime between 1330 and 1418 and the Canaries in 1341. Later the Azores were discovered, in 1431, and the Cape Verde Islands, between 1456 and 1459.

II. *From the Crusades to America*

For four centuries the crusades and the *reconquista* spurred medieval Christian Europe on to find new ways of achieving its goals; and, in this process, several concepts became inter-related. It was generally accepted, first, by scientists and map-makers if not by popular belief, that the earth was a sphere, and that, by going west, one could arrive in the East (*Indias*); second, there was the notion that the East was not very distant and could easily be reached by sailing west (this reflecting the mistaken assumption that the “Ocean Sea” covered only one-third of the earth’s circumference, with the other two-thirds stretching from Europe to China); third, it was believed that the East was ruled by a “Prester John” (a Priest King) or Grand *Khān* who presided over a large and influential community of eastern Christians, an alliance with whom could be of tremendous advantage for pursuing a war against the Muslim Middle East; and, lastly, technical means were now available for voyages to the Indias, such as fast-moving caravels, the direction-finding compass, and other instruments and maps and charts useful for navigation. These journeys would, it was realised, involve much expense; hence the search for gold and interest in the possibility of trade in spices, ivory and slaves. It is essential not to confuse the cause with the result. The end result was colonisation and a commercial revolution; the motivating cause was the pursuit of holy war against the Muslims—using, at the same time, much of the Muslim enemy’s knowledge and expertise gained by virtue of medieval Christian Europe’s crusading contacts with the Middle East and through the extensive translation of Arabic works into Latin undertaken in Spain, Italy and France during the 12th and 13th centuries. The discovery of America was a very fortunate—albeit unintended—by-product of European crusading activity, and should be viewed and studied not from a narrow, regional viewpoint, but in a broader, global perspective. In this enterprise there were many players, Spain and Portugal being the most important, but with the Pope and

the Italian cities also among them. The voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama telescope this whole process.

III. *The Earth and the East*

The Muslim geographers' understanding of the earth's surface, and their map-making, were greatly influenced by the geography of the Alexandrian Greek scholar Ptolemy. They had always held that the earth was a sphere. Ḥamīdullah summarises the thinking on this subject from the time of the jurist Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) to the time of the geographer and historian Abū 'l-Fidā' (d. 733/1332).¹⁹ Muslim geographical concepts envisioned an earth with seven climes north of the equator, an encircling (or circumambient) ocean, two major seas connecting with it and a cupola (summit) at Ujjayn in central India on the meridian passing through Sri Lanka. Many of these concepts reflected Indo-Persian influences.²⁰ J. H. Kramers writes:

Some Christian scholars accepted also the division into seven climes. A legacy of still greater importance was the idea that the known hemisphere of the world had a center or 'world summit', situated at an equal distance from east, west, north and south. Al-Battānī [ca. 287/900] speaks of this 'cupola of the earth' as an island, but another author of his time (Ibn Rusta) already knows it as the 'cupola of Arīn'. The word Arīn is a misreading of the Arabic transliteration of the name of the Indian town Ujjayn (Ozene in Ptolemy's geography), where there had been an astronomical observatory, and on the meridian of which town the 'world summit'—originally an Indian conception—was supposed to lie. Like the Muhammadan astronomers, their Christian disciples considered this doctrine of the highest importance; among the latter were Adelard of Bath who translated in 1126 the trigonometrical tables of al-Khwārizmī, Gerard of Cremona (1114-87) and, in the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus. The Arīn (or Arīm) theory was still later to be found in the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal Peter of Ailly, published in 1410, and it was from this book that Christopher Columbus learned the same doctrine, which had developed in the meantime so far as to make Columbus believe that the earth was shaped in the form of a pear, and that, on the western hemisphere, opposite the summit of Arīn, there was another center, much more elevated than the one of the eastern side, so as to form the shape of the lower half of a pear. Thus, Islamic geographical theory may claim a share in the discovery of the New World.²¹

Dunlop cites the relevant passage from Columbus' letter to Queen Isabella in the course of his third voyage in 1498, and comments: "No doubt, therefore, as Kramers said, Islamic geographical theory may claim a share in the discovery of the New World."²² About the impact of Muslim astronomers on European thinking on the sphericity of the earth, Kramers writes:

Some of their works were translated at an early period, such as the *Zij* of Battānī (written c. 900) by Plato of Tivoli (c. 1150). The chief center where Christian scholars from all countries became acquainted with Arabic scientific literature was Toledo, after its conquest by Alfonso VI. So far as geography is concerned, these studies contributed in the first place to the keeping alive of the doctrine of

the sphericity of the earth, which had been nearly forgotten in the 'Dark Ages' and without which the discovery of America would have been an impossibility.²³

A significant influence on Columbus' thinking was Marco Polo's book *Il Milione*, or *The Description of the World*, composed in 1298.²⁴ Columbus' *Journals*²⁵ abound in the exotic things that Marco Polo related. The most important lesson he seems to have learned from the celebrated Venetian traveller is the latter's view that the overland route from Europe to China was inordinately long and that the unexplored sea route westward from Europe to China would be exceptionally short. In this Columbus found corroboration from the ideas of the Muslim scientist al-Farghānī who wrote his astronomical treatise *al-Mudkhil* in 247/861. It was translated into Latin in 1135 by John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona, but may have reached Columbus via the *Imago Mundi* of the French Cardinal, theologian and geographer Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420), particularly from chapter eight of his book "concerning the Size of the Habitable Earth". Columbus' son, Ferdinand, writes:

One of the Admiral's arguments that gave the greatest support to the view that this space was small was the opinion of Alfragan [al-Farghānī] and his followers, who assign a much smaller size to the earth than all the other writers and geographers, calculating a degree to be only 562/3 miles; whence the Admiral inferred that since the whole sphere was small, of necessity that space of the third part which Marinus left unknown had to be small and therefore could be navigated in less time.²⁶

Ferdinand implies that the Admiral learned about the smallness of the earth and Spain's closeness to the Indies from the commentary of Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 595/1198) on Aristotle's *On the Heavens*.²⁷

If a new trade route to the East could be found, it would make Christian Europe economically independent of the Muslim Middle East. Indeed, some speculated that a trade blockade²⁸ of the Middle East might well produce the economic strangulation and eventual political fall of the Muslim countries, thus liberating Jerusalem and opening the Middle East once again to the Crusades and to colonisation. Such a course of action was forcefully advocated by a Venetian nobleman, Marino Sanudo, who, in 1321, presented to Pope John XXII his *Liber Secretorum* or *Opus Terrae Sanctae*; this contained a world map and his concept of a new crusade, involving a maritime blockade of Egypt which would bring about its economic collapse, to be followed by two waves of European military invasions.²⁹ Kramers, commenting on Sanudo's map, says:

One of the few proofs of the acceptance of Muhammadan geographical views by Christian writers is the world map to be found in the *Opus Terrae Sanctae* completed by Marino Sanudo in 1321 and dedicated to the Pope. This map is round, Jerusalem being its centre, and shows clearly the two big seas derived from the ocean and the prolongation of the African coast to the east. Thus, this indefatigable reviver of the crusading spirit showed himself one of the few students of the lore of the people he wanted to destroy.³⁰

At this stage it is appropriate to say a few words about Columbus' *empresa de las Indias*, "the Indian enterprise". "The word India in the Middle Ages," says Charles Nowell, "had no exact geographical meaning to Europeans; it was a convenient expression denoting the East beyond the Mohamedan world."³¹ Thus, Columbus' enterprise was to reach the Orient or Asia or India, more specifically Japan ("Cipango") and the shores of China ("Cathay"), not eastward via the Muslim lands, but by circumventing them and going westward via the "Ocean Sea".

IV. *The Grand Khān or Prester John: patron of Eastern Christians*

With the above-mentioned background in mind, it is possible to trace the crucial stages in the crusading career of Columbus. Between 1485 and 1492, when Columbus patiently waited for the Spanish sovereigns to grant him approval and facilities for his voyage, we find him, in the winter of 1489, at the Siege of Baza. A mission had arrived from Qā'it Bay (872/1468-901/1496), the Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, asking Spain to withdraw its pressure from Granada under pain of the persecution of Christians and the spoliation of the Holy Sepulchre.³² Columbus' crusading spirit was thereby aroused, and he is said to have joined the army as a volunteer and to have "given demonstration of conspicuous valour which accompanied his wisdom and high desire".³³ Baza, however, had surrendered under an agreement and no fighting had taken place!

Let us now turn to Columbus' journals. The renowned Bartolomé de las Casas, whose father and uncle were shipmates of Columbus and who had himself met the Admiral in Hispaniola, reproduces these journals in his *Historia de las Indias*, partly in paraphrase, partly verbatim.³⁴

The very *Prologue* to the journals, written as Columbus embarked on his journey and cited by Las Casas in full, spells out the purposes of the Admiral's journey. He wrote:

In this present year 1492 after Your Highnesses had made an end to the war with the Moors who ruled in Europe, and had concluded the war in the very great City of Granada, where in the present year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw the Royal Standards of Your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of Alhambra (which is the citadel of the said city).

And I saw the Moorish king come forth to the gates of the city and kiss the Royal hands of Your Highnesses and of the Prince my Lord, and soon after in the same month, through the information that I had given to Your Highnesses concerning the lands of India, and of a Prince who is called *Gran Can*, which is to say in our vernacular "King of Kings", how many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to seek doctors in our Holy Faith to instruct him therein, and that never had the Holy Father provided them, and thus so many people were lost through lapsing into idolatries and receiving doctrines of perdition;

And Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes devoted to the Holy Christian Faith and the propagators thereof, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, resolved to send me, Christopher Columbus, to

the said regions of India, to see the said princes and peoples and lands and the disposition of them and of all, and the manner in which may be undertaken their conversion to our Holy Faith, and ordained that I should not go by land (the usual way) to the Orient, but by the route of the Occident, by which no one to this day knows for sure that anyone has gone ...³⁵

On 21 October, Columbus, arriving in Guanahani (San Salvador or Watling), recorded in his diary that he had reached Japan and that he was near Quisay, the city of the Grand *Khān*, to whom he intended to present the Spanish ruler's letters.³⁶ At Puerto Gibara, Columbus convinced himself that Cuba was China and wrote in his journal on 1 November: "It is certain that this is the mainland and that I am before *Zayto* and *Quisay*, 100 leagues more or less distant, the one from the other."³⁷ Columbus had taken with him an Arabic interpreter,³⁸ Luis de Torres, a Jewish convert to Christianity, whom he now sent into the interior as his envoy to the Court of the Grand *Khān*. Of course the journey must have been a total disappointment to Luis de Torres, and also to Columbus—neither was the Grand *Khān* to be found nor was Arabic spoken in Cuba! It is worth noting that Columbus was aware of the presence of Arab merchants, navigators and envoys in the kingdoms of the Indian Ocean and the East; hence, the usefulness of Arabic interpreters. From now on Columbus was torn between hope and despair, and, although the theme of Grand *Khān* keeps recurring,³⁹ he was thinking of other options.

It did not seem feasible now to meet the Grand *Khān*, to contact the Eastern Christians and to forge a joint strategy for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Muslims. However, Jerusalem could still be taken by a direct attack, using the gold and resources of the new lands discovered by the Admiral.

In Hispaniola (Dominican Republic) Columbus had found people wearing gold trinkets and willing to exchange gold pieces for hawk's bells. Gold came from its central region called Cibao, which the Admiral mistook for "Cipango" or Japan.⁴⁰ In Columbus' mind gold was important as a means of furthering his sovereigns' crusade to capture Jerusalem. According to Las Casas, the Admiral entered the following in his journal for 26 December:

And he says that he hopes to God that on his return, which he intends to make from Castile, there would be found a cask of gold, which those whom he left behind would have obtained by barter, and that they would have found the mine of gold and the spicery, and that in so great quantity that the Sovereigns within three years would undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre, "for so" says he, "I declared to your Highnesses that all the gain of this my Enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem; and Your Highnesses smiled and said that it pleased you, and that even without this you had that strong desire." These are the words of the Admiral.⁴¹

The crucial words revealing Columbus' primary objective, namely the conquest of Jerusalem, are not a paraphrase but a direct quotation. They are also evidence that the Catholic Sovereigns shared this same objective. Moreover,

this objective was stated by both parties prior to Columbus' departure from Palos, which shows that it was no mere afterthought following discovery. The complete dedication of Columbus is expressed in the words: "All the gain of this my Enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem." What is more, Columbus wants this achieved within three years.

In his frustration over the delay in the conquest of Jerusalem, Columbus now resorted to the earlier prophecies about a messianic figure emerging from Spain who would achieve this conquest; in fact the Admiral began to consider himself as that figure. He now revived his hope of contacting the Grand *Khān*, while also keeping open the option of a direct attack on the Muslim lands.

The period between Columbus' third and the fourth voyages was a painful one for him. From his third voyage, when he had discovered the mainland of South America, he was shipped back to Spain in chains by Bobadilla, the new governor of Hispaniola; and, although the wrongs inflicted on him were righted by Ferdinand and Isabella, he was not restored to the governorship. During this period he wrote poignant letters to Father Gorricio, a friend, confidant and fellow Italian. While these letters are plaintive, they are carefully vague lest they incriminate Columbus in the eyes of his Sovereigns; in them, he again expresses the desire to gain the *Casa Santa*, or Holy House (the *Bayt al-Muqaddas*, i.e. Jerusalem). He was, moreover, writing a *Book of Prophecies*, which was meant to be a collection of earlier prophecies about the advent of a Spanish Messianic figure who would achieve the conquest of Jerusalem and the conversion of the world to Christianity. The Admiral believed that he was this chosen figure.⁴² Columbus was composing this book, probably, with the help of Fr. Gorricio, and using the latter's good offices in seeking the royal approval for what he called *el alto viaje*, the "the high voyage" to the East in his final attempt to gain Jerusalem. Indeed, so desperate was Columbus that he even corresponded with Pope Alexander VI. Never had he gone over the heads of the Spanish Sovereigns in this manner, which only emphasises his frustration at not yet having made contact with the Grand *Khān* for the purpose of conquering Jerusalem.⁴³

Finally his fourth voyage (1502-1503) was approved, and he was accompanied by two Arabic interpreters. In the meantime the Portuguese Vasco da Gama had discovered the real route to India that did not cross Muslim lands, i. e., that via the Cape of Good Hope. This was in 1498, and in 1502 the Portuguese Admiral was on his way to China, on his second voyage. Columbus had desired to meet da Gama in the East, which he still thought was close to the places he had discovered. All he needed to do was to cross the strait of Veragua (Panama); the strait, however, turned out to be a land passage and not a channel.

In addition to this disappointment, there was the indifference of the Spanish court, rebellion among his men, the envy and intrigues of his rivals and his own fatigue and ill-health. Before his return to Spain he wrote, on 7 July 1503, a long letter to the Spanish Sovereigns, known to history as the *Lettera Rarissima*. In it he declares:

Jerusalem and the Mount of Zion are now to be rebuilt by Christian hands, and God through the mouth of the prophet in the fourteenth Psalm said so. The Abbot Joachim⁴⁴ said that this man was to come from Spain. Saint Jerome showed the way thither to the Holy Lady.⁴⁵ The Emperor of Cathay some time since sent for wise men to teach him the religion of Christ. Who shall offer himself for this mission? If Our Lord takes me back to Spain, I vow in God's name, I will undertake to convey them thither.⁴⁶

In his own mind, Columbus remains the envoy of the Christian West to the Christian East—and this, too, according to the prophecy of the Abbot Joachim! Discovery of new lands had no meaning for Columbus except as a stepping stone toward the Christians of the East and the Emperor of Cathay. We have examined Columbus' views at different stages of his life—at Baza in 1489, at Hispaniola in 1492, at Jamaica in 1503—and we find him single-mindedly consistent in his crusading role throughout his life. His was neither a childhood dream, nor the sublimation of a failure. It was the driving force of his entire active life.

In order to understand more precisely what lay behind Columbus' quest for the Grand *Khān*, a digression into the history of Mongol-Christian relations is in order.⁴⁷ Although the Mongol hordes of Chengiz Khan (1206-27) had overrun many Christian lands, for example, Russia and Hungary, they had among their own following influential Christian tribes such as the Keraites, who were to provide queens and administrators to the *Khāns*. The influence of Nestorian Christianity was early and of long duration in the Turco-Mongol lands of Central Asia and China. Despite the devastation wrought by the Mongols in Europe, however, the Christian Kings were apt to forget and forgive because of the existence of a more challenging enemy—the Muslims.

After the Council of Lyons in 1245 we hear of the mission led by a Franciscan monk, Giovanni di Plano Carpini, who successfully travelled overland to Mongolia where he met the Grand *Khān* Göyük (1244-48). Carpini has left us a long account of his travels. Two years later Pope Innocent IV sent a second mission under the Dominican friars Ascelin and Simon de Tournai; and, in 1248, the Pope received a Christian envoy from the *Khān*, called Sergius, at Rome. Two other Mongol envoys, David and Mark, made contact with the crusading King of France, St. Louis in Cyprus, and St. Louis reciprocated with a mission led by the Dominican, Andrew of Longjumeau. He also sent the Franciscan Wilhelm von Rübruck to the new

Grand Khān Möngke, whose mother and chancellor were both Christians. Like Giovanni di Plano, Wilhelm von Rübruck has left us a detailed report characterised by keen observation.

Möngke dispatched his brother Qubilay (ruled 1260-94) to China. Following its conquest, Qubilay established himself at Peking, also called Khān-balik, and instituted a Mongol dynasty, the Yüan, which lasted until 1368. The Yüan Emperors were the Grand Khāns who ruled from Peking. Here a Nestorian archbishopric had been instituted in 1275, and it was in Qubilay's court that the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (fl. 1254-1323) had arrived.

Möngke had sent another brother Hülegü (ruled 1256-65) to the lands of the Muslim Caliphate, and it was by his hand that Baghdad was conquered in 1258. Hülegü instituted the Il-Khānid dynasty, which made consistent efforts to establish good relations with the Crusading States of Western Europe. His wife was a Nestorian Christian, as was his general Kitbugha, who led an invasion against the Mamlūks, suffering defeat in 1260 at the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt in Palestine. Here the Mongol push westward was decisively halted.

Hülegü's son Abaqa (ruled 1265-82) married the Byzantine princess Maria Paleologina and sent his envoys to the Council of Lyons in 1274 for the Act of Union between the Western and Eastern Churches, while Abaqa's son, Arghūn (ruled 1284-91) showed the greatest eagerness for an alliance with Christendom. Rabban Sauma, Arghūn's Nestorian envoy to Pope Nicholas IV, made a statement to the Cardinals at Rome which reveals the extent of the Mongol-Western alliance and their crusading purpose. He said:

Know yet that many of our fathers in times past entered the lands of the Turks, the Mongols and the Chinese and have instructed them in the faith. Today many Mongols are Christian. There are queens and children of kings who have been baptised and confess Christ. The Khāns have churches in their camps. And as the King is united in friendship with the Catholics and proposes to take possession of Syria and Palestine, he asks your aid for the conquest of Jerusalem.⁴⁸

The fall of Acre in 1291 put an end to what had promised to be a grand alliance between the Il-Khāns and the West. However, Franciscan missions to China and Mongolia continued. Fr. John of Monte Corvino, for example, arrived in Peking shortly after the death of Qubilay in 1294 and was appointed Archbishop of that city in 1307. He lived and died in China. Franciscan missions were also established in Zaytūn,⁴⁹ the great medieval port of southern China, near Amoy, and also at Hangchow (Quinsay).⁵⁰

The question arises: if in 1368 the Yüan dynasty of the Grand Khāns was replaced by the Ming Emperors who began to expel the Christians from Peking, how could Columbus, in 1492, have been seeking the Grand Khān?

Henry Serruys has noted the Mongol rulers between 1430 and 1480 who ruled in Mongolia and claimed the title of Grand Khān (or Khāqān);⁵¹ he gives their names as Toghto-būqa, Aghbārjī, Esen-tāyisī, Mār-körgis (i.e.

Priest George) and Mandaghūl. Although Esen-tāyisī ruled only for a year (1453-54) he was the real power in Mongolia during the two previous reigns. Mār-körgis (Priest George) ruled for a full ten years (1454-1464). His name suggests a Nestorian Christian influence.

These Grand *Khāns* were called "Little Kings" by the Ming Emperors, and they were under pressure not only from the Chinese, but also from the Muslim Timūrids of Transoxiana, who used the city of Herat as a base for military operations against them. Additional difficulties came from the rising power of kindred Mongol Muslims, especially from the Uzbek family of Abū *Khayr Shaybānī* (ruled 832/1429 onwards), who ruled from Yāsī, in the Jaxartes region.⁵²

Two circumstances suggest that these later Mongol *Khāns* preserved Nestorian Christianity as their religion: first, preservation of the Christian faith would explain, at least in part, their continued independence from both the Chinese Mings and the Muslim Timūrids; and second, the Yüan Mongol Grand *Khāns* had traditionally patronised the Nestorian Church, although they were not personally converted to Christianity and had also shown support for Buddhism.

In 1474 a Florentine physician, Toscanelli (d. 1482), mentions the arrival of a representative of the Grand *Khān* at Florence—this in a letter to Canon Martins of Lisbon, a copy of which Toscanelli sent to Columbus. Toscanelli conversed with this envoy, who must have been a Nestorian envoy of one of the later Mongol *Khāns* mentioned above, through an interpreter.⁵³ Pastor, in his *History of the Popes*, notes that in the time of Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) a great effort was made to unite the various Christian churches, to which end a Council was convened in 1438 in Florence, the Pope's temporary headquarters; it then, in 1442, shifted to Rome, where it continued its work for another three years. Representatives of the Greek, Armenian, Maronite and Nestorian Eastern Churches participated in this Council, the result of which was the papal bull of 7 August 1445 solemnising the unity of these denominations under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁴

Toscanelli, in the above-mentioned letter describes the land of the Grand *Khān* as the province of Cathay (China), which, according to him, covered one-third of the globe and included the city of Quinsay (Hangchow) and the port of Zaytūn (near Amoy). This letter is obviously based on the account of Marco Polo. Moreover, it was copied by Columbus, in his own hand, on the back of his copy of Aeneas Sylvius' *Historia Rerum ubique Gestarum*.⁵⁵

This Aeneas Sylvius became Pope Pius II Piccolomini (1458-1464), and is considered to be the last Pope who preached a Crusade; in fact he led this crusade personally. He too had, in 1460, received envoys from Eastern Christian rulers—Emperor David of Trebizond and the Prince of Georgia—all dressed in oriental attire, and conducted to the Pope by the Franciscan observantine Ludovico of Bologna.⁵⁶

The concept of the Grand *Khān* ruling a mighty Christian Empire in the East and wishing to join hands with Western Europe for a common crusade against the Muslims, together with the allied concept of the Priest-king Prester John,⁵⁷ was cultivated in the West from the reports of Nestorian envoys arriving in Rome. In this regard, Leonardo Olschki writes: "Friar William of Rūbruck emphasised the tendency of the Nestorians of central and eastern Asia to glorify their sect beyond measure by exaggerating its religious and political power, and to assert in the face of all evidence to the contrary the adherence of their rulers to their Church."⁵⁸

In a way Providence was kind to the Admiral, for had he reached Cathay and been introduced by the Nestorians to the Grand *Khān*, he would have found this elusive figure to be a very "little king" indeed, whose help for Columbus' life-long project, the conquest of Jerusalem, would have proved of little consequence. This way, at least, the Admiral ended his life's enterprise without suffering the destruction of his abiding faith.

V. *The Portuguese drive to Mecca*

One should take into account two crusading approaches after the fall of Constantinople in 1453: the one adopted by the Spanish Pope Calixtus III (1455-58), which was anti-Ottoman; and second, the Portuguese, which was anti-Mamlūk, at least between 1453 and 1517. Rome had instituted a Papal fleet in which the Portuguese did not participate, being more concerned with cutting off Mamlūk trade with the Far East by their presence in the Indian Ocean. The Pope's target was Constantinople, while the Portuguese were heading toward Mecca. To the Pope unity with Eastern Christians meant unity with the Greek and Nestorian Churches; to Portugal it meant seeking out Prester John in Ethiopia.

Insofar as the "Age of Discovery" was charged with a desire to reach India and the East, Portugal proved more successful than Spain.⁵⁹ Portugal's King Diniz (ruled 1279-1325) initiated this drive, which from the outset was viewed as a crusade. The first step was taken in 1317 with the appointment of Manuel Peçanha (Pessagno), a rich Genoese merchant, as the Admiral of Portugal. He and Gonçalgo Pereira were sent to Pope John XXII at Avignon to solicit funds for the construction of a fleet to be used against the Muslims, and the Pope created, for this purpose, the Order of Christ,⁶⁰ to which he transferred all the Portuguese properties of the suppressed Crusading Order of the Templars. The first chapter of the Order of Christ was established at Lisbon in 1321, and, although the Order was presided over by its own Masters, its finances came under the management of the Portuguese royal family. During his time, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) administered the Order and used its resources both for maritime trade and for overland military offensives against the Muslims; in this capacity, Prince Henry masterminded the conquest of Ceuta in 1415.⁶¹ From this North African out-

post, the Moroccan caravan routes and the Atlantic coast became the channels of the Portuguese crusade southward into West Africa. Gomez Eanes de Azurara, a contemporary of Prince Henry, wrote, in 1453, what he considered to be the Prince's motives for patronage of the explorations. According to Azurara, Henry the Navigator was actuated by the zeal for God, by the desire for alliance with the Eastern Christians, by an eagerness to know the extent of the "infidel's" power, by the wish to convert people to Christianity and by the desire to fight the Moors. Gold, ivory, slaves or spices do not figure in Azurara's account.⁶²

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 revived crusading activities in Europe, and Prince Henry saw this in terms of circumnavigating Africa and reaching the elusive Christian rulers of the East; he also saw it in terms of trade monopoly, and exemption from payment of the customary tithe to the Pope. All this was confirmed by a papal bull of 8 January 1455.⁶³

The next Portuguese ruler, Dom João II, sent a reconnaissance-cum-intelligence mission overland through the Mamlūk Middle East, charged with contacting the Emperor of Ethiopia, and also with discovering the sources of the spice trade in the East. This was led by two Arabic-speaking gentlemen, Pero de Covilha and Affonso de Paiva. At the same time Bartholomeu Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope. Diaz's report in 1488, and that of Covilha in 1492, convinced Dom João of the feasibility of reaching India and the East by a sea-route via the Cape of Good Hope. News of Columbus' discovery of the Indies may have delayed João's plans, but later realisation that Columbus had discovered a new continent which was not India revived the Portuguese ruler's determination to equip a new expedition to the south. Rounding the Cape in 1497, Vasco da Gama followed the African coast northward to Malindi (near Zanzibar). There he contacted a renowned Arab navigator, Aḥmad b. Mājīd (ca. 838/1435-905/1500),⁶⁴ who was the author of books on navigation. The latter helped the Portuguese to cross the Indian Ocean and to reach Calicut on the west coast of Southern India, a major emporium of the Eastern spice-trade; Indian spice was thus added to West African gold, ivory and slaves. The Portuguese established colonies along the new route to India, and wherever they went encountered Arab and Muslim states. Conditions were right to revive the political and economic offensive against the Mamlūks.⁶⁵

In 1500 the Portuguese clashed with Muslim merchants at Calicut, where they burned ten Mamlūk ships. The following year, the King of Portugal declared that Arabs would no longer be allowed to trade in Indian spices, and in 1502 the Portuguese, with the help of the south-Indian Hindu King of Channor and Cochin, declared war on the Samuri (Zamorin) of Calicut, the protector of Muslim merchants. Next, the Portuguese blocked the southern entrance of the Red Sea to Muslim shipping. As a result, in 1504, only enough spices for local consumption reached Egypt, and these by alternative routes.⁶⁶

Sultan Mahmūd Begarha (ruled 1459-1511) of the Gujrāt State in Western India,⁶⁷ the Ṭāhirid ruler of Aden, Zāfir II (ruled 1487-1517),⁶⁸ and the Sharīf of Mecca, Barakāt II (ruled 1495-1524)⁶⁹ appealed to the Mamlūk sultan Qanṣūh Ghawrī (ruled 1501-17)⁷⁰ to come to their aid, but the Mamlūk fleet was defeated in 1509 by the Portuguese viceroy Francisco de Almeida, off Diu in Gujrāt, which was then occupied and a Portuguese base established there. Almeida, a veteran of Portuguese wars against the Muslims of North Africa, then declared: "As long as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore."⁷¹ Previously, in 1507, the Portuguese had taken the island of Socotra, off the Southern Arabian coast, and even earlier, in 1505, had attacked Jeddah, the port of Mecca. Almeida's plan of conquering Mecca itself was blocked at the end of 1506 by the Mamlūk Captain Mīr Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, who built fortifications at Jeddah.⁷²

Almeida was replaced in 1509 by the new governor, Affonso de Albuquerque, who aspired to the establishment of a Portuguese Empire in the East. He seized the port of Goa from the Sultan of Bījāpūr, creating an enclave that was to become Portugal's eastern capital, then, in 1511, conquered Malacca in Indonesia, the major source of spices. In the last years of his life he succeeded in taking the island of Hormuz at the southern entrance of the Persian gulf. Although he failed to occupy Aden, he nonetheless succeeded in gaining possession of the Indian Ocean ports of Socotra, Hormuz, Diu, Daman, Goa and Malacca, and in converting the Indian Ocean into a Portuguese Sea, closed to Muslim shipping. "If we take this trade of Malacca away out of their [Mamlūk] hands," he declared, "Cairo and Mecca will be entirely ruined, and to Venice no spices will be conveyed, except what her merchants go to buy in Portugal."⁷³ In 1513 Camilio Portio, on behalf of Albuquerque, addressed an oration to Pope Leo X in which he said:

There is thrown open to us by the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz, the road whereby the Holy House of Jerusalem (the country in which our Saviour was born) can again be recovered and rescued from the hands of those infidels who tyrannically and unrighteously possess it.⁷⁴

The *Commentaries of the Great Afonso d'Albuquerque* declare:

The Viceroy had in mind to fit out an expedition of 400 horsemen in *taforeas*, disembark them in the harbour of Liumbo [i.e. Yanbū], march rapidly to the temple of Meca [Mecca is confused here with Medina] and strip it of all its treasures, for they were, indeed, many; taking as well the body of its false prophet and conveying it away, with a view to ransoming the holy temple of Jerusalem in exchange for it.⁷⁵

However, his ambition to push through the Red Sea to Mecca, and, after conquering the Muslim holy city, to exchange it for Jerusalem, remained unfulfilled. Albuquerque dreamed of an alliance with the Christian king of

Ethiopia, who had been identified as the real Prester John,⁷⁶ and even propounded a grandiose scheme to starve Egypt by diverting the Nile through Ethiopia to the Red Sea.⁷⁷

Portuguese trading influence in the East continued after Albuquerque's death, but the Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade was broken by Dutch and English competitors whose commercial interests were not clouded by the crusading motive. Moreover, with the Ottoman conquest of the Middle East in 1517, the Portuguese faced a more determined enemy than the Mamlüks. In any case, by 1580 Portugal had merged with Spain and was thus drawn into the European entanglements of its Iberian neighbour.

The opening of the back-door of the East-West trade via the Cape of Good Hope achieved the desired strangulation of Mamlük Egypt, which, however, succumbed not to a crusading power, but to Ottoman Turkey. As in the 6th/12th century, when Saladin's conquest of Fātimid Egypt had prepared the way for a counter-crusade, so now the Ottoman conquest of Mamlük Egypt paved the way for a confrontation with Portugal and Spain. Between 1517 and 1519 the Ottomans took Egypt, Syria and Yemen and established their sovereignty over Mecca. In 1534, they took Baghdad and, in 1546, Basra. As a result, they came to control the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and were thus able to block a Portuguese advance from the Indian Ocean northward to Mecca or Cairo.

VI. Navigational knowledge

The Ottoman Captain Seydī 'Alī Reis⁷⁸ (d. 970/1562), nephew of the celebrated Ottoman Admiral Piri Reis, wrote a famous work on navigational techniques, particularly celestial navigation, entitled *Kitāb al-muḥīṭ fī 'ilm al-aflāk wa 'l-abḥur*. His work incorporates the works of two earlier Arab writers, namely Aḥmad b. Mājid, who guided Vasco da Gama to India, and Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Mahrī (d. before 961/1553).⁷⁹ Ibn Mājid mentions the works of three prominent Arab navigators whom he calls *layṭhs*—lions, of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, who wrote instructions for mariners but whose works have not survived. Thus, the Arab and Muslim navigational tradition goes way back to a period before the Iberian sailors began their explorations. This tradition was continuous, and it connected the experience of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, which then influenced navigation in the Atlantic. Indian Ocean navigation was the product of give and take between the Chinese and Arabo-Islamic worlds.⁸⁰ In fact, Arab navigation became the channel for the interchange of navigational information between the East and the West. It would be wrong to suppose that the Iberian nations developed their expertise independently of the Arabs and that they were not aware of the Arabic works of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahrī. We have noted above that Portuguese spies who knew Arabic



were operating on the East African coasts in the 1490s, before da Gama's arrival there, and were relaying information to King João himself.

Let us first speak about ships and sails, before we consider their guidance-systems. "Portuguese ports were a part of the Muslim trade empire just as Portuguese learning was a part of Muslim geographical and nautical science," observes Bailey Diffie.⁸¹ In the early 15th century a certain type of vessel, the caravel, was adopted for exploration, in preference to the galley (or *galéra*), *nau*, *barcha* and *barinel*. The caravel, which was also used by Columbus, was adapted from the Arab *qārib*, which had been successfully used by the Arabs in the eastern Mediterranean for centuries.

According to J. Corominas,⁸² the Spanish word *carabela* is derived from the Portuguese *caravela*, which in turn is a diminutive form of the later Latin *carabus*, itself derived from the Greek *karabos*, meaning "sea crab" and used as the name of an ancient vessel. Another derivation is suggested by the Catalanian historian Jaime Vicens Vives;⁸³ he suggests that the caravel evolved from an earlier French vessel known as a *coque*, which was introduced into the Mediterranean from the Atlantic in the early 13th century.

Corominas is aware of the possibility of an Arab origin for the word, but discounts it by saying that the word *qārib* had entered Arabic via the Hispanic Mozarabs. In fact, *qārib* comes from the Arabic verb *qaruba* meaning "draw near", and is as old as the Arabic language;⁸⁴ moreover, the Arab ship of this name was used in the eastern Mediterranean long before the emergence of Hispanic Mozarabs. It was so called because it was a type of vessel that could go far out in the ocean, and could yet be drawn near to land, making it ideal for exploration. It was also used as an auxiliary to larger ships.⁸⁵

A. Ballesteros Beretta⁸⁶ dismisses the theories of a Latin and Greek origin for *caravel*, and—as Mendoça also does—cites an early source, namely *el foral* (c. 1255) of Villa Nova de Gaya, written for Affonso III of Portugal, wherein the "caravel" is described as a merchant-cum-war ship of Arab Moroccan origin.

More than the name, the ship itself proclaims its Arab origin, for the caravel began to stand out as distinct from other types of vessels in its use of the lateen sail. J. H. Parry writes: "The square-rigged ship—the *nau*—played no considerable part in the early discoveries. The Portuguese preferred a borrowed alternative, the lateen caravel—a highly individual craft which betrayed Asiatic influence in its every line. Here, too, Arabs were their teachers ... The lateen sail is the special contribution of the Arabs to the development of the world's shipping; it is as characteristic of Islam as the crescent itself. It is also a very efficient general-purpose rig."⁸⁷

Toward the end of the 15th century, Parry points out,⁸⁸ the Portuguese and Spanish shipbuilders developed a new type of caravel—the *caravela redonda*, which combined the European square-rig with the Arab lateen. It is this type of ship that was associated with most of the voyages of discovery.

Columbus' first voyage demonstrated the superiority of the caravel over the northern *nau*; his own flag-ship, the *Santa María*, was a square-rigged *nau*, sluggish and cumbersome, whereas the other two, *Nina* and *Pinta*, were *caravelas redondas*, fast and seaworthy.⁸⁹

Turning now to navigational methods, Ibn Mājid shows us the long-standing Arab practice—one several centuries old—in the Indian Ocean. Writing about this, G. R. Tibbetts states:

The main divisions of Arab navigational science, however, seem to be as follows: *ishārāt*, the study of landmarks and other visible signs; *siyāsāt*, the running of the ship and the control of the crew—a branch which we would not really regard as part of navigation; *mawāsim*, the correct estimation of monsoon dates; the science of *majra* or compass-bearings; *qiyāsāt*, the techniques of taking stellar altitudes; *masāfāt*, longitudinal measurements. All these were techniques necessary for the successful accomplishment by the ship of a *dīra* or route—a fixed known track between two ports. The route itself was of three sorts—the *dīrat al-mūl* or coastal route; the *dīrat al-muṭlaq*, a direct route across the sea between two opposite coasts; and, the *al-iqtidā'*—a route which changes its bearing when out of sight of land.⁹⁰

It is for the last two types of route that guiding instruments have to be used. Ibn Mājid talks about several of them, such as *kamāl*, *isbā'*, *khashaba* and *'ibra*, of which the last, i.e. the compass, was in use for a very long time. According to Needham, it was first developed in China, then used by Arabs in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, whence the Europeans learned of the floating magnetised needle.⁹¹ E. G. R. Taylor notes that the earliest European reference to the compass was in 1180,⁹² and G. R. Tibbetts notes that the earliest Muslim reference to the compass was in 1232.⁹³ A difference of about forty years does not establish European primacy; it was only a matter of recording an already existing practice of long standing. Since the Chinese knew of it earlier and recorded it around 1086,⁹⁴ it must have passed to Europe via the Arabs, as also did paper and the Arabic numerals of India. At any rate, Europe was quick to adopt the compass and convert it from a floating needle to a boxed one for use with thirty-two point wind rose, around 1242.⁹⁵

Joseph Needham has noted how the Arabs suggested to the Chinese that they should fix their traditional sighting tube to a quadrant. From this emerges the "Dipper Observer", which, in 1129, Lin Chih-Phing ordered every ocean-going ship from Fu Kien to Kuangtung to carry.⁹⁶

"Interchanges between Arab and Chinese maritime communities," notes Charles Baldwin,⁹⁷ "reached a peak between 1250 and 1275 when the Commissioner of Merchant Shipping at Chu'an-Chow was a Chinese appointee of Arab or Persian descent named P'u Shou-Keng. He is known to have transferred his services to the Mongols and to have died a wealthy and respected Muslim patrician.⁹⁸ In 1267 a certain Jamāl al-Dīn journeyed from

Marāgha to advise Chinese astronomers in Peking on seven different designs of celestial instruments including an astrolabe."⁹⁹

Baldwin further notes: "With the background of such similarity of instruments and units it is likely that some Chinese adopted Arab data and vice versa. Some Chinese had an Islamic cultural background that made the possibility more likely, in particular the famous Admiral Cheng Ho whose father was a well-travelled Muslim from Yunnan who had visited Mecca in 772/1370 and the Arabic scholar Ma Huan¹⁰⁰ who accompanied Cheng Ho on three of his voyages. It is most noticeable that of the 40 charts of the Wu Pei Chih which purport to record carefully the distances along the sea lanes between the countries visited by Cheng Ho between 1404 and 1433, the most accurate are for the west coast of India, Arabia and East Africa."¹⁰¹ In other words, the domain of Arab seamen.

Egypt was the link between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, extending to the Indian Ocean during the Fāṭimid (358/969-566/1171), Ayyūbid (566/1171-648/1250), and Mamlūk (648/1250-922/1517) periods. This was the time of a flourishing East-West trade, particularly in the 13th century (we have the *Geniza* documents of the Jewish Kārīmī merchants of that time to attest to this),¹⁰² and Egypt was the target of several crusading expeditions and religious missions from the West. It seems absolutely certain that Indian Ocean Arab navigational expertise would have passed via Egypt to Mediterranean Europe at a time when the Portuguese and Spanish had a definite hunger for it.

Besides the question of the ships and navigational instruments, there is also that of sailing charts—the portulans. Yule's translation of Marco Polo's *Travels* has it that Marco Polo saw sea charts in the hands of Arab navigators.¹⁰³ Brauer, however, points out that the translation was inaccurate and that the text did not refer to true sea charts but only to sailing instructions called the *rahmānī*. He also points out that Marco Polo refers to an Arab *mappemundi*, which before his time would have been al-Idrīsī's world map of 549/1154.¹⁰⁴ This raises the twin issues of the portulan and the *mappemundi*. Taking first the portulan, J. H. Kramers points out that it was a result of both long sailing experience and the use of the compass.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the use of both compass and portulan in the Mediterranean dates from the 13th century. The oldest known European portulan is the *Carta Pisana* made by a Genoese but discovered in Pisa. However, sailing experience did not just depend on the compass and the portulan, but on accurate maps, particularly of the Mediterranean, where the two civilisations—European and Arab—met. It is quite likely that Marco Polo was acquainted with the 6th/12th century work of al-Idrīsī (d. 563/1166), particularly in view of the Italian background of the court of Roger II of Sicily. Al-Idrīsī's *Geography* contained some 70 sectional maps of his world map, some of which could have been taken by Marco Polo as sea charts. Al-Idrīsī also made for his

Norman patron a celestial sphere and a disc-shaped map of the world, both in silver.¹⁰⁶ We know how greatly Columbus was influenced by his predecessor and fellow Italian Marco Polo, and I feel certain that Columbus and his brother, who were always investigating maps in Lisbon, had come across the maps of al-Idrīsī. J. H. Kramers writes: "The portulans also show a very detailed design of the coastlines, and these details can hardly have been the work of one generation. Now we need only remember the exact description of the African coast in the work of al-Idrīsī and his predecessors Ibn Hawqal and al-Bakrī to realise that the experience of Islamic navigators—reflected in the geographical treatises cited above—must have contributed considerably to the composition of those prototypes of modern cartography, the oldest portulans."¹⁰⁷ Later the Ottoman Admiral Piri Reis, in his *Kitāb-i Bahriye*,¹⁰⁸ written in the mid-10th/16th century, gives a series of most beautiful portulans. He is also the author of a world map drawn in 919/1513¹⁰⁹ and presented to the Ottoman sultan Salim (918/1512-926/1520), conqueror of Egypt, in 923/1517. This famous map shows the American coastline as drawn, admittedly, by using a map of Columbus and other sources. Since Columbus' original map is lost, Piri Reis' map is the earliest representation of the former's discoveries in the New World.

The Ottomans posed a challenge to the Spanish and Portuguese expansion in the New World in the first half of the 16th century,¹¹⁰ but soon withdrew into the problems of their over-extended land empire from North Africa to the Middle East to Central Europe. The Mediterranean itself required considerable naval resources, whether a victory was achieved in Cyprus (1570) or defeat suffered at Lepanto (1571).¹¹¹ The Ottoman state still had the vitality to recover naval strength¹¹² sufficient for defence of its long coastal frontiers, but not enough for any future confrontation with the Spanish and the Portuguese across the straits of Gibraltar. Spain and Portugal, for their part, became involved in the defence of their far-flung empire and trade against new challengers such as England, Holland and France. Prester John and Grand Khān had served their utopian purpose. Gold, slaves and spices, as well as colonisation in the newly discovered lands, were now more important than crusades against the Muslims. In the age of the East India companies, the recovery of Jerusalem faded as the prime motivating factor in their political activity. Yet the memory of those days still lingers in such American place-names as Matamoros (St. James, "the Moor-killer").

As I was writing this article, I heard the sad news of the death of my very dear friend, Ali Muhammad Virani, in Karachi, on 4 April 1991. I dedicate this article to his memory.

I am grateful to Professor Jeanette Wakin, editor of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, for allowing me to use parts of my two articles published in the *Journal*: "Columbus and the Recovery of Jerusalem", Vol. 99/1, 1979, pp. 39-46; and "Ottoman Response to the Discovery of America", Vol. 101/3, 1981, pp. 323-30.

¹ Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie della vita e de'fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo*, Venice 1571; English translation entitled *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand*, by Benjamin Keen, New Brunswick, 1959, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries*, Chicago, 1990, p. 21.

⁵ Reference could be made to the following sources: William Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, New York, 1922; George Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*, New York, 1924; John W. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, New York, 1925 (reprinted 1965); George Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, London, 1938; Charles E. Nowell, *The Great Discoveries and the First Colonial Empires*, Ithaca, 1954; and, recently, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus, Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492*, Philadelphia, 1987.

⁶ A. V. Efimov, "Vopros ob Otkrytii Ameriki" ("On the Discovery of America") in *Iz istorii velikikh russkikh geograficheskikh otkrytii* (Moscow), 1970, pp. 11-20. My colleague Professor Russell Bartley was kind enough to point this excellent article out to me. See also Wilcomb Washburn, "The Meaning of 'Discovery' in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *American Historical Review*, 68/1, Oct. 1962, pp. 1-21.

⁷ G. R. Crone, "The Origin of the Name Antilia", *Geographical Journal*, 91, 1938, pp. 260-62. The above-mentioned works of Babcock, Nunn, Wright, Kimble, Nowell and Fernández-Armesto give further information on them. Samuel E. Morison, in his *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 16-21, discusses the effect of the Antilia legend on Columbus. The island appears on the Beccaco map of 1435, the Paretto map of 1455, the Benicasa map of 1482 and the Cantino map of 1502.

⁸ Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

⁹ Ferdinand Columbus, *Life*, pp. 19-22.

¹⁰ Henri Vignaud, *Historie critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1911, 2 vols.

¹¹ See Paul Kahle, "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geographical Review*, 23, Oct. 1933, pp. 621-38; E. H. Van De Waal, "Manuscript Maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Istanbul", *Imago Mundi*, 23, 1969, pp. 81-89.

¹² D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, London, 1971, p. 162, on the authority of Al-Mas'ūdi's *Murūj al-dhahab*, I, 258.

¹³ Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 311, note 83, on the authority of Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Anas al-'Udhri, *Kitāb Tarṣī' al-aḥbār*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid, 1965, p. 119.

¹⁴ Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Philadelphia, 1920-22, particularly Vol. 3, Chapter 12, on "The Mandingo elements in Mexican civilisation" (pp. 228-332), and the conclusion, points 29 to 48, on pp. 365-70; Theodore Monod, "Au bord de l'océan ténébreux: Atlantique et Afrique", *IFAN* (Saint Louis de Sénégal), 1944, particularly pp. 9-10; M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Arabs discover America before Columbus", *The Muslim Digest* (Durban), Sept. 1953, pp. 18-26, and "Pre-Colombian Arabs in the Caribbean", *The Muslim Digest*, August 1954, pp. 25-29 (Jeffreys posits the Arab arrival in America as occurring around 1000 A. D.); Raymond Mauny, *Les navigations médiévales sur les côtes sahariennes antérieures à la découverte portugaise (1434)*, Lisbon, 1960, particularly pp. 26-33, 85-91 and 103-10.

Muḥammad Ḥamidullah's works: "L'Afrique découvre l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb", *Présence Africaine* (Paris), Feb.-May 1958, pp. 173-83, followed by "Muslim Discovery of America before Columbus", in the *Hyderabad Times*, 'Id edition, Dec. 1976-Jan. 1977. Based on it, we also have a Turkish translation and elaboration by Sureyya Sirma, "Amerika yi Kim Kesfetti?" [name of journal not visible on my copy], pp. 49-54.

¹⁵ Al-Idrisī, *Nuzhat al-muṣhtāq*, Italian edition in 9 fascicules, Naples, 1970-1984, pp. 233-34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 548-49. Babcock, *op. cit.*, p. 7, also makes a brief reference to it.

¹⁷ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (d. 749/1348), *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-anṣār*. The Cairo MS has 32 volumes of the book. The relevant portion was published by Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, entitled "Waṣf Ifriqiya wa 'l-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus fi awāṣiṭ al-qarn al-thāmin li 'l-hijra" in *Al-Badr* (Journal of the Zaytūniyya University, Tunis) in 1925. It was translated into French, with notes by Maurice Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *Masālik*

al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār, I-L'āfrique moins l'Égypte, Paris, 1937. See pp. 70 and 74-75 for a contemporary report.

¹⁸ Ḥamidullah, "L'Afrique découvre l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb", pp. 173-83. This explanation is, of course, a conjecture, but it is not as far-fetched as many others, such as the Gaelic *Bersil*, O'Brassil, *Breasail*; the French *braise*; the Portuguese *braz*, *braseiro*; the Spanish *brasero*, and the Italian *braciare*—all having to do with fire; or an early 1193 reference to "the grain of Brasil", repeated much later by Marco Polo, who brought such Brasil seeds from Sumatra to Venice. See Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-67.

¹⁹ Ḥamidullah, "Muslim Discovery", p. 17.

²⁰ S. Maqbūl Aḥmad, "Djughrafiyya", article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, pp. 575-87.

²¹ J. H. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce", in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, London, 1931, pp. 93-94.

²² Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

²³ Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

²⁴ A good study of *Il Milione* is by Leonardo Olschki in his *Marco Polo's Asia*, Berkeley, 1960.

²⁵ The Journals of Columbus have been published in several monumental volumes, such as Martin Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, Vols. I-III, 1825-29, reproduced as *Viajes de Cristóbal Colón*, Madrid, 1941; *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi Publicati Falla R. Commissione Colombina* (1892-94), in 6 parts, divided into 14 vols. and a supplement; John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus, his life, his works, his remains*, New York 1903-04, 3 vols.; Cecil Jane, *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, London 1930-1933, 2 vols.; and, S. E. Morison, *Journals and other documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, New York, 1963. Only Morison's *Journals* has been used in this paper, as it contains a most judicious selection and, in its English translation, accords well with the Spanish text of Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias* (1951/65 edition).

²⁶ Ferdinand, *Life*, p. 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸ An embargo on trade in essential materials to the Muslim countries had already been imposed on the Catholic world by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and been reiterated by subsequent papal and conciliar legislation. See *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, P. Joannou, C. Leonardi and P. Prodi, Basle 1962, Canon 71, p. 246.

²⁹ Marino Sanudo called Il Vecchio ("the Elder"): *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, Toronto, 1972 (reproduction of the 1611 edition).

³⁰ Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³¹ Charles Nowell, *The Great Discoveries* (see note 5 above), p. 13. George Kimble, in his *Geography* (see note 5 above) p. 128n., observes that the term "Indies" is "a vague term, for in the Middle Ages there were at least three Indias, viz. India Minor, India Major and India Tertia, i.e. Sind, Hind and Zinj of the Arabs. The first two were located in Asia, the last in Africa (Ethiopia)". Kimble's quotation should not be taken to mean that the medieval Arab geographers considered "Zanj" to be a part of India, for they were better acquainted with the geography of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean. On the question of three Indias, see also John Wright, *Geographical Lore* (see note 5 above), pp. 272-73.

³² Ibn Iyās (d. shortly after 928/1522): *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafa, Istanbul, 1931-32, III, 239. An interesting thing about the Egyptian mission was that it was led by two Franciscan monks from Jerusalem, resident in Egypt. The celebrated author Peter Martyr (d. ca. 1525) led a counter-mission to Egypt in 1501 about which he wrote a book entitled, *De Legatione Babylonica*. Cf. Willilam Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, Philadelphia, 1875, II, 58-59 and 74-77; and John Boyd Thacher, *ibid.*, I, 3-110 (where the fullest life-sketch of Peter Martyr is given). Peter Martyr is known for his *Decades de Orbe Novo*, published anonymously, Venice, 1504.

³³ Diego Ortiz Zúñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, c. 1793, III, 145, quoted in Washington Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, London, 1828, I, 137-38.

³⁴ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ca. 1550-1563, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo and Lewis Hanke, Mexico, D. F. and Buenos Aires, 1951 (second ed. 1965); another edition by

Pérez de Tudela, Madrid, 1957, 2 vols. A full life-sketch of Las Casas is given in Thacher, *op. cit.*, I, 113-59.

³⁵ Morison, *Journals*, pp. 47-48. Compare the translation in Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley Jr., *The Diaries of Christopher Columbus' First Voyage to America*, Norman, 1989. In this case there is no variance of meaning between Morison and the later translators.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁸ On his fourth and last voyage, Columbus asked the Spanish court for Arabic interpreters and he was assigned two (Morison, *Journals*, p. 310).

³⁹ Morison, *ibid.* pp. 93, 103.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁴² Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento de America*, Vols. 4 and 5 of *Historia de América*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1945, pp. 486-504. On the question of the *Book of Prophecies*, see Pauline Moffitt Watts' detailed article, "Prophecy and Discovery. On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus' Enterprise of the Indies", *American Historical Review*, 90/1, 1985, pp. 73-102.

⁴³ Ballesteros Beretta, *ibid.*, where Columbus' correspondence with Gorrício and the Pope has been reproduced in full.

⁴⁴ Joachim of Fiore (Flora, Floris) was a Cistercian mystic, born at Celicio, Italy, ca. 1130 and died at Fiore, Calabria, in 1202. He lived a life of poverty and is known for his teachings on the Trinity and on history. Beginning from 1519, a series of apocalyptic writings were attributed to him. (See the article on "Joachim" by M. F. Laughlin in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.) The standard work on the Abbot is by Grundmann, *Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore*, Marburg, 1950. John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkeley, 1970, p. 22, writes: "It is understandable why Columbus invoked Joachim's name. In the later Middle Ages, Joachim was often regarded as the arch Prophet of the Apocalypse. It is difficult to determine with any satisfactory degree of exactitude what pseudo-Joachimite work, if any, Columbus had in mind when he twice quoted that Prophet to the effect that the man who is to rebuild the temple of Mount Sion is to come from Spain. The decisive fact to stress, however, is that Columbus consciously sought to surround himself with the magic aura that over the centuries had enveloped the name of Joachim by proclaiming himself the Joachimite Messiah."

⁴⁵ St Jerome (fl. 345-420), church father and scholar of the classics and the Scripture, is claimed by Spain as a native son, although he was born in Italy. He lived a monastic life in Bethlehem from 386 A. D. to his death. He was an exegete rather than a theologian, and is also known as a passionate polemicist. For more information, see F. X. Murphy's article, "Jerome, St." in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1967, VII, 872-74.

The Holy Lady refers to Spain. Gaines Post, in his *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322*, Princeton, 1964, p. 489, quotes the opinion of Vicentus Hispanus (d. 1248), a famous lawyer, Chancellor to King Sancho II in 1226 and Bishop of Idanha-Guarda in 1229, in these words: "In France, in England, in Germany and in Constantinople, the Spanish [are renowned because they] rule over the *Blessed Lady Spain* of which they are acquiring the lordship and which, as lords and masters, they are expanding by virtue of their valour and probity". I am indebted to my late colleague Professor John McGovern for this information.

⁴⁶ Morison, *Journals*, p. 383.

⁴⁷ The account of the Mongol-Christian relations that follows is based on Christopher Dawson's study, *The Mongol Mission*, New York, 1955, introduction; and Bertold Spuler, *The Muslim World, Part II (The Mongol Period)*, pp. 16-35.

⁴⁸ Rabban Sauma's words are quoted in Dawson, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Zaytūn was the city of Ch'uan-chou in what is now Fukien province, and was the most important port in China from the 8th to the 15th century. In the 12th century its population was estimated at 500,000; it had a large Arab community, a mosque and a Muslim cemetery. It was in close trading contact with Japan, as well as with India and the Middle East. Zaytūn declined after the 15th century when the river silted up the harbour and it became eclipsed by the city of Amoy (Hsia-men) some forty miles to the southwest. Zaytūn had served as the principal base for the nine expeditions of the Muslim Admiral of the Ming Emperors, Cheng-Ho (1371-1434).

(*Encyclopedia of Asian History*, Tokyo, 1960, IV, 281-82; VIII, 427-428. Cf. D. Howard Smith, "Zaitūn's Five Centuries of Sino-Foreign Trade", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1958, pp. 165-77).

⁵⁰ The modern Hang-chow was known in the 13th century as Hsing-tsai, or Kinsai, whence Quinsay. It meant the temporary abode of the Emperor when he was travelling (*Encyclopaedia of Asian History*).

⁵¹ Henry Serruys, "Notes on a few Mongolian Rulers of the 15th Century", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76, 1956, pp. 82-90.

⁵² Spuler, *op. cit.*, III, 221-22.

⁵³ Morison, *Journals*, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, London, 1938, I, 325-26. A more detailed work on the Council is by Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge (England), 1961.

⁵⁵ Henri Vignaud, in his *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1911, argued that Columbus was only looking for a mythical island called Antillas in the Atlantic, that he was wholly guided by a mysterious pilot, and that his proposal to go to Asia and other details of his *Journals*, together with the Toscanelli correspondence, are all fabrications. His argument was repudiated by Diego Luis Molinari in his *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, II, Buenos Aires, 1937, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁶ Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, 246-47, 311, 370.

⁵⁷ On Prester John, a useful summary is contained in Olschki, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-97; also in C. E. Nowell, "The Historical Prester John", *Speculum*, 28, 1953, p. 435 *et seq.* and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-86. More importantly, refer to C. F. Beckingham, *Between Islam and Christendom*, London, 1983, first two articles.

⁵⁸ Olschki, *op. cit.*, p. 385, based on *Sinica Franciscana*, I, 206.

⁵⁹ A brief yet well-documented account of Portugal overseas before the time of Henry the Navigator is contained in Bailey W. Diffie, *Prelude to Empire*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1960. From Prince Henry's time onward we have Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, New York, 1969, and his small but authentic survey, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion (1415-1825)*, Johannesburg, 1965; also B. W. Diffie and G. D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*, Minneapolis, 1977. My account is based on these sources. A different type of interpretation is contained in Vitorino Magalhaes-Godinho, *L'Economie de l'Empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1969. John H. Parry, commenting on it in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2/3, 1972, p. 284, says: "Magalhães-Godinho brushes aside the crusading element in the story. He points out that the Kingdoms of the Maghrib did not present a threat to Christian Europe; that at the time of the first African voyages the Ottoman power was relatively quiescent and that in any event it was far out of reach of any 'outflanking' move which the Portuguese might attempt. He dismisses—a little too cavalierly perhaps—the search for 'Prester John' and the desire to proselytise as chronicler's embellishments or as exercises in public relations."

⁶⁰ See the article, "Order of Christ", *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

⁶¹ For the Muslim side of the picture, see Charles-André Julien, *History of North Africa*, trans. Petrie, ed. Stewart, London-New York, 1970, pp. 207-09.

⁶² Azurara, "The Chronicle and Conquest of Guinea", trans. C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage, in *Readings in Medieval History*, ed. J. F. Scott, A. Hyma and A. H. Noyes, New York, 1933, pp. 568-70; also in Brian Tierney, *The Middle Ages*, I, New York, 1970, pp. 323-25.

⁶³ Boxer, *Four Centuries*, p. 7. See notes 59 and 62 above and Charles Martel de Witte, *Les Bulles Pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle*, Louvain, 1958.

⁶⁴ See A. A. Alim, "Aḥmad ibn Mājid, an Arab navigator of the XVth Century and his Contributions to Marine Sciences", in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the History of Oceanography* (held in Dec. 1966), Monaco, 1967. A more detailed biography of Ibn Mājid is contained in the same author's book, *Ibn Mājid al-Mallāh*, Cairo, 1966.

Ibn Mājid wrote several books on the principles, practice and advantages of navigation, two of which are his principal compositions, *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī uṣūl 'ilm al-baḥr wa 'l qawā'id* and *Ḥāwiyat al-ikhtisār fī uṣūl 'ilm al-biḥār*. This second book is in verse and shows the literary accomplishment of the Arab captain. *Kitāb al-fawā'id* is now translated into English by G. R. Tibbetts in his *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean Before the Coming of the Portuguese*, London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1981.

The reference to Aḥmad b. Mājīd actually navigating the Portuguese admiral's ship to Calicut in southern India is from Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī's (917/1511-990/1582) book, *Al-Barq al-Yamānī fī 'l-faṭḥ al-Uṭhmānī*, a history of the Ottoman conquest of Yaman. Gabriel Ferrand, in his *Instructions Nautiques et Routiers Arabs et Portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1928, III, 183-99, uses this source from a MS. The book is now printed, ed. Ḥamād al-Jāsir, Riyadh, 1387/1967. The relevant passage occurs on pp. 18-19. The passage gives the name of the Muslim captain quite clearly, though Vasco da Gama is referred to as *ila* or *al* or *ala-Malindi*, which Ferrand thinks is an Arabised corruption of *almirante* (admiral) (p. 185). It is possible that a few words could be missing in the MSS, indicating that the Portuguese captain had gone to Malindi. The passage refers to the help given by Ibn Mājīd in a state of intoxication, which Ferrand thinks is not correct. It only represents, according to him, Al-Nahrawālī's indignation at Ibn Mājīd's gullibility in being exploited by Da Gama. Ferrand also cites Portuguese accounts. One is that of Fernão Lopez de Castanheda in his *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portuguezes* (1551). (We now have a revised edition by Pedro de Azevedo, Coimbra, 1924-1933, 4 vols.) According to him, the king of Malindi assigned a Gujrati (Indian) pilot called Canaka for Da Gama's ship. Another author, João de Barros, in his book *Da Asia*, written also in the 1550s (now ed. by Hernani Cidade, Lisbon, 1945-1946, 4 vols.), gives the name of Da Gama's pilot as the "Maur of Gujrat, Malemo Cana". Malemo is *Mu'allim* ("Master Navigator"). He is a Moor, i.e. a Muslim, and Cana is a variation of Da Castanheda's Canaka. Ferrand points out that Cana or Canaka is not a name. It is an Indian title, Ganaka meaning a learned person—in other words, a synonym of *mu'allim*. He also thinks that al-Nahrawālī's near contemporary evidence is correct. Al-Nahrawālī himself was a Gujrati, lived in Yaman, wrote in Arabic, and was well acquainted with the near-contemporary events of the Indian Ocean. Dr. Ralph Brauer was kind enough to send me a typescript of an article of his, entitled "The Contribution of Arabic Nautical Knowledge to the Development of Western European Navigational Techniques", in which he cites (p. 27) another source, Alvaro Velho's *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXVIII*, (ed. Diego Kopke, Lisbon, 1838) who, writing in 1501, suggests that Da Gama was guided by a Christian taken aboard in Malindi. No name is given. Hence all Portuguese sources are unacquainted with the name of the captain.

I would like to draw an inference from certain events of the time. Between Bartholomeu Diaz's arrival at the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 and Vasco da Gama's arrival in Malindi in 1498, a Portuguese spy who knew Arabic, Pero de Covilha, operating in Ethiopia, had reported to the Portuguese king, Dom João, in 1492 about the feasibility of reaching India from the East African coast, probably with the help of Muslim navigators. (See Beckingham, *op. cit.*, ch. 9.) Da Gama must have been armed with this information in advance and would have known whom to contact in Malindi, most probably the well-known Muslim captain Aḥmad b. Mājīd. A useful recent work on the period is J. Bacque-Grammont and Anne Kroell's *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge*, Cairo, 1988.

⁶⁵ Boxer, *Four Centuries*, pp. 12-14, Da Castanheda, *op. cit.* in note 64 above; English trans. by Nicholas Litchfield in *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1824, pp. 343-59. Also see Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550*, London, 1899.

⁶⁶ R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 13-21. This book contains English translations of several South Arabian chronicles pertaining to the Portuguese activity in the Indian Ocean, particularly *Ta'rikh al-Shihri*, covering the period 1495-1592. See also G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs (1511-1524)*, Urbana, 1942, pp. 29-30, on the authority of Venetian envoys—Peter Pasquali (*Letter*) and Girolamo Priuli (*Diarii*). See also Sir George Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 167. The most important contemporary source is Duarte Barbosa's *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* (ca. 1514); Portuguese ed., 1812, trans. into English by Henry E. J. Stanley, London, 1865; Johnson Reprint, New York, 1970, p. 21.

⁶⁷ Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Part II, rev. J. B. Harrison, Oxford, 1958, p. 276.

⁶⁸ Serjeant, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-21. Contemporary Arabic sources are Ibn al-Dayba' (of Zabid, Yemen) (d. 944/1537), *Kitāb qurraṭ al-'uyūn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1986, 2 vols.; Abū Maḥrāma (d. 947/1540), *Qilādat al-nahr*, in L. O. Schuman, *Political History of Yaman at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, Amsterdam, 1961; and al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

⁶⁹ Gerald de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London, 1951, pp. 113-26; also relevant sections of Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Leiden, 1888-89, 2 vols.

⁷⁰ Stripling, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-36. The contemporary Arabic sources are Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, and Ibn Tūlūn (d. 953/1546), *Mufākahat al-khullān fī ḥawādith al-zamān* (a history of Egypt and Syria from 1480 to 1520), Cairo, 1962/64, 2 vols., although the latter is concerned more with the local affairs of Syria.

⁷¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

⁷² This is reported by Ibn Iyās, the last portion of whose history, covering the period 1501-16, is translated into French by Gaston Wiet under the title, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire: Chronique d'Ibn Iyās*, Paris, 1955, p. 106, and confirmed by Duarte Barbosa (ca. 1514), *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁷³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

⁷⁴ *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque*, trans. from the Portuguese edition of 1774 by W. Birch, London; Burt Franklin reprint, New York, 1970, III, 175.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 37. See also Stripling, *op. cit.*, p. 34, and H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 142.

⁷⁶ Christopher Bell in his *Portugal and the Quest of the Indies*, New York, 1974, says: "The land of Prester John had been firmly identified with Ethiopia and from time to time Coptic monks appeared in Jerusalem or even in Rome to confirm that the ruler of Ethiopia and his subjects were indeed Christians" (p. 154). In the time of Almeida and Albuquerque, the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* (ed. cit., p. 19) speaks of Ethiopia as the Kingdom of Prester John. Cf. Father Francisco Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies, 1520*, trans. Lord Stanley, London, 1881; *Aethiopiae Regis ... ad Clementem Papam VII*, Paris, ca. 1531, which in the Bologna edition of 1533 bears the name, Prester John, as author. See also Beckingham, *op. cit.* in note 57 above, and C. R. Boxer, *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750*, London, 1984.

⁷⁷ Stripling, *op. cit.*, p. 34. See also H. Morse Stephens on Albuquerque in *Rulers of India*, 1892; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1907-1908, Chapter 2.

⁷⁸ See Serafittin Turan's article "Seydi Ali Reis" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, X, 528-31.

⁷⁹ See Gabriel Ferrand's monumental work in 3 vols., 1921-28, on Ibn Mājid and al-Mahri's works, *Instruction nautiques, etc.*, cited in note 64 above.

⁸⁰ See Charles D. Baldwin's very useful article, "The Interchange of European and Asian Navigational Information in the Far East Before 1620", in *Five Hundred Years of Nautical Science 1400-1900*, being the Proceedings of the Third International Reunion for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography held at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 18-24 September 1979, ed. Derek Howse, London, National Maritime Museum 1981, pp. 80-92; G. R. Tibbetts, *The Navigational Theory of the Arabs in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Monograph, Coimbra, 1969; Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation*; E. G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art*, New York, 1971, with an appendix by Joseph Needham on "Navigation in Medieval China"; and J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 1959-1971, 4 vols.

⁸¹ Diffie, *Prelude*, p. 6.

⁸² J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berna, 1954-57, 4 vols.

⁸³ Jaime Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain*, Princeton, 1969, p. 216.

⁸⁴ See the Arabic lexicon, *Tāj al-'arūs*, I, 425.

⁸⁵ A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Cairo, 1966, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁶ A. Ballesteros Beretta, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ J. H. Parry, *The Establishment of European Hegemony 1415-1715*, New York, 1959, p. 21. Pierre Paris in "Voile latine? Voile arabe? Voile mystérieuse", *Hespéris*, 36, 1969, pp. 69-96, followed by Lynn White, Jr.: "Diffusion of the Lateen Sail", paper given at the International Congress of the History of Science, Moscow, 1971, who asserts that the lateen sail was given by Mediterranean Europe to the Indian Ocean, and Arabs used it only after 1500. This argument derives from speaking about lateen without looking at the textual evidence about caravels.

⁸⁸ Parry, *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the difference between the caravel and other ships, see Quirino da Fonseca, *A Caravela Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1934, p. 177, and José María Martínez-Hidalgo, *Columbus' Ships*, Barre, Mass., 1966, pp. 24-25.

⁹⁰ Tibbetts, *Navigational Theory*, p. 6.

- 91 Needham, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-63.
 92 E. G. R. Taylor, *Haven-Finding Art*, p. 95.
 93 Tibbetts, *Navigational Theory*, p. 7.
 94 Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
 95 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 96 Needham, *op. cit.*, IV, 575, for citation of the Sung hui yao kao (Drafts of the Administrative Statutes of the Sung Dynasty). Cf. Charles Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 80. I am indebted to Dr. Ralph Brauer for having drawn my attention to the useful information contained in Baldwin's work.
 97 Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
 98 H. F. Schurman, *Economic Structure of the Yuan Dynasty (Translation of chapters 93 & 94 and the Yuan Shih)*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1956, p. 109.
 99 Needham, *op. cit.*, III, 367-78.
 100 Ma Huan, *Ying Yai Sheng Lan* (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores, 1433), trans. and ed. J. V. Mills, London, p. 5.
 101 Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
 102 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Berkeley, particularly Vol. 1 (Economic Foundation), 1967. See chapter 4 on Travel and Seafaring, pp. 273-353.
 103 Henry Yule (trans.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1903, pp. 312 and 424.
 104 Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
 105 Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
 106 S. Maqbūl Ahmad, "Djughrafiyya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, and Philip Hitti's *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed., New York, 1974, p. 609.
 107 Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
 108 Piri Reis, *Kitāb-i-Bahriye*, facsimile ed., Istanbul, Turkish Historical Society, 1935.
 109 See Paul Kahle, "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geographical Review*, 23, Oct. 1933, pp. 621-38.
 110 See my article, "Ottoman Response", referred to above, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 101/3, 1981, pp. 323-30. I am also working on a detailed article entitled "Ottoman Interest in America During the Sixteenth Century", which was first given as a paper at the Xth Turkish History Conference at Ankara, 22-26 Sept., 1986.
 111 A good survey of the situation can be found in H. Inalcik, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 324-53.
 112 I. H. Uzünçarsili, "Bahriyya" (Section III on the Ottoman Navy), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

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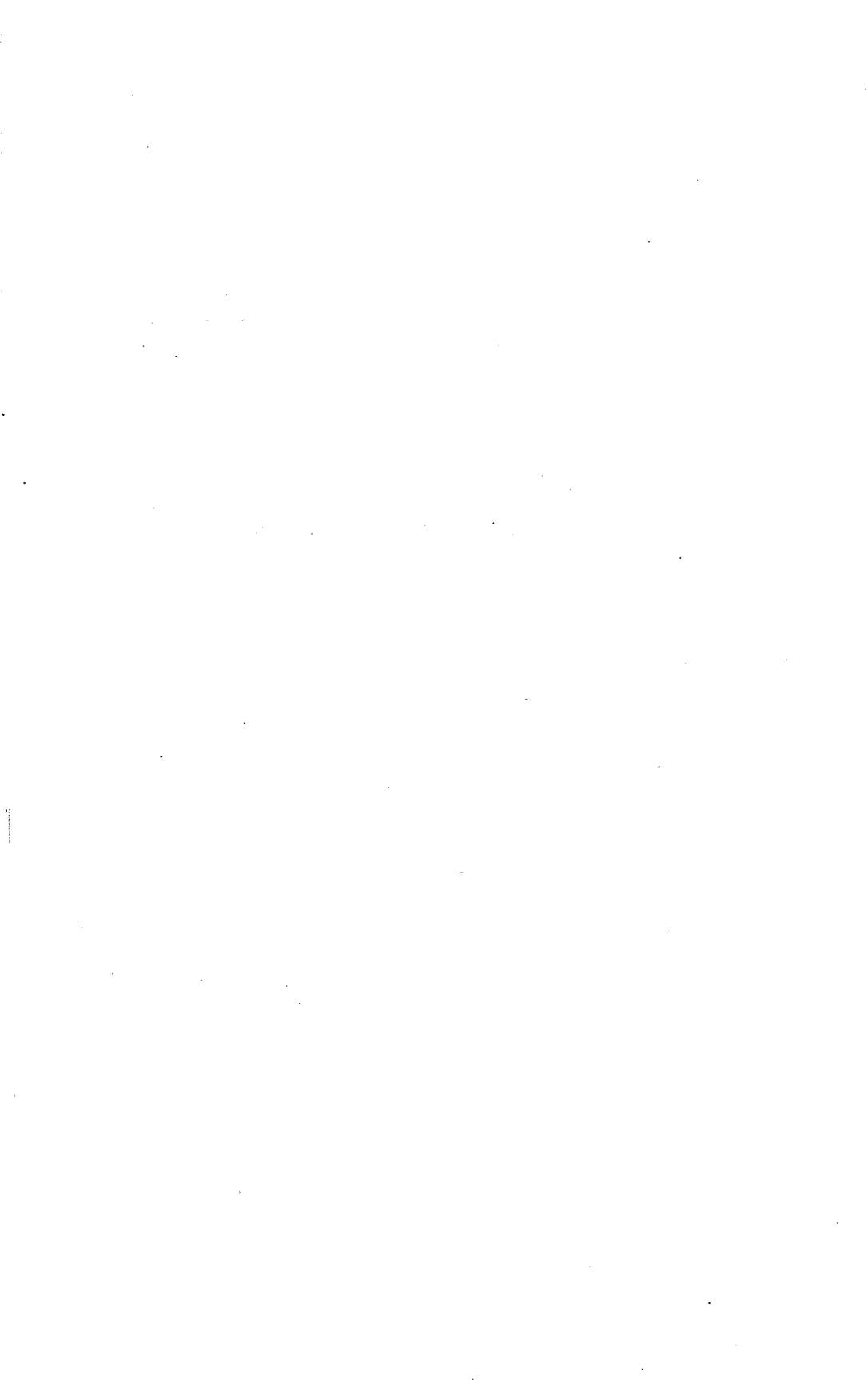
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LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE



ANDALUSĪ BELLES LETTRES

PIERRE CACHIA

Arabic literature begins with a corpus of magnificent monorhyme odes dating back to the century immediately preceding the birth of Islam, yet already bearing the marks of a long development in the conventional succession of themes that they broached and in the resonant quantitative meters into which they were moulded. Paradoxically, for all that these poems were pagan in origin and in tenor, the new religion strengthened their hold on succeeding generations by making the eloquence of the Quran its only authenticating miracle and the language it shared with them the only valid medium of revelation. And when, with the rapid expansion of its empire, Islam drew into its fold other ethnic groups who were themselves heirs to advanced civilisations and derided the Arabs for their rough beginnings, these found a balm for their pride in what new converts could not gainsay: the fact that revelation had been vouchsafed to them in their own tongue. Their scholars built the sciences they needed for the interpretation of the Scriptures upon the evidence embodied in the old poetry, and the myth that every Arab was a potential poet found expression in a saying sometimes ascribed to the Prophet himself: that excellence was sent down into three human organs—the hearts of the Greeks, the hands of the Chinese, and the tongues of the Arabs.¹

The entire literature was thus imprinted with a linguistic purism and a reverence for tradition that gave it extraordinary continuity over centuries, and a homogeneity that defied geographical differences and transcended political divisions. The reality was that the vast majority of Arabic-speaking peoples lived lives far removed from that of the desert. Yet the standards of the Ancients remained normative, and it was considered part of the training of such a poet as al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965), who hawked his immense talents from one princely court to another, that he had spent some of his youth with a nomadic tribe. Changes did occur—in the balance of themes, in subtleties of expression, in the preference for some classical meters—but the most obvious and the most openly acknowledged was a growing taste for verbal artifice, so that a branch of Rhetoric was developed that concerned itself not with imagery but only with the effects that could be achieved by manipulation of the phonemes—as in the paronomasia—or even of the script—as when entire lines were composed that could be read as praise or satire by transposing the dots. In time, no fewer than one hundred and fifty such “schemes” were devised.²

Except in oratory, literary prose did not make an appearance until well into the Islamic era. It grew largely out of the activities of court secretaries who vied with one another in elegance of diction, readily accepting the poets' norms of linguistic purity and verbal dexterity. Even official letters, the subject-matter of which was dictated, have been deemed worthy of preservation because of their style. Out of such correspondence grew a number of variations—descriptive or expository essays, which still retained the label of *risāla* ("epistle")—but no one genre that called for sustained and unified invention, the enormous *adab* books being in fact compilations of short prose pieces.

Even narrative art found an outlet only in the *maqāma*, a word which has been translated into English as "assembly" and into French as "séance", with the implication that it could be read at a single sitting.³ It is most commonly a brief tale about a petty fraud perpetrated by a plausible and likeable rogue, who gets away with a free meal or some other modest booty. The subject-matter is not without antecedents in the literature,⁴ but the form was given artistic recognition when it was adopted and perfected by Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (358/968-398/1007), whose *maqāmas* have, with few exceptions, a single narrator and a single anti-hero as binding elements. And within one century Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (446/1054-516/1122), who also strung his fifty *maqāmas* together by naming one narrator and one amiable rogue, had brought the genre to a peak of virtuosity by reducing the narrative to a mere framework within which his anti-hero almost invariably dazzled his victims by a display of verbal fireworks, such as orations made up entirely of undotted letters of the alphabet, while yet maintaining the elaborate rhyming and other rhetorical embellishments that had by then become mandatory in all writing with literary pretensions.

Yet long before this the Arabic-speaking peoples had adopted ways of life conformable with a variety of environments far removed from that of their nomadic forebears, in countries that had a share in the heritage of other cultures. The very language of daily communication had evolved into a number of local vernaculars, all devoid of the desinences that mark the classical idiom. It is at least arguable that the literary establishment could not have maintained its linguistic purism and its cult of stylistic virtuosity if there had not also been another outlet for creativity, more intimately related to the needs and realities of everyday life.

There did in fact develop a number of regional folk literatures that apparently reflected the realities and interests of everyday life; but if only because these were couched in colloquial forms of the language regarded as corruptions, they have been largely ignored if not despised by the scholars. Their early existence is attested only by casual, and often derogatory, references in scholarly works. Here and there, some samples—such as the *Arabian Nights*—have been preserved (albeit not without distortion) when a

scribe put them into a grammatical form minimally acceptable to the educated. The scant regard in which such products of the popular imagination were held probably inhibited parallel developments among the élite—certainly mere story-telling was long deemed unworthy of an intellectual's attention. Only exceptionally have some features of these lowly arts passed into the canon, usually when a learned writer deigned to recast them in the idiom of the "high" literature. This is presumably how the *maqāma* came into being, for its subject-matter bespeaks a popular origin.

This lengthy preamble is called for because al-Andalus—as Arabs and Arabists call those parts of Iberia that came under Muslim sway—has been an uncommonly interesting proving ground for both the pervasiveness and the vitality of Arab-Islamic culture. It was geographically remote from the Islamic heartlands, and was politically detached from them at an early date. Among the so-called "Moors" of Spain many races were represented, and only a small minority was of Arab stock. Far more significantly—for many of the giants of Arabic culture were not ethnically Arab—the region was never thoroughly Islamised or Arabised. For nearly eight centuries, Muslims, Christians and Jews, speakers of Arabic and of Romance, lived side by side. Converts found a *modus vivendi* with kinsmen who remained loyal to their old faith. Here as elsewhere, some seasonal celebrations originating in the Islamic world, such as the *nawrūz* and the *mihrajān*, were made to coincide with Christian festivals.⁵ Soldiers of fortune such as El Cid served masters with different religious labels. There were mixed marriages alike between princely families and between itinerant singers. How was prose writing affected by all this?

That Andalusī at least initially took their models and their standards from the heartlands is unquestionable. When a Baghdādī luminary such as Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī (288/901-356/965) came to them, he was received with open arms, and his discourses—mainly lexicographical and grammatical, but conveying his literary preferences at least by implication—were faithfully recorded under the not inappropriate title of *Amālī* ("Dictations"). Their own budding scholars eagerly followed the injunction attributed to the Prophet to seek knowledge far and wide. Biographical dictionaries mention at least 226 Andalusīs who, under the Emirate alone, went East to study, and books were actually commissioned by Andalusī princes from Eastern scholars.⁶

Accordingly, the first prose writers were court secretaries, little of whose work is extant, but whose styles seem to have evolved in parallel with those of their Eastern models, from the crafted but unrhymed elegance of Sahl b. Hārūn and al-Jāhīz to the ornateness of al-Hamadhānī. Again as in the East, artistic prose detached itself from official correspondence, touching on some of the motifs of poetry, particularly description,⁷ sometimes in the form of an imaginary debate—e.g. between the pen and the sword, as in the *risāla* of Aḥmad b. Burd al-Aṣghar (d.445/1053).⁸ The term "epistle" was in fact

extended to quite elaborate works—better thought of as treatises—such as Abū 'l-Walīd Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Shaḡundī's (d.629/1231) spirited reply to Berber aspersions on Andalusī culture.

Al-Andalus was soon to produce giant *adab* works of its own, also consisting of collections of shorter pieces. One of the earliest, *Al-'Iqd al-farīd* ("The Unique Necklace") by Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī (246/860-328/940), is culled almost entirely from Eastern sources, and in particular quotes no Andalusī poetry other than the compiler's own. Yet it is attractively written and cleverly arranged in chapters given the names of gems to make up the necklace featured in the title. More substantive compositions were to follow. One such was *Sirāj al-mulūk* ("The Lamp of Kings"), by Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭuṣhī (i.e. of Tortosa), also known as Ibn Abī Randaqa (451/1059-525/1130), which was intended to cast a light on princely behaviour.

In fact, pride in the achievements of Andalusis gave rise to encyclopaedic cumulations of literary material, such as the aptly named *Al-Dhakhīra* ("The Treasury") of Ibn Bassām (d.542/1147), on which fellow-Andalusis like al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (d. 529/1134) as well as later Western scholars have drawn with great profit. A statesman who was also an erudite as well as a master of ornamental prose was Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (713/1313-776/1374).

Ornamentation was indeed the supreme quality sought in any writing deemed literary. In a work to which we shall have occasion to return, Ibn Shuhayd's *Epistle of Genii and Demons*, there is a passage which need not be taken literally as it occurs in a debating context, but which is revealing nevertheless; in it the author affirms his preference for the style of al-Jāḥiẓ and excuses his own resort to rhymed prose as a necessity brought about by cultural deficiencies in al-Andalus.⁹

The requirement to which Ibn Shuhayd bowed willingly or unwillingly was nowhere better displayed than in the *maqāma*. The first example of the genre known to have been written in al-Andalus was by Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī (390/1000-460/1067), who had taken refuge in Almería from the troubles that beset his native Ifrīqiya; following the example of one of al-Hamadḥānī's compositions, it featured a fictional character discussing a number of poets. It was not long, however, before al-Ḥarīrī had imposed his criteria. Several Andalusis are known to have sat at his feet to hear him expound his own masterpieces, and the standard commentary on them was written soon after by Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Sharīshī (i.e. "of Xeres", d. 619/1222). Many are the Andalusis who have been credited with imitating him, one of the earliest and most enamoured of verbal artifice being Abū 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Saraqusṭī al-Ashtarkuwī (i.e. of Esteruel, d. 538/1143), to whom is attributed a collection of fifty *maqāmas*.

Few Andalusī *maqāmas* have been collected, edited, or studied.¹⁰ From what is available, however, it emerges that it was the style of the *maqāma* rather than its stock characters or plots that impressed itself on Andalusis as

the supreme feature, so that they labelled *maqāma* any piece of finely wrought ornamental prose studded with elegant verses. Not a few are notable for a touch of humour or a fanciful twist. Thus the *maqāma* of the Feast of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, known as Ibn al-Murābi‘ al-Azdī (d. ca. 750/1350) recounts in the first person the misadventures of an unfortunate man who, at the urging of a shrewish wife, sets out to acquire a ram to slaughter for the feast. As for the *maqāma* of the plague known to have been composed by the *faqīh* (jurist) ‘Umar al-Mālaqī in 844/1440, it is in the form of an appeal from Málaga to the Alhambra, urging it to allow the court to take refuge in the author’s native city in order to escape the plague that had hit Granada. Nowhere is the character of the amiable trickster encountered, and many—such as Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb’s descriptions of the numerous cities he visited in Spain and in North Africa—have no narrative element in them at all. Indeed the fragment which is all that we have of a *maqāma* by Ibn Ghālib al-Ruṣāfi (d.572/1177) describing a reed-pen differs from an epistle only in the density of its rhetorical embellishments.

Particularly worthy of attention is that—whereas imaginative book-length compositions of unified conception are a rarity in pre-modern Arabic literature, the most famous in the heartlands being *Risālat al-ghufrān* (“The Epistle of Forgiveness”), in which Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (363/973–449/1057), describes a visit to heaven and to hell—at least three such works produced in al-Andalus have been justly celebrated.

The first is the *Risālat al-tawābi‘ wa ‘l-zawābi‘* (“The Epistle of Genii and Demons”) by the poet Abū ‘Āmir b. Shuhayd (382/992–426/1035). In the fragment that remains of this, the writer—possibly following a lead from one of the *maqāmas* of al-Hamadhānī,¹¹ although a connection with some of the *Dialogues* of Plato or of Lucian has also been conjectured¹²—seized upon the pre-Islamic belief that each poet had a familiar spirit and imagined a series of encounters with such genii, as well as with the genii of prose writers and of critics, and even with some articulate animals in their realm. More often than not, the author seizes the opportunity offered to compare the styles of his predecessors with his own, to display his ability to emulate them, or to discuss issues of literary interest, such as instances of plagiarism or the use made by successive poets of particular conceits. The book is known to have been written as a counterblast to some derogatory remarks made by three individuals at court. It works well, nevertheless, as a light and fanciful way of presenting literary criticism. Besides, it contains deft touches of humour, and it occasionally succeeds in characterising a poet by offering a physical description of his familiar spirit.

Even more substantial is a treatise on love written in 412/1022 by Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥazm (Ibn Ḥazm) (384/994–456/1064).¹³ The author was primarily a jurist and a theologian, much involved in public affairs. In this uncharacteristic work—which is not without

some forerunners in the heartlands¹⁴—he blends with remarkable acuity and sincerity his learning, his religious commitment and his perceptions as a man of great refinement. He examines systematically all aspects of love relationships, basing himself almost entirely on his own experiences and those of individuals known to him, and illustrating each chapter profusely with poems, mostly by himself. But they are the experiences of men of such delicacy that they would court even a slave-girl for years rather than force their attentions upon her (pp. 89, 209), and the union they sought was so transcendent that a friend of the author's, when a maiden he loved "made a certain proposal to him", could answer her: "No! I owe it to God in gratitude for His favour, which permitted me to be united with you ... to abstain from desiring you, in obedience to His command" (p. 265). There was no strain, therefore, either in his partial echoing of Platonic thought when he defined love as "a conjunction between scattered parts of souls that have become divided in this physical universe" (p. 23), or in his insistence on the strict observance of the limitations placed by Islamic law on sexual contacts (p. 258).

The book also casts revealing sidelights on Cordoban society, at least at the level to which Ibn Ḥazm belonged. It confirms the impression one gets between the lines of other writings that the segregation of the sexes was not as hermetic as is often assumed. Thus men and women who had known each other in childhood—and that included not only blood relations, but also family retainers—were allowed to consort together publicly even after reaching puberty (p. 209).

It was also a society in which scarcely any distinction was made between the true love of a man for a woman and that of a man for another man, the pangs of unrequited passion being treated with compassion, though not with physical indulgence. It is against this that one must measure Pérès's contention¹⁵ that—in Muslim Spain as in the East—homosexual passion was never "pure", and never failed to abase man.

The third Andalusī literary work deserving special attention is the philosophical romance of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*¹⁶ by Abū Bakr b. Ṭufayl (Ibn Ṭufayl) (d.581/1185), who was physician and vizier to several dignitaries of the Almohad dynasty. Its hero, whose name means "Alive son of Awake", drifts while yet a child on to an uninhabited island where he is adopted by a gazelle. Solely by the exercise of his faculties, and in stages that parallel the intellectual development of Mankind, he masters first the means of survival, then the main elements of natural philosophy, including the pervasive activity of the soul; finally, by dint of mystic contemplation not divorced from Reason, he discovers the existence of God, and hence the need of union with Him. When eventually he comes into contact with humans who have had the benefit of Revelation, he finds an essential harmony between the truths that he and they have reached in their separate ways, at least as these truths are understood by the contemplative Absāl (or Āsāl). He finds himself, however,

less able to harmonise with the more literal-minded and legalistic Salāmān. As for the masses, they repel by their subjection to gross appetites, so that both he and Absāl choose to return to the desert island to live solitary lives.

The book is manifestly the product of a superior mind, well grounded in the richest attainments of Islamic culture. Indeed the names of its characters were borrowed from some allegories by Ibn Sīnā.¹⁷ Not surprisingly, it has attracted the attention of successive generations of Western thinkers for its philosophical content. No less impressive from the literary point of view is its exploitation of folk material.

Stories of infants who, like Romulus and Remus, were reared by animals are not rare in the lore of ancient civilisations. The source of Ibn Ṭufayl's inspiration, however, can be pinpointed with near certainty as the legend of Alexander, which is known to have been developed in the East and indeed to have roots in the Quran, but also to have reached al-Andalus,¹⁸ for it includes a tale told to Alexander by a hermit concerning the illegitimate child of a princess. The boy's misadventures have striking points of similarity with those of Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān, although his development—like Robinson Crusoe's ingenuity—scarcely goes beyond achieving mastery of the physical environment.

It is indeed one of the distinctions of al-Andalus that it gives ampler (though still far from complete) evidence of the richness of Arab folk literature than has surfaced in other parts of the Islamic world. The fact that several stories such as the Alexander legend originated much farther East yet are not attested in the intervening lands, and that even in Spain some have survived not in Arabic but in Romance and Latin translations or in *aljamia-do*, betrays to which social stratum they were restricted. It is not unreasonable to assume not only that these folk arts were more readily accepted by a mixed population than by one thoroughly Arabised and Islamised, but also that they were open to native cultural forces and contributed to local cultural developments. The signs are clearest in the poetry because of its distinctive metrical forms and rhyming schemes, and these will be examined elsewhere in this volume; but even in prose genres it is not merely a matter of conjecture that cross-fertilisation took place.

It was the Jews of Spain who, next to native Arabic speakers, were most conversant with the language. A great thinker like Maimonides (530-1/1135-601-2/1204) sat at the feet of Arabic-speaking masters and wrote in Arabic, and it was Jews who became the chief translators of the dominant culture's most attractive products. The primacy of Arabic models in the Hebrew literature that took shape in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries is patent not only in the poetry but also in the *maqāma*, although it was to al-Ḥarīrī himself rather than to his Andalusī imitators that Judah ben Solomon al-Ḥarīzī (561-2/1165-622/1225) and others turned.

In European Christian literatures, on the other hand, the influence of Arabic writers is more open to debate.¹⁹ It is noticeable that of the prose works known to have have echoes in European writing, few belong to the classical Arabic canon. Thus Fr. Anselmo de Turmeda's *Disputa del Asno* (1417), in which an ass argues against the superiority of Man, has roots in one of the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, a series of scientific and philosophical essays dating from the 4th/10th century. *Kalila wa Dimna*, translated into Latin by John of Capua in the 13th century as the *Directorium Vitae Humanae*, also enjoyed "high" status in Arabic thanks to the pen of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muqaffa' (ca. 102/720-139/756), although it was itself a translation of Indian fables. Virtually all other narratives known to have gained currency in Europe through Islamic Spain were of popular origin.²⁰

It has also been suggested that the *Divina Commedia* owes something of its inspiration to Islamic antecedents. If Dante's imagination needed outside stimulation to venture into Heaven and Hell, it is less likely to have been spurred by either al-Ma'arri's *Epistle of Forgiveness* or by Ibn Shuhayd's comparable work, neither of which is known to have been accessible to him, than by a popular account of the Prophet's ascent into heaven, sufficiently widely diffused to have been translated into Castilian, French, and Latin, although the Arabic original is now lost.²¹

Similarly, some writers—notably Menéndez Pelayo in *Orígenes de la Novela* and González Palencia in *Del Lazarillo a Quevedo*—have seen traces of the Arabic *maqāma* in the appearance of the picaresque novel in the 16th and 17th centuries.²² The lapse in time and the fact that the Andalusis downplayed the narrative element in the genre they had imported from the heartlands make it unlikely that they had a direct input into this later development, although it is not impossible that both drew on similar and related funds of folk anecdotes.

Whether or not distinct literary streams can be traced flowing from Islamic Spain to other parts of Europe, there is no doubt that al-Andalus was one of the main channels by which the entire Arab-Islamic heritage, together with the wealth of Greek thought integrated into it, was passed on to the West. It could not have fulfilled this historic function without having been faithful to the standards of the intellectual élite in the heartlands, and at the same time alive to the impulses of its variegated population.

¹ Repeated as late as the 19th century in Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, *Al-Wasīla 'l-adabīyya*, Cairo, 1872-79, I, 7.

² See my "From Sound to Echo: the values underlying late *badī'*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 108, 2, April-June 1988, pp. 219-25.

³ The precise meaning of the word is open to conjecture. See R. Blachère, "Étude Sémantique sur le nom *maqāma*", *Al-Mashriq*, 47, 1953, pp. 646-52.

⁴ See A. F. L. Beeston, "The genesis of the *maqāmāt* genre", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 2, 1971, pp. 1-12.

⁵ Henri Pères, *Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 303-04.

⁶ A. Dhū 'l-Nūn Tāhā, "Importance des voyages scientifiques entre l'Orient et l'Andalus", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 40, 2e semestre, 1985, pp. 39-44. See also L. Molina, "Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el Ta'rij de Ibn al-Farāḍī", in *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*, I, Madrid, 1988, pp. 585-610.

⁷ Ihsān 'Abbās, *Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusī—'aṣr siyādat Qurṭuba*, Beirut, 1960, pp. 267-76.

⁸ Fernando de La Granja, *Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas*, Madrid, 1976, pp. 20-44.

⁹ *Risālat al-Tawābī' wa z-Zawābī'*, trans. James T. Monroe, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1971, pp. 26-27 and 71-73.

¹⁰ Most of the information in this paragraph and the previous one is derived from: Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādī, "Maqāmat al-Īd", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, 2, 1954, pp. 159-73; Rachel Arié, "Notes sur la maqāma andalouse", *Hespéris Tamuda*, 9, 2, 1968, pp. 201-17; Fernando de La Granja, *op. cit.*; and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī 'l-Tilimsānī, *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār 'Iyād*, Rabat, 1978.

¹¹ See the introduction to James T. Monroe's translation, p. 28.

¹² Pérès, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

¹³ *Tawq al-ḥamāma (The Ring of the Dove)*, trans. A. J. Arberry, London, 1953.

¹⁴ Rachel Arié, "Ibn Hazm et l'amour courtois", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée—al-Andalus*, 40, 2e Semestre, 1985, pp. 75-99.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

¹⁶ This was first translated by Simon Ockley in 1710, and has reappeared several times in paraphrased or partial versions. More recently it has been retranslated and richly annotated by Lenn Evan Goodman, as *Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, Los Angeles, 1983.

¹⁷ See Henri Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, New York-London, 1960.

¹⁸ See *Un texto árabe occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro*, ed. and trans. Emilio García Gómez, Madrid, 1929.

¹⁹ Among those who stress Arabic influences are P. Juan Andrés, Ribera, Burdach, Singer, Mulert, Nykl and Menéndez Pidal; they have been challenged by Gaston Paris, Jeanroy, Pillet, Schrötter and Vossler.

²⁰ E. g., Pedro Alfonso's *Disciplina Clericalis*; also *Libro de los engannos et los asayamientos de las mujeres*, and *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Gracían's *Criticón* appears to have drawn on the same source as Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.

²¹ See Miguel Asín Palacios, *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid, 1927; Enrico Cerulli, *Libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Vatican, 1949; Andrew Chejne, "The Role of al-Andalus in the Movement of Ideas between Islam and the West", in *Islam and the Medieval West*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan, Albany, 1980, pp. 110-33.

²² Al-'Abbādī, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

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ANDALUSĪ POETRY: THE GOLDEN PERIOD

SALMA KHADRA JAYYUSI

I. THE POETIC BACKGROUND

In studying the poetry of al-Andalus, there are certain considerations which, in an essay of limited length, should take priority over others; we should, for example, rather focus on the achievement, influence and artistic status of the foremost Andalusī poets than embark on a catalogue of the many poets emerging over nearly eight hundred years of Arab presence in al-Andalus. Moreover, the considerable literature already produced on the subject, both in Arabic and in other languages, means that we need to explore this poetry from a slightly different angle, so as to avoid making this paper a mere repetition of what some very fine scholars have already said. Most of all, perhaps, we should try to understand the way this poetry has interacted with tradition and innovation, with permanence and change, and with its situation as a verse written by a people living along the extended frontiers of a different culture, and see if this poetry can in fact be regarded as a "frontier" art.

A primary point of departure must be the fact that Andalusī poetry had a very close, almost symbiotic relationship with Arabic poetry in the East. Yet we should avoid, too, any idea that the work of Andalusī poets merely reflected the direct influence of Eastern poets. Arabic poetry in the West was not simply a conscious reproduction of its counterpart in the East, but a ramification, a progeny. Some major features, such as the metaphoric conceit and the description of gardens and flowers, were not simply adopted from Eastern poets. Major events in poetry are not engineered simply by mimesis. When an experiment in poetry (or any art) is successful and widely disseminated, this occurs, first, because the art in question is ready for it and those adopting it are capable, artistically and psychologically, of assimilating the new experiment; and, second, because it suits the mood or satisfies the expectations, needs and taste of the audience of the time. What happens in such situations is that a poet or artist wielding greater authority over the art, and possessed of an audacity beyond that of his or her contemporaries, engineers an innovation (or, alternatively, this is achieved by more than one poet, working either separately or in unison), which other poets of the generation pick up, sometimes after what George Kubler terms "familiar delay",¹ allowing for a slow assimilation, and sometimes instantly, as if by magic. The history of Arabic verse in fact furnishes many examples of such generalised changes taking place either simultaneously or within a short period of

time. This should make it clear that a new trend is not the result of an imitative tendency within a whole generation, but rather a matter of artistic viability and readiness, even, often, of inevitability. Thus those occurrences within Andalusi poetry which many critics and literary historians have regarded as a matter of slavish imitation, may simply be a sign that poetry needed to change throughout those parts of the Arabic-speaking world where life was broadly similar—in this case “urbanised” and part of a flourishing civilisation.

One of the major preoccupations of critics and literary historians writing on this poetry, Arabs and non-Arabs alike, has been to try to identify the divergences and continuities exhibited by Andalusi poetry, all the more so because al-Andalus was also home to other peoples and languages. There is no accurate gauge by which to measure the stimuli evidently exerted on Arabic poetry in al-Andalus (and in the East) by the fantastic bringing together of races and cultures under the unifying banner of Islam, but whatever their precise nature, they became assimilated into the poetry, were fused with its spirit and naturally expressed in its particular idiom. For all their constant evolution to suit particular times, neither the spirit of poetry nor the Arab poetic idiom have, as far as I can see, been radically modified by any outside influences.

However, Islam, which addressed the world as a universal, a-racial and all-inclusive religion, was not the only unifying factor within Islamic civilisation itself; the Arabic language was an equally unifying force, and this is of major importance to the study of Andalusi poetry. It was, first of all, the language of the Quran and of the traditions of the Prophet. Second, it was the language of political authority, of a ruling class who felt no other language could be equal to it in richness and scope—an élitist attitude propagated down the ages, so that it became a sign of superiority for Arabs and non-Arabs alike to be able to excel in writing fine Arabic poetry and prose. This attitude stood as a buffer against any possible indifference towards linguistic purity, syntactical terseness and grammatical accuracy; and, indeed, it was often non-Arabs who took upon themselves the task of recording language and grammar. Third, it was the language of poetry, the greatest, most perfected, most revered art of the Arabs, the propaganda weapon of caliphs and princes, the register of the annals of history, the vehicle of the whole wisdom of the race, celebrant of heroes and battles, medium for the expression of the erotic, the passionate, the dolorous and the festive, and for the delineation of the ideals of feminine beauty and male perfection. The language, if entrenched, was also alive, and, as such, open to pervasive influences that were neither subject to control nor, indeed, immediately perceived.

We should bear in mind that foreign influences on formal Arabic poetry (that is, the poetry written in *al-fuṣḥā* and in the two-hemistich, mono-rhymed form) were, right up to the beginning of the 20th century, limited in the extreme. In addition to the above unifying factors, the constant demand

for panegyric throughout the Islamic empire, al-Andalus included, gave rise to certain modes of treatment which became formulaic and hence more stubbornly resistant to extraneous elements (although the art of eulogy did in fact prompt inventiveness on the poet's part, within its very restrictive boundaries). Moreover, the special technique of the two-hemistich monorhyme form has a distinctive effect which produced formal qualities that became rooted in the consciousness of poets and audience alike,² and continued to be so up to modern times—as evidenced by the loud and heated nature of the battle surrounding the free verse movement in Arabic poetry in the fifties.³

Thus, for all the enormous changes in diction, metaphor and other poetic elements, such as the introduction of complex symbolism in Sufi poetry, the elements of rhythm, metre and, to a large extent, syntax, together with the basic *Weltanschauung* of the poets themselves, underwent little radical change over the centuries. There was, moreover, an added reason why this should be largely true of Classical Arabic poetry in al-Andalus. Wrenched from its roots, and at least partially isolated (North Africa was not a centre of a high poetic activity in medieval times), Andalusī poetry in its “golden age” in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries was also unchallenged by any nearby major poetry⁴ in a different language which might have imposed its own genius and different approach on it and prompted its departure from inherited methods of treatment. It thus remained wholly involved with Eastern poetry, from which it took constant nourishment.

Before moving on to discuss Arabic poetry in al-Andalus, it is important to consider some of the ideas of major non-Arab literary historians on the subject. In the view of Henri Pérès, “one should not always think exclusively of the Semitic origin of these [poetic] representations; one should not lose sight of the fact that the Hispano-Muslim population of the eleventh century was no more than an ethnic prolongation of the ancient population.”⁵ According to this thesis, a “strong native tradition with its own peculiar features is traceable through the many cultural phases of the poetry of the Iberian Peninsula no matter what language it happens to be written in.”⁶ This makes “race” a basic determinant, and presupposes that native poetic traditions can be easily transferred across the frontiers of very diverse languages and very dissimilar cultures and world views; it suggests a freedom to move with ease from one poetic idiom to another diametrically different—in the case of the Arabic idiom one with strong established traditions—while simultaneously preserving native (here meaning Iberian) characteristics. Such a thesis is clearly untenable, since neither the Arabic language nor Islamic culture had then any real affinities with Iberian languages and culture.

E. Lévi-Provençal on the other hand claims that “the bilingualism common among medieval Andalusians suggests that the latter, who often spoke Romance at home and Arabic in public, composed poetry in a language essentially foreign to them, which as a result remained awkward and artificial,

like the learned imitations of Latin verse written by Renaissance scholars.”⁷ Lévi-Provençal’s theory depicts a world in which Arabic had become a second language, and Arabs and other non-Hispanic Muslims in al-Andalus had become to all intents and purposes Iberianised. It is indeed clear from major Arabic reference books that Muslims could speak one or another Iberian language, that Islamic society in al-Andalus was of a mixed nature, and that this influenced the development of the spoken language among the people. Yet we also see a steady and healthy evolution of the *fuṣḥā* whereby many words of pure Arabic origin, but exclusively Andalusī, were coined,⁸ and we know, too, that the repertoire of Andalusī Arabic words used in daily life, denoting tools, foods, social interaction, etc., was an extensive one. We find, moreover, references to many exclusively Andalusī proverbs, which points to the *social* use of Arabic there,⁹ and we read of the great interest the Andalusis had in language and linguistic studies, and also in poetry, the interest in poetry and poets being as serious and widespread as it was in the East. While Romance did indeed infiltrate the language of daily speech, it did not replace Arabic but rather became mixed with it, this being evidenced both by the colloquial Andalusī Arabic *zajal*, which we find as a mature poetic art in the 6th/12th century, and by some of the *kharjas* of the *muwashshahāt*, which use a mixed vocabulary. Classical Arabic remained the language of religion, law, the state and, above all, of culture and poetry, the vehicle of what we would call “major literature”; it was a living and constantly evolving language. A comparison with the modern scene is pertinent here, where poetry written in classical Arabic has evolved its poetic idiom out of the very heart of the inherited idiom, just as it had done throughout the centuries. Should this contemporary poetic idiom in *al-fuṣḥā*, which is basically uniform all over the Arab world, be examined in the light of modern linguistic criteria, it would be seen to differ fundamentally from the idiom of the poetry written in the various colloquials, although both are *natural* creative expressions of the Arab people. Present-day poetry in *al-fuṣḥā* expresses, it should be stressed here, the profound, *authentic* experiences of modern Arabs everywhere; and the same was true in al-Andalus. Poets were writing in an idiom which they had instinctively internalised and to which they were able to relate on a full emotional level.

A pertinent question arises here. Is Andalusī poetry a “frontier” art? Can we regard *formal* Andalusī poetry as a deterritorialised literature created in an alien environment, and constantly infiltrated by a different culture and language? Did the Andalusī poet feel allegiance to more than one culture and so adopt a multi-dimensional perception of himself and his own culture? Did he, as a poet, store any memory of poetry other than Arabic poetry, and did he suffer a crisis of identity? Did he, when writing poetry, cross the borders of his own culture and language and embrace any disparate traditions? Living as he did in a bilingual, bicultural environment, what kind of struggle

did he have as a Muslim poet, heir to the rich tradition of Arabic poetry? Did this result in a biconceptual reality? Did he feel hemmed in, and experience a consequent need to form a collective front?¹⁰

Formal Andalusī literature shows, I feel, very few signs of having been a border literature with a deterritorialised identity; it reads rather like a literature whose writers felt securely at home. Being written in the language of power, of the court and of the educated upper classes, it was in fact the major literature of the area, tied to mainstream conventions in Arabic verse, and there are no apparent cross-fertilisations between two or more disparate traditions, either in aesthetics or in basic outlook. Even though Andalusī poets lived in a bilingual, bicultural environment, they wrote with clear purpose, and one feels no defensive attempt on their part to emphasise a different cultural orientation, or to vie with any non-Arab literature anywhere.

The term “deterritorialised literature” should not be taken to imply any value judgement; it rather indicates the situation of this literature within another, more dominant literary tradition. Such a literature usually expresses collective not personal experience, and is intimately connected with politics.¹¹ It also aspires to assert its identity and uses language “with a strong coefficient of deterritorialisation”,¹² that is, it incorporates linguistic features reflecting its deterritorialised position. In its use of language, “two conjoined tendencies have often been noted ... an impoverishment, a loss of syntactical or lexical forms; but at the same time a curious proliferation of changing effects, a taste for linguistic excess and paraphrase”.¹³

Andalusī poetry’s involvement in external political conflict with the “other”, here the Spaniards, is almost similar to that of Eastern poetry vis-à-vis Byzantium’s constant wars with the Arabs, as eloquently expressed by several generations of poets: by Abū Tammām (c.188/804-230/845), al-Buḥturī (205/822-284/898) and al-Mutanabbī (303/916-354/966). On the whole, Andalusī *formal* poetry provides no sense of the political precariousness of a deterritorialised people; certainly it was not a siege literature entailing the need for collectivism—poets were often at loggerheads with each other, and, in certain instances, with rulers. The Andalusī poet stored only the memory of Arabic poetry in the East, dwelling, eclectically or fortuitously, on one or another period, or on several of them, and it was to this poetry that he gave his allegiance. His own poetry was informed by considerable nostalgia for the mother culture in the East, in respect of which—for all the attempts of writers to affirm Andalusī creative excellence—a latent sense of inferiority persisted. If it did indeed exhibit any crisis of identity it would only have been in its attitude towards the East; and if there is any sign of “frontier literature” in the *formal* Andalusī literary output, the frontiers in question were its own origins, its ancestors, not the Iberians. The great struggle of Andalusī poetry lies in its ambition to keep within the frontiers of inherited Arabic poetry, and not to cross them, not to lose, through its bicultural con-

tacts, any of the "syntactic or lexical forms" of its mother poetry. The major attributes of this Eastern poetry were indeed triumphantly preserved, but the struggle also, inevitably, entailed laborious exercises in the "linguistic excess" and "expressive elaboration",¹⁴ in that "exuberance and overdetermination", as Franz Kafka would put it,¹⁵ typical of a literature constantly striving to prove itself. And the struggle foundered on the originality of the *muwashshah* form, the true Andalusī innovation, reflecting a bilingual and bicultural existence. Thus there were, at the same moment, two experiments going on, the one almost slavishly faithful to its origin and bound to its principles and preferences, the other courageously adapting to its immediate background, and expressing itself in those urbane, intricate and easy songs which, in their degree of stylistic deviation, syntactical and rhythmic transformation and linguistic adventurism (sufficient, in some of the mixed Romance/Arabic *kharjas*, to reflect a composite art), were dominantly "Andalusī". This Arab/Iberian cross-current was achieved, it would seem, quite smoothly, with no apparent crisis of identity, perhaps because these forms were immediately linked to music, so that they were regarded, right from the beginning, as lighter verse fit for singing, and were not felt to compete with formal poetry—a division of categories which has survived in the Arab world up to the present day.

Nevertheless, Lévi-Provençal's sensitive observation regarding the presence of awkward words and expressions in Andalusī poetry does merit special attention here. A reader used to the flow and harmony of Eastern Arabic poetry is bound, initially, to note the occasional ruggedness of language, the frequent incongruence of style¹⁶ and the propensity to *gharīb* in so much Andalusī poetry. One reason, I think, for these characteristics is that the Andalusī poet did not have the strong grip on the poetic idiom possessed instinctively by the Eastern poet—not because of bilingualism, which I have discussed above, but because poetry in al-Andalus had suffered a severe interruption of its traditions in the early stages of the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula, as the newcomers strove to build a virgin Islamic society and establish a strategy for living and interacting; it was only after they had instituted an organised foundation for the new life that culture could begin to flourish. This started, to a limited degree, under the first Umayyad *amīr*, 'Abd al-Rahmān I, al-Dākhil (ruled 138/756-172/788), but despite this Prince's personal interest in poetry and culture (he was himself a poet), activity in these areas remained rather hesitant, so that after two or three generations Andalusī poets no longer had the same spontaneous mastery of the inherited poetic traditions as their Eastern counterparts. It is important to give careful consideration to this problem of interrupted traditions. While I am not suggesting that literature has perfect strategies ensuring regular linear progress, the importance of continuity must be emphasised. The steady and almost predictable development of schools and established genres is not the

only direction which a continuous tradition must inevitably take, for it can also be marked by such sudden mutations as unexpected ramifications of genres,¹⁷ unforeseen polarities of themes and styles,¹⁸ etc. Yet it is important, too, that this tradition should not be interrupted for any length of time, that it should not be cut off from the immediate memory of a new generation of poets and writers.

Arabic poetry had known previous such interruption at the advent of Islam, when poetry was repressed in favour of the Quran, whose superior aesthetic and literary attributes captured the admiration of the Arabs. Because of the accusation on the part of the Quraysh that the Prophet was a mere obsessed poet, the Quran stigmatised poetry,¹⁹ which was accordingly out of favour during the rule of the first four orthodox caliphs (al-Rāshidūn). This interruption of only forty years (ended when the Umayyads seized power and encouraged poetry and poets in order to serve their own political ends) was sufficient for some major Umayyad poets who had moved to Damascus, and such new cities as Basra (built 14/636) and Kufa (built 17/638), to misunderstand certain of the pre-Islamic poetic traditions. They did not fully comprehend, for example, some of the desert conventions, which reflected the archetypal, symbolic nature of pre-Islamic poetry. The spontaneous decline of these traditions is very evident in such poets as al-Farazdaq (24/640-111/729), one of the greatest of the Umayyad period, just to give a single example.²⁰ The interruption of poetic continuity in the early post-conquest period in al-Andalus was actually of longer duration, and consequently invited greater alienation, with poets losing their spontaneous hold of the poetic idiom. It should be remembered, too, that, when the time came for an active revival of poetry in the Peninsula, Arabic poetry in al-Andalus had no immediate roots to fall back on, whereas in the East, once poetry was returned to its former status by the Umayyads, it developed quickly in the main centres of the Caliphate, and poets could conjure up a rich poetic memory not totally departed but simply temporarily repressed; knowledge of some of the subtler allusions had been lost, but there was no loss to the general poetic idiom itself, and poets were, as such, able to derive strength and fluency from this refound idiom, while constantly attempting, simultaneously, to modify it to suit the new way of life. Poetry became in fact extremely active in the Umayyad period, being used extensively not only as a political weapon for the Caliphate, but also as the primary source of linguistic knowledge sought by linguists and religious scholars, so that the cumulative poetic wealth of the East was all the time propagating itself. In al-Andalus, on the other hand, there was a feeling that poetry and literature were partially cut off from their origins and unrecognised by the masters in the East. The literary centres in the East where the best poets and critics operated, and where the most heated arguments on poetic creativity took place, were remote, busy with their own burgeoning output and not particularly mindful of literary acti-

vity in al-Andalus, even when this activity became strong. Reading Andalusī poetry, one feels that this poetry was subjected, throughout its history, to considerable conflict. It was born out of a great tradition from which it was physically separated, and for which it entertained a very deep nostalgia; yet there is, too, a degree of ambivalence, reflected in the constant struggle of the Andalusī poet to outdo his Eastern counterpart, and it is this which accounts for the tendency of many poets to go to the roots of the language, and try to master as much as possible of its *shawārid* and *awābid*, i. e. its *gharīb*, its strange, unusual words and rare rhymes.

This isolation was, it must be said at once, mitigated by personal contacts, by the exchange of scholars and poets and by the importation of books, all of which took place on a major scale, at least from around the end of the third century of the Islamic presence in al-Andalus. Writers ascribe a consistent significance to the stay in al-Andalus of Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī, and to the books he brought with him and the literary knowledge he appears to have disseminated. Al-Qālī arrived in 330/941, probably, according to 'Abbās,²¹ on the invitation of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir while the latter was Crown Prince, and was still there during the actual rule of al-Ḥakam (350/961-366/976), who honoured him and treated him with great generosity (it was in al-Ḥakam's honour that al-Qālī wrote his famous book, *Al-Amālī*, at al-Zahrā'). Al-Qālī's arrival seems to have

represented a genuine rise in linguistic and literary studies in al-Andalus ... [His] influence in al-Andalus merits an independent study ... but it is enough to mention here the many books that came with him, among which were many *diwāns* of poetry particularly the *diwāns* of the pre-Islamic poets, the Umayyads, and the major poetry anthologies such as *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, *Shi'r al-Hudhaliyyīn*, *Al-Naqā'id*. [As for single author collections] he brought with him the poetry of Dhū 'l-Rumma, 'Amr b. Qumai'a, al-Ḥuṭai'a, Jamīl [b. Ma'mar], Abū 'l-Najm, al-Nābigha 'l-Dhubayānī. 'Alqama b. 'Abda, al-Shammākh, al-A'shā, 'Urwa b. al-Ward, al-Nābigha 'l-Ja'dī, Kuthayyir 'Azza, al-Akhṭal ... and many others.²²

Al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir was a particular champion of the various branches of culture; he imported a great many books from the East (he is reported to have had an enormous library of 400,000 books), and energetically promoted an active cultural life, encouraging poets and scholars and personally commissioning the latter to write books, many of which were, by his orders, on the literature and cultural life of al-Andalus—so expressing a genuine Andalusī nationalism and a deep desire not only to confirm Andalusī culture itself, but also to vie with the East.

It is clear that Andalusī poetry does not reveal any real infiltration from the Iberian languages surrounding it (Arabic poetry has in fact a history of great tenacity and resistance, which has protected and perpetuated it). What weakens poetry is the disintegration of its sentence construction, the weakening of its syntax, the distortion of its literary idiom and the confusion of its

spontaneous logic, the last being directly connected with the basic *Weltanschauung* of a people, but this did not happen to formal poetry in al-Andalus, whose diction was often inventive and always terse, betraying no basic weaknesses. I feel, moreover, that the poetic tradition in al-Andalus, if not as instinctive as that of the East, was never deeply affected by the different *Weltanschauung* of non-Muslims surrounding the poet. The thematic prerequisites of good poetry in the East,²³ with all the world view they entailed, persisted: eulogy was extensively produced; *fakhr* and satire were also in vogue; and description, the fourth element, was, as we shall see, developed creatively and in profusion.

Perhaps the most important deviation Andalusī poetry had from Eastern poetry is that it contained less nostalgia than imbued poetic expression in the East—this lack is pronounced even in a firm classicist like Ibn Hānī', with all his passionate and vibrantly expressed Shi'ite affinities (which invariably tend to introduce an element of deep nostalgia into Shi'ite poetry in the East). This nostalgia is of the very stuff of the inherited poetry, nurtured by the nomadic desert life, by the loneliness of man and by his enforced separations, the sudden loss of things precious to the heart: honour and liberty after defeat in a sudden raid, love, familiar things. There was, too, the constant overwhelming shifting of dwelling places as the nomads moved in search of pasture. There is a tortured voice in the old poetry, torn and suffering, trembling on the borders of life and death, always mindful of the vicissitudes of time, of the perils and precariousness of existence. None of this, for all the constant havoc of war, was pervasively true of al-Andalus. When tragedy struck in the 5th/11th century and after, bringing sudden, inexplicable disruption to a once proud existence, the poets responded in very specific terms. Ibn Shuhayd describes the disintegration and utter nightmare of Córdoba in the *fitna* (civil insurrection) period of 399/1009-422/1031, Ibn al-Labbāna bemoans the sudden fall from grace of his old friend and royal patron, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, al-Rundī writes his great elegy on the final loss of Córdoba, but theirs is a concrete despair, defined and totally lucid in its signification, bound to the particular elegiac theme, the nostalgia in it directed to a specific event or place. In the Arab East, on the other hand, a forlorn desert voice persisted in the poetry, like a lone flute, and is still to be found in modern times, not only in the folk songs of the mountains of Lebanon, the prairies of Jordan and the sand dunes of Iraq, but also even in avant-garde contemporary poetry. So much nostalgia, so much sorrow pervades the Arab soul in all its manifestations; indeed, the Arab soul has always been annihilated by nostalgia and revived by memory. Why was this not so in al-Andalus? Did it occur in the Arab East because of the continuity not only of poetic but also of social traditions, the uninterrupted progression of motifs since the Umayyad period? Was it because the Andalusī memory had experienced a clean break with desert life and its surviving spirit, and most poets

were tied to an urbanised lifestyle? Was it because "pleasure" was sought and usually found in the flourishing towns of al-Andalus, which abounded with slave girls and boys (homosexuality was also rampant) and all means of pleasure? Whatever the reasons, I miss, in this poetry, the anguish of spirit, the lost soul of the poet, the thirst which remains forever unquenched. So much Andalusī poetry is a poetry of satiety, of fullness, of content; a poetry of leisure, of people indulging in intricate, ornate painting with words of an externalised experience. There were urban poets in the East, such as Ibn al-Mu'tazz (249/861-296/908), and al-Ṣunawbarī (d. 324/939), who also did this, but Abbasid poetry, including the work of these two poets, contains an unmistakable touch of nostalgia—this is true even of that least vulnerable of poets, Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (363/974-449/1058). What is also immediately felt in Andalusī poetry is the unsentimental gaiety, the almost pagan joy in life. We do indeed find some of this in the Easterner Abū Nuwās (141?/760?-200?/816?), in his poems on love and wine, but these had more dash, greater zest, and a deeper *joie de vivre*, and revealed, at the same time, a more profound vision of life, a deeper sense of its deception, a pessimism, as it were, which made him aware of the death lurking in the unknown, so that his gaiety is finally diluted by this apprehension: "My quest for pleasure and passion, my quickness to pluck the good of this world, is wiser than waiting for the other, the unknown." The abated sentimentality in Andalusī poetry is indeed attractive, but the abandon of the poet, the tender deprivation even at the moment of love, which is so prophetic of life's eternal mutations, is often missing from it.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANDALUSI POETRY IN THE GOLDEN PERIOD

The greatest literary age of al-Andalus began during the *ḥijāba* period, i.e. when al-Manṣūr (ruled 366/977-392/1002) and his son al-Muẓaffar (ruled 392/1002-399/1008) effectively governed during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām al-Mu'ayyad (ruled 366/976-406/1009), and poetic development continued through the *fitna* and *ṭā'ifa* periods. By that time the great poets of the Abbasid epoch in the East—Abū Nuwās, Abū 'l-'Atāhiya (130/748-212/828), Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Rūmī (221/837-283/899), Ibn al-Mu'tazz, al-Ṣunawbarī and al-Mutanabbī—had already become legends, while al-Ma'arrī was now affirming his originality. These poets had greatly enriched Arabic poetry through their linguistic, metaphoric and thematic innovations, and there had also been several departures. Abū Tammām's treatment of diction, syntax and metaphor, Ibn Mu'tazz's propensity for descriptions of nature, and his vivid incorporation of all kinds of imagery, particularly visual (colour and the minute description of flowers, etc.) and olfactory (fragrance), al-Ma'arrī's employment of poetry as a vehi-

cle for metaphysical and philosophical thought, then, a little later, the appearance of the great Sufis, with their very original symbolism many centuries ahead of the French symbolists of the 19th and 20th centuries—all these experiments decisively changed the direction of Arabic, including Andalusī poetry.

Remarkably, the three hundred years and more of Islamic presence in al-Andalus came to its ripest fruition during one of the most perturbed periods of Andalusī history, that of *al-fitna*, with all the ensuing chaos and terror it produced, and, subsequently, in the period of the petty kings, which also involved considerable disintegration and havoc. However, art need not be the direct reflection of outer events, certainly not in its technical and aesthetic aspects, which possess a life of their own. Art is cumulative, and will come to fulfilment when all its tools have become adapted to a more sophisticated output. Thus a survey of earlier experiments is in order.

II.1 *Yahyā 'l-Ghazāl*

One of the major poets of the emiral period was Yahyā b. Ḥakam al-Jayyānī, nicknamed al-Ghazāl (156/775-250/864), whose work shows signs of a decisively simplified diction and approach, and of an interest in dialogue—reflecting the tendency of the Andalusī poetry of the time to be direct and unlaboured, mirroring living daily interactions. This was in fact at variance with his experience at the hands of the executive power in al-Andalus, which bestowed great honour on him (he was appointed to high office and later despatched as ambassador to the Byzantine court in Constantinople); yet, for all his prestigious position, he assumes no airs in his verse, but writes with spontaneity and often with great simplicity:

She said, "I love you"; "you're a liar," I said,
 "cheat someone else who cannot scrutinise
 these words which I can't accept!
 For truly I say, no one loves an old man!
 It's like saying, 'We have tethered the wind',
 or like saying, 'Fire is cold' or 'water is aflame'."

It is clear from his verse that a new trend was trying to come to its own in Andalusī poetry, a genuinely modern Andalusī trend towards simplicity and a more intimate and personal mode of address, away from the grand style and profound rhetoric of inherited Eastern poetry:

Her father asked her to choose between an old man
 and rich, or a poor young man.
 She said: what a difficult choice, but should I have to
 choose, then anything is happier for me
 than an old man's face.
 A man might be poor but become rich,
 but the other one will never again be young.

Even in contemplative verse, where a poet would normally tend towards a higher level of language, al-Ghazāl perseveres in the same vein, reminiscent of the contemplative verse of Abū 'l-'Atāhiya. Al-Ghazāl's simplified style was largely to find its way into the poetry of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, but would not succeed in maturing and decisively influencing Andalusī poetry generally. A problem of literary development is clearly present here, for the difference between this kind of facile, simple, almost intimate verse and the highly rhetorical, often bombastic poetry of Ibn Hānī' over a century later, is unbridgeable and invites further investigation. Al-Ghazāl interacted spontaneously with the changing temper and language of his age in al-Andalus, and, knowledgeable though he was in the ways of the old inherited poetry, the metal of his mind was too modern to accept any serious involvement in outmoded and outlandish experiments that had little to do with the actuality of Andalusī life at the time. 'Abbās rightly regards him as the most important poet of the emiral epoch.²⁴ The influence of Abū Nuwās in his description of wine drinking and the life of the tavern on him, does not seem to have influenced the greater simplicity of his style.

However, poetry in al-Andalus during the 2nd./8th and 3rd./9th centuries reflected many styles. There is a return to the old rhetoric in the poetry of Mu'min b. Sa'īd b. Qays and Yaḥyā 'l-Qilfāt, both in the 3rd/9th century. Even a woman poet, Ḥassāna 'l-Tamīmiyya (2nd./8th century) shows remarkable rhetoricism and terseness in her verse. This simultaneously varied style of contemporary poets in al-Andalus was going to prove a more or less constant phenomenon, and not simply a mark of an early experimental age, as will be shown in the course of this discussion.

II.2 Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi

A major poet who lived in both the emiral and the caliphal periods was the Cordoban Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, (246/858-328/940), whose long life spanned the rule of four Umayyad rulers, all of whom honoured him. He was a most cultivated man, well versed in many branches of knowledge, ranging from *fiqh*, to history, to Arabic language and literature. His deep involvement with Eastern poetry and culture shows itself in the many poems of *mu'āraḍa* which he wrote of Eastern poems, as well as in his major compendium on Arabic (mainly Eastern) culture and letters, *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*.²⁵

What is important for this essay, however, is the artistic quality of his verse, and its place in the line of development of Andalusī poetry. Behind him is the unsure tradition of emiral and earlier poetry, where many styles prevailed. With the major exception of al-Ghazāl, his immediate predecessors (whose poetry has mostly been only partially preserved)²⁶ Andalusī poetry exhibited varying methods and varying degrees of innovative skill,

many, in fact, even among the most modern, tending periodically to revert to firmly classical roots—a trait that would also characterise Andalusī formal poetry in the immediate future. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, however, picked up the thread established by al-Ghazāl.

Two things become clear on reading his verse: the first, noted by ‘Abbās,²⁷ is that he combined the polarities of spontaneity and deliberateness, the choice depending largely on the theme and the motivation behind the poem; the second is the conflicting nature of his diction, which is typical of poets in a transitory period.

He sometimes uses a very simplified diction which is at odds with the high rhetoric of some of his panegyrics—though even here he sometimes resorts to a simple diction, as when congratulating Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir on his accession:

The moon has appeared new,
and the sovereignty is fresh and new.
An imām of justice who wears
two crowns of authority and liberality.
On Thursday the happy crescent appeared to us,
and every Thursday will be a feast for people.

This absurdly simplistic composition, saved only by the effect of the rhythm and rhymes, contrasts strongly with other eulogies of his. His many levels of diction point to the as yet unsettled state of the poetic language in al-Andalus. Interestingly, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s considerable erudition and deep knowledge of Eastern verse, witnessed in his *‘Iqd*, did not influence his diction and his attitude towards the poetic language. He rather continued, in a good part of his poetry, the line of development established by al-Ghazāl. However, this tendency to use a language stemming from the highly urbanised Andalusī environment was constantly checked, in Andalusī poetry, by the intervention of older Eastern experiments imposed on poets by their education, and by the Andalusis’ deep respect for their Arab poetic heritage. This situation would continue for quite some time, accentuated, probably, by the greater concentration on the study of older Eastern poetry and the ample availability, during the 4th/10th century, of the *dīwāns* of Eastern poets of various epochs.

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s best verse revolves around his personal life, whether in his early verse on love and pleasure, or in his later verse, which included, among other subjects, some contemplative poetry and some poems of pious contrition which he called *al-mumahḥaṣāt* (these being direct poems of *mu‘āraḍa* of his former poems on pleasure), while other poems, such as his moving elegies on two of his sons, reflect a deep anguish and a very sensitive disposition:

I look around me, but see only his grave,
as if the whole earth were a grave before my eyes.

And these verses on a cup bearer:

Oh that face that shines at me
almost bled when I gazed at it.
He gave me the cup and the darts of his eyes,
and before I drank from his hands,
it was from his eyes that I drank.

The imagery in his poetry is still in the tradition of early Abbasid verse, and, for all his abundant use of metaphor, there is no apparent connection with the complex revolutionary metaphoric experiments that had already taken place in Eastern poetry: of those poets, such as Abū Tammām, al-Buḥtūrī and Ibn al-Rūmī, who preceded him, or of his contemporary Ibn al-Mu‘tazz. However, the change in much of his poetry towards a different order of syntax and a different tone of address clearly reflects the naturally evolving idiom of the time in al-Andalus, which one would have expected to develop further in the following decades, but this was not destined to happen. Ibn Hānī, who differed from him diametrically in diction, tone and mode of address, was born around the time Ibn ‘Abd Rabbiḥī died at over eighty years old.

II.3 *Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī*

Before discussing the phenomenon of Ibn Hānī, however, mention is due to another poet who perpetuated the line of development initiated by al-Ghazāl, and continued, with some variation, by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbiḥī. This is the Cordoban poet Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī, whose long life spanned the rules of al-Nāṣir, al-Mustaṣṣir, al-Manṣūr and his son, al-Muẓaffar, and who probably died, reportedly in great poverty, in 403/1013, having witnessed the *fitna*. Accounts of his life vary a little and, although a fair amount of his poetry has been preserved, much more has been lost, including a collection of major importance for this discussion, which he wrote in the prison of al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir. These are poems describing all the kinds of bird known to the poet, which he presented to Prince Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, ending each with a eulogy on the Prince and entreating him (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to intercede with his father for his release. This book would have shown how the art of often detailed description had, by the middle of the 4th/10th century, become a self-sufficient art in al-Andalus, and established itself as a major aspect of Andalusī poetry. Unfortunately, this book is entirely lost, and one cannot be certain whether these descriptions were limited to the intricate external details of the birds described, or whether they also involved the poet’s own emotional situation. One can certainly visualise a prisoner coveting the freedom of birds, an old motif in Arabic poetry, of which the memorable verses of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī written in the Byzantine prison are a good example. However, to describe “all the birds of al-

Andalus" with a view to comparing his incarceration with their freedom would seem absurd and extremely artificial; it is one thing to invoke the motif of the dove, or to compare one's incarcerated status with that of birds, but faithfully to describe the various qualities of so many birds rather seems an attempt to engage the young Prince's imagination and afford him aesthetic pleasure before addressing the problem.

Al-Ramādī's diction has various levels, but he has, in some of his verse, continued the tradition of the simplified, almost conversational language attained by al-*Ḡhazāl*, particularly when he speaks on love, or on everyday events, or when he attempts to write a narrative account, as in his poem in defence of wine when the authorities prohibited its use. In the latter case he uses the story of the famous Eastern *faqīh*, Abū Ḥanīfa "unmatched by any other", who was in the habit of praying all night long:

But he had a neighbour who was a drunkard,
 who joined evening with dawn imbibing drink
 and when light-headed with wine would sing ... [beautifully]
 Then prison took that neighbour, and the singing stopped.
 When one night and another passed
 without hearing him sing, [Abū Ḥanīfa] said:
 "This neighbour of mine who entertained
 me every night, I wonder why he stopped?"
 And he was told that he'd been seized at night
 and whisked into prison.

Abū Ḥanīfa then petitioned the authorities for his release. However, this prose-like simplicity is not sustained throughout al-Ramādī's poetry, which can be artificial at times, reflecting how conflicting tendencies in Andalusī poetry were at work: on the one hand, to simplify, to approximate to the intonations and rhythms of daily life, away from the old bedouin terseness and grandiose style; and, on the other, to move towards a laboured metaphorical inventiveness, as in the following:

Tomorrow they leave! O day, be slow to follow darkness!
 O tears of mine! Rain on them in profusion, block their way!
 O breath of mine! Face them with your burning gust!
 O anguish of my soul! Be pitch-black darkness!
 Prevent them from departure! And O night!
 when you catch up with the morn, throw it into chains.

The use of exaggerated images to express the poet's anguish at the departure of his beloved is certainly far from the spontaneity seen in the previous example; and in fact the following century, dominated by such poets as Ibn *Shuhayd*, Ibn *Zaydūn*, Ibn 'Ammār and al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, who were closer to the heart of the Arab poetic heritage, was one in which all the arts of the *badi'* were to flourish. However, al-Ramādī must be seen as continuing a line of poetry which had started spontaneously in the 2nd/8th and

3rd/9th centuries in al-Andalus, but was diverted from its normal, natural development. The rise of Ibn Hānī', contemporaneously with al-Ramādī, therefore, poses a problem of literary history.

II.4 *Ibn Hānī'*

Abū 'I-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Hānī' al-Andalusī al-Albirī wrote in the vein of the great earlier and contemporary rhetorical poets of the East, with his Andalusī background little in evidence. He was born in Elvira, some time between 320/932 and 326/937, and died in 362/973. He studied mainly in Córdoba, reading and memorising the works of such great poets as Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and, above all, his immediate contemporary al-Mutanabbī, by whom he was profoundly influenced. His poetry is also full of allusions to the events, places and great men of Arab history. From the very beginning of his career he attached himself to the palaces of the great, and the bulk of his poetry is dedicated to the panegyric. Moreover, he is one poet whose own temperament seems to have been suitable to the role of the poet-eulogist, and this is why, perhaps, he used less *gharīb* in his panegyrics than in other poems, particularly in his descriptive verse. A case in point is his *qāfiyya* describing a visit to a tavern, in which he employs a great number of obscure, incongruent words quite incompatible with the smooth elegance of the tavern poems of Abū Nuwās and of al-Ḡhazāl.²⁸ His long panegyrics also at times included much *gharīb*, and many awkward images, but, despite this, he was able, too, to rise to rhetorical heights of eloquence and passion, as in the following memorable verses, which are truly grand and effective in Arabic:

O sons of the Samhariyya spears and Maṣhrafiyya swords,²⁹
Which of you is the commander all obey, who,
arrayed in his shield and armour,
is like Tubba', [the great king] of Ḥimyar?

Ibn Hānī' was also an ardent and extreme Shi'ite, and it was therefore natural that, after seeking out the ruler of Seville at the beginning of his career, he should elect to go to North Africa where the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz li Dīn al-Lāh held the reins of power (another version has it that he was forced to leave because of his addiction to pleasure or because his extreme Shi'ite beliefs angered the people of Seville). He was welcomed with lavish generosity by al-Mu'izz, who needed a good poet-eulogist to sing his attributes, and Ibn Hānī' spent the rest of his short life singing his praises, and those of his general Jawhar and other North African high officials. He died in very mysterious circumstances, probably killed for political reasons, on his way to join al-Mu'izz after Jawhar had conquered Egypt for the Fāṭimids in 358/969.

His own Shi'ite beliefs seem to have been deep and authentic. The Fāṭimids believed in the imamate; to them, "the imams were the embodi-

ments of the Intelligences which emanated from the One God, and maintained that the One Himself was present to human beings."³⁰ And, indeed, the exaggerations of Ibn Hānī, in his descriptions of al-Mu'izz, sometimes make the latter equal to the Prophet and even to God:

... What you decide, not what fate decides.
Rule then, You are the One and the Vanquisher.
It is as if you were the Prophet Muḥammad,
and as if your followers were the Anṣār.³¹

Although this is not basically alien to the Fāṭimid doctrine, a Sunni Muslim would probably find these verses blasphemous, or at least irreverent; yet, despite their content, Arabs have invariably memorised them. Because the role of the poet as panegyrist declaiming his poetry from a platform has never died in Arabic culture (it is the nation, the homeland and the heroic actions of freedom fighters that are eulogised now), it is not difficult for us to form a vivid picture of those major medieval poets addressing the caliphs with their grandiose, proud verses. These panegyrics, Ibn Hānī's included, are laden with images of the greatness of the caliphs, and of the lofty descriptions of all the ideals of manhood—valour, generosity, wisdom—inherited from pre-Islamic poetry but invested with Islamic qualities of the divine right of the Caliph etc., and one can almost visualise the scene and hear the intonations of Ibn Hānī's voice declaiming his sonorous verses with their characteristic rhetorical, vigorous style and ringing rhymes.

Ibn Hānī has little affinity with other Andalusī poets. He wrote very little poetry on nature, and, for all his laborious and extremely deliberate attempts to write some descriptive pieces,³² he cannot match the elegant skill of other Andalusis. He is also often quite opaque in his *ghazāl*, although the great exception to this—an exception which has remained a legacy for posterity—is the love overture to one of his panegyrics, a *kāfiyya*, whose tenderness, melodious sweep and bouncing rhythms are perennially effective:

Is it the darts of your eyes or your father's swords?
And are these cups of wine, or your kissable lips?
What sharp knives are these, what glances that slay?
Neither you nor your folk are merciful!
Daughter of powerful warriors, of mighty fathers,
Is this the law that has sway in your land?
Your phantom used to call on me at night
until you beckoned me with those lances of your eyes.
Your eyes are our rendezvous, will we then meet
in your valley or in the valley of sleep?
They deprived you of your sleep then went away
whenever they met a phantom, they thought it you,
said you were drunk, but never gave you wine.
When your waist swayed they accused you of drunkenness.
They thought the blackness of your eyes was kohl lining.
By God! It's His hand not theirs that has kohled you.³³

Ibn Hānī' had clearly arrived at poetic maturity *before* he left al-Andalus at the age of twenty-six, for the honour immediately bestowed on him in North Africa points to an already established fame. And it is evident that there was no greater poet in North Africa whose method could have prevailed over the poet's. Moreover, accounts of his life show that his intellectual make-up had also been formed before he left al-Andalus, and that his religious beliefs had already been forcefully enunciated.³⁴ The grand style which characterised his verse to the end should, therefore, be considered as a phenomenon of Andalusī literary history. It is apt to dwell a little on this point because it reveals several things at once: Andalusī poetry's lingering uncertainty of development, even during the 4th/10th century; the relationship between poetry and the poet's educational background; the relationship of poetry with the poet's own artistic temperament and aptitudes; and the uneven and unsystematic way literary education was inculcated in al-Andalus at the time. This is a unique example for the literary historian, for although one can find an uneven source of poetic culture in all periods, this kind of complete mixture of periods and modes is far more evident in al-Andalus than elsewhere in Arab literary history. The critic studying this history cannot, as in other periods, follow a steady line of evolution, either within the overall picture of poetic growth, or even in the output of major poets appearing simultaneously. In other places, such as the East, one can see a clear line of development in the poetry of the major poets. But in al-Andalus, however, the line of development meanders, unpredictably, between one school and another, a constant oscillation which is somewhat disconcerting for the literary historian.

Can one view the appearance of Ibn Hānī', as a poet of high rhetorical manifestations and grandiose style following the apt and simplified experiments of al-Ghazāl and Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī, as a case of misplaced temperament? Certainly nothing in the poetry of major Andalusī poets before him predicts his appearance. It is true that the history of Arabic poetry, the history of all poetries, affords critics many examples of solitary artists who run against the poetic temper of their period. However, although Ibn Hānī''s temperament certainly made him more prone than others to such an experiment, I cannot regard him as a solitary artist, because the period abounds with lesser poets who were also prone to high rhetoric and loud enunciations. We must also remember that much of the Andalusī poetry written before the *fitna* has been lost, so that literary historians are handicapped by the limitation of material to hand.

II.5 *Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭālī*

Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭālī (347/958-421/939) was, to some extent, to adopt Ibn Hānī's his high tone and rhetorical address, but with greater sophistication and ardour, and with a tendency to evoke personal memories and dwell on private experiences, with all the emotional involvement this entails. His achievement of emotional veracity in poetry should be regarded as a step forward in that age of the panegyric, as should his realistic transcendence, in his panegyrics, of desert conventions in favour of more immediate presentations. He does not, however, abandon the old motifs of physical suffering on the arduous journey to reach the dignitary. Still speaking of hardships which, in his case, were effectively present, he says in one of his eulogies:

If the water of life is always pure for you,
to come to you I've gasped for water.
If you should clothe me with a green garment,
to come to you I've endured a dark time;
and if you should spread over me a cool shade
to come to you I've endured scorching heat!

This account fits Stefan Sperl's description of the panegyric being the juxtaposition of scarcity on the one hand and plenty and fertility on the other, the first applying to the poet and the second to the ruler.³⁵

However, poems of great personal intimacy also demonstrate a new approach in his poetry, whereby traditional externalised experiences are mingled with the deepest personal experience. On leaving his wife and children to seek out material compensation with one or other of the *ṭā'ifa* rulers, he says:

When she approached to bid me farewell,
her sighs and moans breaking down my endurance,
reminding me of the times of love and joy,
while in the crib a little one gurgles,
unable to talk, but the sounds he makes
firmly lodge in the heart's whims. ...
I disobeyed the promptings of my heart to stay with him,
led on by a habit of constant travel day and night,
and the wing of parting took off with me, while the fear
of parting flew high with many wings.

II.6 *Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī*

The first impression derived from the poetry of Ibn Shuhayd (382/992-426/1035) is that it reflects the public life of men living during the *fitna*, giving a clear picture of the perturbed conditions of this period, with its many abortive political experiments, its racial conflicts and its profound despair. Yet his poetry also embodies many other aspects relating, on the one hand, to the poet's own personality—in both its traditional, given qualities and its more genuine private manifestations—and, on the other, to purely

aesthetic phenomena. In this last respect, Ibn Shuhayd's poetry, more almost than any other, poignantly reflects the struggle between spontaneity and artifice, between entrenched traditionalism and the quest of the creative self to break free from conventional motifs of meaning, attitude and structure, and from the stubborn persistence of inherited poetic tools and methods. The imbalance and disparity in this poetry is pronounced, and his struggle with words, images, sentence construction and the attempt to merge meaning with metaphor is often laborious. This is the age of metaphorical conceits and highly ornate imagery, and Ibn Shuhayd's enduring attempt to achieve originality in his images—an attempt which sometimes fails, particularly in his eulogies and in some of the poems of sheer description—is often a painful aesthetic struggle. As such it is an absorbing subject for critics interested in the general manifestations and possibilities of the poetic art.³⁶

Seventy-four poems by Ibn Shuhayd have been preserved, some very short, quoted in medieval sources of varying authenticity and importance.³⁷ Most of these poems embrace the usual range of subjects: eulogy, formal elegy (as distinct from the poet's personal elegies on himself), traditional *ghazal* (love poems), *fakhr* (vaunting), *ikhwāniyyāt* (poetry on and to friends), satire and description. However, it is the other poems, those that do *not* fall under these headings, which distinguish Ibn Shuhayd and make for enjoyable reading. These are the subjective poems which carry his private voice, their themes ranging from genuine experience of love to the anguished anticipation of imminent death, in which he deals with true emotions touching, often profoundly, on the human condition. There is, of course, a subjective element in many of his other "formal" poems, for, like so many other poets of his times, he is preoccupied with his own status and importance, or expresses frustration at the antagonisms which abounded in the upper echelons of that society and often preyed on the life of the individual. These, though, only reiterate well-known motifs and reactions, meeting the expectations of the period and hardly reflecting any originality or genuine personal experience.

Coming as he did from a rich, aristocratic family of viziers and high public officials, Ibn Shuhayd—unlike his famous, older contemporary Ibn Darrāj—did not need to seek material compensation for his eulogies. If about a quarter of his poetry was nevertheless devoted to the genre, this was because the epoch of *al-ḥiṭa* was also a period when ambitious individuals sensed the opportunity to achieve official status by becoming ministers or ambassadors. The ambitions which led him to seek favour with rulers landed him once in prison, and forced him, on another occasion, to flee Córdoba. It was probably during his period of exile in Málaga that he wrote his famous literary prose epistle, *Al-Tawābi' wa 'l-zawābi'*, an autobiographical work which has preserved much of his surviving verse and ideas on poetry. However, as said above, Ibn Shuhayd's eulogies are not among his best

poetry—a good poetic sign, showing that eulogy, a highly stylised art by then, went against the grain of his creativity. Some of his eulogies are tepid and completely conventional, and, on the whole, there is rarely any sign of originality or eloquence in them.

It is interesting to note how many Arab poets who were not naturally attuned to a eulogistic approach nevertheless persisted in pursuing such a career, at the expense, surely, of a more genuine creative output; there were only rare exceptions, such as (in the Arab East) Abū 'l-'Atāhiya and Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, and the Sufis and other ascetics. Otherwise poets regarded eulogy as a genre to be cultivated as a matter of course. As early as the first century A. H. it had developed into a well-established convention in the East, revolving around the concept of the "ideal man". This concept was brought to perfection in the early Abbasid age which began in 132/750, to suit the pomp and glory of the vast Islamic empire and be worthy of the caliphs who presided over it. Eulogy was already established in pre-Islamic times, but then praise was mainly given to those who genuinely deserved it, more on account of their moral qualities than for gain. The poets of the Islamic empire, in contrast, turned eulogy into a profession. Over the centuries first the caliphs, then other princes and men of high status were eulogised by innumerable poets, generally seeking compensation for praise. The art became standardised and acquired rules and principles of its own. Interestingly, the all-inclusive praise showered on men of power, reflecting the concept of the perfect man in Arabic culture, never allowed any *hamartia* in a leader's personality, never accepted any distortion of the absolute purity of his virtues; he existed permanently on the summit.³⁸ These ideal qualities are reiterated in Ibn Shuhayd's eulogies, but only to a limited extent, not because he had experienced some kind of cultural shift, but because the vein of his own creativity was different.

Is it really possible, in view of Ibn Shuhayd's slight "differentness" in certain aspects of his verse, to see him as marking a shift from purely Arab to more Iberian cultural affinities as Pérès suggests? The question here is this: do we see, in Ibn Shuhayd, the personality of an erudite aristocrat nourished on an Arab-Islamic heritage, or, as Pérès seems to infer, that of a man shaped more by a surrounding Iberian "popular" culture? Pérès notes what he calls Ibn Shuhayd's "cruel fatalism" in one of his self-elegies, and sees in it not just an Islamic but also an Iberian attitude, as the anguish felt by the poet is a "controlled" anguish.³⁹ No doubt much of Ibn Shuhayd's personality as poet never had the chance to emerge; yet, studying his poetry as a whole (and the above suggestion by Pérès deals with one aspect only), we see a reiteration of, and an insistence on, given Arab ideals and a well-rooted *Weltanschauung* which is basically "Arab" in orientation. A case in point is his self-praising *nūniyya* poem (No. 65) in the *basīṭ* metre,⁴⁰ which proclaims the qualities of *futuwwa* (manhood): proud resilience against the

vicissitudes of time, respect, courage, chivalry, clemency, authority, truth, chastity, eloquence and knowledge; these, he declares, are the highest aims of *futuwwa*. Among the Arab qualities regarded as exemplary for the "ideal" man, Ibn Shuhayd here misses only generosity (including hospitality, the Arabs' most marked quality), and he makes up for this in another *nūniyya* in the *ṭawīl* metre (No. 66) dedicated to the description of his liberal hospitality (sources mention that the poet was in fact markedly generous) to an unknown guest on a bleak winter night—an impeccable hospitality, perennially "Arab" in its details.⁴¹ In other poems the poet's opinion of his own qualities of courage and swordsmanship (the highest manly qualities in medieval Arabic culture) are emphatically praised. Of course, courage, chivalry, dignity, pride and steadfastness are not exclusively "Arab", but are qualities of "kighthood" in other cultures as well. Nevertheless, Arabic culture has, since pre-Islamic times, been particularly insistent on these qualities, which go to make up an all-inclusive "ideal" of men worthy of the highest status among their people.⁴²

Ibn Shuhayd's most moving poems are elegiac, on himself, on friends—and on Córdoba. It is an indication of the turbulent and tragic conditions prevailing within this great city that a poet inclined by nature to celebrate life should write poems pulsating with rage and sorrow as he watches it crumble and disintegrate before his eyes. Tens of thousands of people were killed, the city's palaces were destroyed, both *Madīnat al-Zahrā'* of the Umayyads and *al-Madīna 'l-Zāhira* of the 'Āmirids were demolished; whole families were dispersed, and a life of the highest order of civilisation, unparalleled anywhere in medieval times, was stripped of its dignity, joy and peace. In two poems he wrote on Córdoba, a picture of complete desolation is depicted, set against a reel of dazzling images of former days, of times of stability and plenty, fragrant with beauty and the good life. Little wonder, then, that we sense a pessimistic streak, well noted by Nykl and after him by Dickie, pervading much of his poetry.⁴³ What bitter regret the poet expresses in the first poem (No. 26), and what a deep-rooted love in the other (No. 69), where a profound attachment to his birthplace is tinged with genuine contempt:

A dying hag, but her image in my heart is one
of a beautiful damsel.
She's played adulteress to her men,
Yet such a lovely adulteress!

His second very deep regret involves his realisation of approaching death. At the age of forty-four he was struck by paralysis, the illness lingering for over seven months, during which he wrote elegies on himself and poems to his friends and to the youth he loved. It is fascinating to observe how this poet, crossing the world's last threshold to the grave, seeks refuge comparatively

rarely in God and religion, paying only a perfunctory tribute to God. In the epitaph he wrote for his own grave (poem No. 17) he says:

Friend, arise, we've stayed here far too long.
 How can we sleep into eternity?
 "Never will we rise from this," he told me,
 "so long as earth envelops us."
 Do you remember how many a night we relished
 when time was a sumptuous feast?
 How much joy rained over us
 from a rich and generous cloud?
 All's gone, as if it's never been,
 and its evil portent's here, eternally!
 Woe to us if we miss His mercy,
 for His punishment can be severe.
 God, Your forgiveness! You're the Lord
 whom Your slaves cannot fathom.

How can we compare this moderate tone of piety to his anguish when he appeals to his friends during his illness? His separation from one of them in particular, his youthful lover 'Amr of whom he says, "I gaze at him while death presses on me", he finds unendurable.

Ibn Shuhayd's poetry portrays a male world, bound by strong friendships, erotic attachments and steadfast bonds. This strong relationship among men in Arabic culture is an intrinsic attitude that has lasted, undiminished, up to the present time; yet homosexuality is something beyond friendship and needs a special study with respect to Arabic culture. It was clearly both widespread and accepted in al-Andalus, though not necessarily as highly regarded as in Ibn Shuhayd's poetry. The reverence which this poetry reveals towards homosexual love, the natural, guiltless and earnest tone he uses when he speaks about his love for 'Amr—"the heart's dearest person, the most worthy of honour", who "had lived intimately with [the poet] in the wide and liberal realm of love"—reminds one of the open celebration of attachments among men found among the ancient Greeks. However, what is generally known of homosexual literature in Arabic in the East gives an impression of mischievous caprice and sometimes of frivolousness. It is the sexuality and passion, rather than the moral manly qualities of the lover, that are emphasised, and homosexual love is usually treated with all the suffering, nostalgic desire and dazzled infatuation we find in heterosexual love poetry, and often with the same expressions of lust and physical desire. There is no reflection in this poetry of any public or religious morality to check the emotions.⁴⁴ From a wealth of literature in Arabic, both poetry and prose, we may deduce that, during those periods of Arab civilisation marked by an influx of male and female slaves from many races, homosexuality was the result of availability rather than of deprivation, pointing sometimes to a personal preference, as one feels was the case with Ibn Shuhayd.

When he writes his elegies on men, a rhetorical expression prevails, full of esteem and deference, and when his grief is personal a real anguish is expressed, as in his elegy on Abū Ja'far al-Lumā'iyy (No. 74), a close friend who died when the poet was himself slowly dying. He describes his endurance of this death as a "savage" experience which left him like "a mad genie in the corners of the house". Ever mindful of his own enfeebled state, he continues:

I say, as sickness is rampant over my body,
spurring death on, while the robe of life is folded:
"Al-Lumā'iyy has spread the fragrance of his thought"
and night answers: "Here passed al-Lumā'iyy."

What is most intriguing, however, in Ibn Shuhayd's later poetry is this ultimate fusion of love and death. The flaring up of passion when death had already laid its hand on the paralysed poet is genuinely moving, and enduringly exciting. It touches the reader's own inner apprehension of the two most profound experiences of life. In his elegy on himself, (poem No. 28) he stresses his love for young 'Amr:

I contemplate the time of life I've spent,
it's nothing but a flicker of the eye,
And count what I achieved of pleasure,
but find it no more than a game that's lost.
I'm no more than what I've done in life
after they leave me among the dead.
... death unbuttons the ties of the strongest of men
in the very citadel of his kingdom.
So it's not strange that my death be imminent
where my beginning gives credence to my end.
But what is strange is that in my bosom
a love kindles, like the flying sparks of embers.
It moves me as death bores into my heart
and excites me as my soul hangs at my throat.

In another poem (No. 55) he describes how "while the hand of death dislocates his soul, he still hoards a passion that soothes its bereavement." Reading this, a critic is bound to wonder just how much of this poet's real poetic self has been submerged in conformity with the expectations of the period, its political interests and poetic fashions. In his less personal poetry, as mentioned in the discussion of his eulogies, he often crowds his poems with old and obsolete words, and can resort to very laboured and external descriptions of unimportant subjects, such as his descriptions of the "flea" and the "bee" (poems 5 and 60). The relationship of Arab poets with the animal world is an old one, finding great expression in pre-Islamic poetry, which became a mine of information about desert animals from the sand grouse to the horse and the she-camel, and was always invested with emotions; indeed, much of the metaphoric wealth of pre-Islamic poetry was built on the warm and crucial presence of these animals, co-inhabitants with man

in the vast and perilous desert. To the reader familiar with the old traditions, Ibn Shuhayd's description of the bee and the flea verges on the comic. However, the poet's choice of subject of description proves two things: first that the old desert traditions were already dead for him and for his audience, completely eradicated by urbanism and the radical ecological change; and second that the intimate voice, the sympathetic tone, the emotional relatedness in the old poetry were also gone, to be replaced by mere laboured external descriptions. Ibn Shuhayd did, however, write descriptive poems of the first order, and he has been noted by several literary historians as a master of descriptive poetry.⁴⁵

What still needs to be discussed here, albeit briefly, is Ibn Shuhayd's ideas on poetry and literature, which do not necessarily reflect the literary concepts prevalent in his own age, but rather the state of literary maturity he evidently felt the literature of his age to have attained. Literary criteria, particularly at a time when there was no chance of intercultural borrowing, either evolved from those voiced by former critics within the same culture, or were built on the critic's own observation of what had happened in his own language, or on the possibilities he felt could be opened for the poetry and literature of his age. Ibn Shuhayd—and this is what makes him more interesting than other, greater poets in al-Andalus—had an original approach to literature and a deep insight into it, yet was also bound to tradition, and it is exciting to see how he contradicts himself, and how he attempts to make the ultimate compromise between tradition and innovation.

One of his early ideas deals with "truth" in poetry, also a pertinent question in Eastern criticism. When he was thrown into prison by al-Musta'in, he defended himself by claiming that the poetry which had helped indict him for debauchery did not mirror reality; rather, he had exaggerated in his quest for original meaning. His epistle, *Al-Tawābi' wa 'l-zawābi'*, contains critical concepts which seem to be spontaneously his own, some of them prompted by his desire to defend his own status as a poet. In this book, he is the pivot around whose poetry and ideas the whole work revolves. The organisation of the book reflects the belief that poets (and writers whom he calls "orators") each have their own genie, and Ibn Shuhayd is spirited by his to the land of the jinn where they meet with the genie of pre-Islamic and Abbasid poets and of certain well known prose stylists. From the exchange he has with these authors, we may conclude that Ibn Shuhayd regarded writers of literary prose as more worthy of honour than poets; but what is more interesting is his belief that poetry is a God-given talent which cannot be learnt or mastered through the poet's command of language and knowledge of rhetoric. Highly original also is his belief that the quality of poetry is determined by the spiritual and physical attributes of the person; ugly and evil people (he has very graphic descriptions of physical ugliness) cannot create good poetry. Ibn Shuhayd gears the argument, unsurprisingly, to his

own poetry, so providing a defence of the latter—an enduring tactic of poet-critics, if usually more subtly applied. What is surprising, however, is the fact that he lays down contradictory theories. A large part of his argument in the epistle concerns his own borrowings from older poets, or his direct *mu'ā-raḍas* of their poems, for which he was blamed by Andalusī critics and linguists. Yet Ibn *Shuhayd* speaks of originality and of the fact that literature must undergo constant change. To him, every age has its own methods and style, which are never static but evolve with time, and he gives as example the way Arabic prose had evolved to arrive at the style of such Abbasid writers as 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Sahl b. Hārūn. His theory of constant renewal in literature stands, it is clear, in stark contradiction to his defence of borrowing and *mu'āraḍa*; and, in fact, these two poles are in constant conflict within his own poetry, where some poems pulsate with originality and spontaneity and others are clearly the result of deliberate, slow and probably painful improvisation, a situation noted also by 'Abbās.⁴⁶ The sweep of language and rhythm in such poems as his elegies on himself, on his friend al-Lumā'īyy and on Córdoba, which flow from the heart in a musical harmony of language and metre, stands in direct opposition to the laboured, cumbersome use of language and the awkwardness of rhythm in some other poems.

I have dwelt somewhat on Ibn *Shuhayd* because he affords a variety of themes for the critic. His poetry reflects the troubled times he lived through, and also the conflicts permeating a poet's experiments, the strange mixture of purely artistic experience and the kind of externalised, public experience poets knew during those days. Moreover, he was also a critic of poetry, with some interesting theories to propose.

II.7 A note on Ibn Ḥazm

Ibn Ḥazm was, as we have seen, the friend and contemporary of Ibn *Shuhayd*; and, as poet, theorist and major religious scholar, he was one of the most distinguished literary personalities of al-Andalus. There is something universal and perennial about his creative work, including his famous treatise on love, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, which makes him as alive in the 20th century as he was in medieval times. A profound humanist and a man of robust intellectual power, vibrant creativity and great moral integrity, his poetic gift was not of the first order, although he could at times write very moving poetry, such as the following:

The Nature of the Beloved

Do you belong to the world of angels
or that of men?
Explain it to me
because my mind is unable to comprehend it.

I see a human form,
but when I concentrate my thoughts,
I find you are a body
from higher spheres.

Blest be the One who contrasted the essence
of each of his creatures
and arranged that you
be marvellous natural light.

I am wholly convinced
that you are pure spirit
attracted to us by the affinities
that link souls.

The only proof attesting
to your bodily incarnation,
allowing us to make analogies,
is that you are visible.

Were our eyes unable
to contemplate your being,
we would say that you were
Sublime True Reason.⁴⁷

This approaches a mystical apprehension of experience. In his personal verse the language of both heart and mind are merged; he spoke candidly of his own life, but always as part of the human condition with which everybody identifies:

Nostalgia for what's past; preoccupation with what's happened;
Depression for what's hoped! Oh, your life has no joy!
As if that which used to please you—
if you contemplated it—is words with no substance.

Ibn Ḥazm's prose works have been discussed in other chapters of this book, and I will therefore now move on to speak of al-Andalus's most famous poet, Ibn Zaydūn.

II.8 *The rise of Ibn Zaydūn*

There is no student of Arabic poetry who has not learnt, often by heart, some of Ibn Zaydūn's more famous poems, particularly the *nūniyya* written to the woman he is famed to have loved, the poet-princess Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī. Normally Arabic poems are memorised either for their appeal to the feelings or for the wisdom they embody, often in single verses or in small clusters of such verses.⁴⁸ However, in the longer extracts, as in Ibn Ḥānī's famous overture to his *kāfiyya*, mentioned above, or in whole poems, it is rather their musicality that guarantees their immortality, and this latter element is remarkable in some of Ibn Zaydūn's poetry.

To judge from the Andalūsī poetic corpus that has come down to us, and also from the accounts of Andalūsī poetry found in books of *adab* and literary and cultural history, Ibn Zaydūn was certainly the most prominent Andalūsī poet in terms of the quality of his work; and it is not, perhaps, as odd as it might seem that he lived and died during the most disturbed periods in al-Andalus, or, at least, during the most tragic upheaval in his own birth-place, Córdoba. Poets are not merely the immediate products of their age; they are rather primarily formed by all that has occurred in poetry before them. For all the need to conform, in times of upheaval, to certain themes and modes of address, this need must be viewed alongside the larger evolution of poetry in its metaphorical and formal aspects, which themselves spring largely from a continuous tradition of experimentation and the resulting malleability in the poetic tools, to which the poet's particular gift is then added.

Ibn Zaydūn was born in 394/1003, during the rule of al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, to a prominent Cordoban family from the Qurashī tribe of Maḵẓūm, and died in 463/1071 after Córdoba had been taken over by al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād. He lost his father when he was very young, at only eleven years old, but this did not interfere with his Cordoban education; he was well-grounded in history, philosophy, linguistic studies and literary knowledge. He is said to have taken part in the *fitna* as a very young man, and, during the *īāʾifa* period, we see him constantly involved in the political life of al-Andalus, sometimes as an ambassador for Ibn Jahwar, the first post-Caliphal ruler of Córdoba, sometimes as his prisoner, and then as a poet attached to the ʿAbbādī court in Seville. Fine poet, erudite prose writer, diplomat, lover and a man, generally, of the highest gifts, Ibn Zaydūn lived his life to the full, seizing all the opportunities presented to a man of his calibre, and suffering all the tragedies to which such a man would naturally be subject in a chaotic age of ruler against ruler, tribe against tribe, Arab against Berber, Shiʿite against Sunni, Christian against Muslim. And, if he really was enamoured of Wallāda, from whom he suffered a permanent separation, then a private tragedy must be added to the overall picture of political struggle around the poet.

It would, I think, be erroneous—and also extremely difficult—to try to evaluate Ibn Zaydūn's *poetic* achievement in al-Andalus as part of a steadily and chronologically progressive evolution of the poetic art in the country, in the light of our knowledge of the way art normally develops. As with most other Andalūsī poets, he eludes being placed within such a steady line of progression. As has already been mentioned in this discussion, it is probably the most characteristic aspect of Andalūsī poetry in general that it transcends demarcation lines and a steady, predictable course of growth, being subject to the whimsical, arbitrary adoption of styles and methods, and constantly ready to embrace sudden new fashions and conflicting ways of expression. It

is not, in general, a poetry completely sure of itself. Ibn Zaydūn's experiment, however, is probably surer of itself than any other in al-Andalus. He proceeds like a master, and performs well and with grandeur. But where in the ladder of general Arab poetic achievement can we place him, and what role did he play in the development of Andalusí poetry? To assess Ibn Zaydūn's role more clearly, one should try to understand the various categories of "successful" experiments in poetry generally and see to what category of success he belongs.

There are three main kinds of *successful* poet. The first are the *propagators*, those who develop an already established trend to its fullest potential, enriching it and imbuing it with flair and sophistication. Many of the greatest poets of Arab literary history belong to this category, and have preserved their reputation through the passage of time.⁴⁹ There is no space, here, to explore the underlying reasons for this particular phenomenon and to ponder why this role was imposed on poets of such great genius, but something may be said about the poetic situation of their age. In each of the periods in question poetry was in need not of radical change, but rather of reaching a culmination, of concluding a great beginning, or of halting, through the creation of splendid, original and commanding poetry within an already recognised trend, the waywardness, the adventurism, the overflowing of radical energy and the possible irresponsibility of over-inventive experimentalists.

The second category is that of poets who *initiate* a new trend. The task is usually accomplished by a number of poets, sometimes over one or two generations, as happened in parts of Europe during the 19th century when the romantic trend transcended barriers of language and nationality; and in the Arab world in the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century when romanticism became the major school. In such situations, the move is usually instinctive, answering a need, not only in the age but within the art of poetry itself, for a change in a certain direction, when the poetic tools are ready for change (indeed almost crying out for it) and poetic sensibility has probably come to suffer from aesthetic fatigue and requires a different orientation. If the first category of poets helps enrich and develop a pre-existing trend, the second, that of the innovators, helps initiate a new one which grows, rather slowly, in the teeth of the previous one.

The third category is that of poets who establish a radically new method of writing poetry, working against great obstacles and proceeding beyond the expectations of even the most avant-garde critics. They are *catalysts*, who change the direction of poetry for their times and for all future times. It is true that for such poets to succeed, the poetic tools of their times must have become sufficiently malleable to assimilate the radical change introduced, and poetic sensibility must have come to crave change and originality. Nevertheless, the kind of change these poet-catalysts impose on their contemporary poetry does not appear to be an *inevitable* answer to the poetic

situation of their times, which could perhaps be improved or, if need be, corrected through other, less radical innovative techniques. Catalysts do not necessarily arise out of the need of the poetic art for a radically new direction either in method or in diction and metaphor. They usually appear in an age of great poetic strength—indeed, they hardly ever appear in an age of poetic weakness, since their role is not to save poetry from its defects (radical change can never be imposed on a weak poetry), but dramatically to exploit one or more aspects of the artistic possibilities of their genre, and sometimes to combat the strong hold of a certain method before it leads on to total poetic rigidity. Abū Tammām's experiment, which exploded the metaphorical possibilities of the poetry of his times, was no inevitable occurrence that answered a real need of poetry in the 3rd/9th century, yet the complexity, the sophistication and the compound imagery he introduced permanently changed the way poets were to use language and metaphor. These unpredictable events depend largely on the appearance of a particular genius in a particular age. They are the minds which, when they appear, excite and stimulate, and, through a radical design, forge indelible marks on the poetry of their language.⁵⁰

The poetry we have from al-Andalus provides no major poets of the second and third categories. Ibn Zaydūn, however, belonged to the first category. If the 5th/11th century is marked by the appearance of many good poets, Ibn Zaydūn nevertheless towers above them. What is of major interest is to observe the meandering line of development and see how poetry was struggling at once with the influx of so many poetic methods. In this respect Ibn Zaydūn's achievement is great. He brought into Andalūsī poetry something of the balance, the rhetorical command, the passionate power and the grandeur of style that marked contemporary poetry in the East, and, most importantly, he came at a time when the poetic conceit had become a fashion and description of nature for the sake of description an entrenched method. Although he took much of his imagery from the more cultivated natural scenery around him, he was not himself an instinctive nature poet, and, despite such poems as his famous *qāfiyya*⁵¹ in which he draws an implicit antithesis between his depressed state of mind and the brightness and beauty of nature around him, his poetry does not particularly concentrate on the natural scene (or object) *per se*.⁵² His experiment stood midway between the pure aesthetic movement in al-Andalus and the simplified poetry of experience which characterised part of the verse of a younger generation of poets, such as Ibn 'Ammār and al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, whose poems punctuated the events of their lives with great immediacy. Ibn Zaydūn's experiment worked as a stop valve for the fashion of pure aestheticism, endeavouring, with obvious success, to halt the profusion of conceits unrelated to a particular experience (whether real or imaginary) or to the human condition in general; and, with a craftsmanship that appears to have become, in his best poetry,

a natural part of his poetic skill, he merged aesthetics with life, showing the possibility of combining the two in a passionate expression of high artistic accomplishment. In rejecting the fashionable tendency to make nature an object *per se*, he rescued Andalusī poetry from the self-indulgence of the poets of externalised description.

That is not to say that Ibn Zaydūn broke through the formidable aesthetic façade so marked in al-Andalus in favour of broadly exploring the human psyche. He was not, I feel, inclined towards a profound interpretation of human experience; none of the ideas he advances in his poetry shows any real depth or insight, adding something new to our apprehension of the human condition. His greatest poetic involvement, aside from the utilitarian purpose of currying favour with princes or trying to escape their wrath, is his involvement with the *art* of poetry itself; for although his talent instinctively abhorred any dehumanisation of the poetic art, being concerned rather to wed aesthetic skill to some aspect or another of human experience (whether actually lived or simulated), his greatest skill as a poet lay in his exuberant craftsmanship. This, however, does not show itself equally in all his work. There seems to me to be a dividing line between the poetry he wrote on a specific experience, such as the *mīmiyya* he composed in Ibn Jahwar's prison with the aim of arousing the latter's sympathy and persuading him to free him,⁵³ and the poems he wrote in the service of art, this latter category including the erotic overtures to his longer poems, many of his shorter pieces, and most of his famous love poems, written mainly in "reminiscence" of a failed love affair. There is, in these poems, a careful tending of his art, a deliberate craftsmanship, a marked attention to detail, to the invention of strings of images, often in a static situation.

Ibn Zaydūn has been called "the Buḥturī of the West", a rather exaggerated comparison. Al-Buḥturī was certainly a greater poet, and the two poets differed profoundly in many respects. Al-Buḥturī's capacity, for example, to paint a continuous, organically complete picture, systematically building its structure one image after the other until this picture is complete (such as his famous *sīniyya* describing Kistrā's arch, or his *lāmiyya* describing the palace of Caliph al-Mu'tazz), is quite different from Ibn Zaydūn's eclectic selections from natural scenery around him, or his disparate descriptions of woman's attributes as seen, respectively, in his *qāfiyya* and his *nūniyya*; then there is the *consistent* musical flow of al-Buḥturī's poetry, something Ibn Zaydūn achieved brilliantly at times, but *only* in his best poems; the never failing gracefulness of al-Buḥturī's diction, and his capacity to rise to sublime rhetorical heights in his panegyrics, to the extent that many of his eulogistic verses are still memorised by modern Arabs—qualities with which Ibn Zaydūn was not particularly endowed.

Much is made, in books of Andalusī literary history, of Ibn Zaydūn's love affair with Wallāda bint al-Mustakfi, whom he met at her literary salon and

with whom he seems to have had an intimate relationship for some time. However, according to some references, this relationship was quickly terminated by Wallāda herself. More than one reason has been given for this change of heart. Some references mention a trivial incident of jealousy,⁵⁴ others mention Ibn Zaydūn's early anti-caliphal political activity, while still others, alluded to several times in his poetry and prose, speak of his rivalry with the rich and powerful minister, Abū 'Āmir b. 'Abdūs, an older contemporary and one-time friend, who seems to have gained Wallāda's favour and probably supported her. The versions conflict, but it is perhaps safe to say that the rupture took place due to the temperaments of the two lovers and the vicissitudes of political life; and perhaps too it was Ibn 'Abdūs, as rumoured, who had a hand in instigating Ibn Jahwar against the poet. Both in his verse, and in a famous epistle "Al-risāla 'l-hazliyya" ("The Comic Letter") that he wrote to him, Ibn Zaydūn chided the minister, sometimes even poured out his invective on him.⁵⁵ However, the poet seems to have had several enemies as well who might also have helped land him in prison. He was possibly accused of working to overthrow Ibn Jahwar's rule, but in his "Al-risāla 'l-jaddiyya" ("The Serious Letter")⁵⁶, written to Ibn Jahwar from prison in the hope of arousing the ruler's compassion to free him, he alludes, clearly in self-defence, to the accusation of having usurped a dead man's wealth, which he denies. He spent over 500 days in prison, after which he escaped and lived in hiding until Ibn Jahwar pardoned him. Ibn Jahwar, however, died soon afterwards and we see Ibn Zaydūn enjoying high position in the government of his son, Abū 'l-Walid b. Jahwar, who sent him as ambassador at large to other *ṭā'ifa* kings, but dismissed him from the post when Ibn Zaydūn seemed to linger too long on his ambassadorial missions. After visiting several *ṭā'ifa* kings, by whom he was invariably honoured, he went to the flourishing court of al-Mu'taḍid b. 'Abbād, the ruler of Seville.

Some of his best panegyrics were written on al-Mu'taḍid and his son, the poet al-Mu'tamid, and Ibn Zaydūn seems to have enjoyed great status at their court, becoming chief *kātib* and minister with two portfolios (*dhū 'l-wi-zāratayn*) to al-Mu'taḍid. He returned to Córdoba when al-Mu'tamid took over the city, but soon afterwards was sent, despite his illness, on a mission to Seville, where he died.

Ibn Zaydūn has very little poetry on the happy period of his love relationship with Wallāda or any others; for, of all the erotic themes available, the poet's preference was for the aspects of regret and loss, the beloved's treachery and the poet's own constancy. Requited love has no permanent attraction.⁵⁷ Moreover, there is no sign in his verse of any of the homosexual tendencies so commonplace in his day. This strengthens the argument that (aside from politics) his main interest was in art, for he chose the theme suitable for a prolonged treatment over many years.⁵⁸

How far Ibn Zaydūn really remained attached to Wallāda after their separation, and how far he is using his reminiscences in the service of a grand artistic design, should not be too difficult to fathom. There is certainly more art than agony in his poems on Wallāda and on love in general, which is almost always unrequited love and therefore, as said, a fit subject for sustained treatment. Although some of these poems are passionate expressions, the passion in them smacks more of artistic than of emotional fervour, and the finished poem's concentration on artistic refinements rather than profound expression of longing betrays its aesthetic purpose. The two aspects of aesthetics and experience are not always equal in his poetry. His factual verse has far less of metaphorical refinements, while the poems rich in conceits and embellishments owe more allegiance to art than to an actual sad relationship of love.

Much of the poetry he wrote on this theme is in short poems, many ending with a graceful final statement on the theme, some others ending flip-pantly. But he has at least three major poems on love which, undeniably, account for his lasting reputation.⁵⁹ On the other hand, students of Arabic literature, apart from specialists in Andalusī poetry, have shown little interest in his eulogies, which are his longest poems, dedicated to Ibn Jahwar and his son Abū 'l-Walīd, the 'Abbāids (both al-Mu'taḍid and al-Mu'tamid) and a few other dignitaries. Presumably he was driven to eulogise one ruler after another primarily on account of his political ambitions, his wish to achieve and maintain status and power; in this he differed from such poets as Ibn Darraj, who desperately needed financial support. Ibn Zaydūn's panegyrics are in fact largely traditional poems, with no special claim to creativity,⁶⁰ having nothing of the sublime address of a Mutanabbī or even an Ibn Hānī'. The same applies to the small number of elegies written as condolences to some of the rulers he eulogised. Although he had powerful enemies, there are no satires in his *diwān*, except for a crude short piece he wrote to Ibn 'Abdūs on Wallāda:

They taunt me that Abū 'Āmir frequents her house,
but the butterfly is attracted to the fire,
that he has taken my place with the woman I love
but in this there's no ire
Appetising food it was, of which I got the best
and the rest I left to the mouse.⁶¹

His most famous poem, his *nūniyya*, explores the outer contours of a love story, and reiterates the same expected motifs of the age: the celebration of the love relation, the exultant devotion to verbal refinements of style, the heightened invocation of the image of lovely woman, the defiance of the competitor, and the repeated expression of jealousy and blame, so vibrant in Arabic culture.

Ibn Zaydūn has in fact very few innovations for the critic to dwell upon; most attempts at analysing his poetry concentrate on his two or three best love poems, or else focus on the musical aspect of his verse, usually describing it, in exaggerated terms, as a consistently perfect example of rhythmic and metrical accomplishment. But, as mentioned above, while the latter point is true of his finer poems, it does not apply to quite a few others. When Ibn Zaydūn is not inspired by his favourite theme, sound and music become dimmed in his poetry, lacking the fullness and fluency so richly present in the *nūniyya*, *qāfiyya*, the love overture of a *kāfiyya* he wrote as eulogy, and others.⁶²

In other respects Ibn Zaydūn's best poetry is well balanced, with well-knit phraseology, and abounds in exuberant emotion and vivid imagery. Yet one feels that the pleasure conveyed, sometimes in quite generous measure, is only a sensuous, 'sthetic pleasure.

We may contrast his *nūniyya* with a famous '*ayniyya* written in al-Andalus itself, by the tragic Eastern poet, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zurayq al-Baghdādī around 420?/1029?, the year he died. Ibn Zurayq came to al-Andalus seeking material gain from a ruler whose name has never been given in literary sources, and, having met with what he felt to be utter failure in response to his eulogies, he died heartbroken,⁶³ but not before writing one of the most moving love poems in Arabic, in which he describes his desperate grief at parting from his beloved in Baghdad.⁶⁴ Like Ibn Zaydūn's poem, this very distinctive '*ayniyya* is well-phrased, well balanced and abounds with exuberant emotion and imagery, but it excels Ibn Zaydūn's *nūniyya* in its sensitive description of an existential experience of great authenticity, poignancy and tenderness, within which the human relation is genuinely profound and infectiously tragic. Ibn Zaydūn's experience, in contrast, remains his, and we remain strangers to it. His *nūniyya* remains a poem written by a dignitary to a princess, exhibiting a fascination with royalty, which drives the poet to present a fantastic fairy tale description of princely elegance amid sumptuous gardens shimmering with luxuriant blooms and verdant shrubbery. What comes alive is not an experience with which we can identify, but rather a scene of majestic splendour, part of a dream world, appealing to the fancy only, which we enjoy artistically as one enjoys a film on royalty.

Ibn Zaydūn seems to have described his relationship with Wallāda in both poetry and prose,⁶⁵ but his prose, while reflecting his erudition and wide learning, is highly artificial and heavy with embellishments to a degree that is hardly appealing to the modern sensibility. His poetry, on the other hand, is freer of embellishment, a testimony to a genuine poetic gift which prevailed over linguistic niceties. Yet there is a deficiency in his poetry in general, even in his love poetry; it lacks tenderness and also the anguish so poignantly expressed by Ibn Zurayq. As such, it lacks the crucial legitimacy of genuinely great love poetry.

Ibn Zaydūn was, as said above, an artist first and foremost. He must have realised the natural interest people would take in the particular love story he could present to the world, which mixed passion with royalty and exploited the major motifs of love poetry in Arabic in one sublime utterance. One has to remember that themes were constantly being reiterated by poets, often in increasingly formulaic and stereotyped fashion, even when there was no direct basis in experience, and one of the motifs which has faithfully continued throughout the centuries, reflecting the instinctive Arab abhorrence for looseness in women, is that of the coy, resisting woman who shuns the poet's overtures of love. In general, feminine attributes, both physical (the white countenance shining like the sun, the long neck like a gazelle's, the slim waist, the round, full thighs, the kohled eyes, the jet black hair like the night) and moral (the resistance, the constant breaking of her promises to meet her lover, the pride, the elusiveness) continued to be reiterated; and if the influx of thousands of slave girls (and boys) from other races, and the ease with which sex (heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual) was obtained, cut through some of these conventional attributes,⁶⁶ it did so only to a degree. Ibn Zaydūn, faithful to a centuries-old tradition founded on the pre-Islamic *ghazal*, and having himself actually experienced the trauma of the rejected lover, dwells on the motif of deprivation, regret and constancy, and his poetry is haunted by the figure of the elusive woman, whether Wallāda or some other person.

Yet the truth is that Ibn Zaydūn's love affair with Wallāda, which has attracted so many critics studying Andalusī poetry,⁶⁷ is one of the simplest such affairs in Arabic literature. Abortive and short-lived, due not to the unpredictable nature of events but to pettiness and unsavoury intrusions, its only claim to immortality is, first, that Ibn Zaydūn's best poetry may have been written on Wallāda, and second, that the two protagonists were poets of high social status—royal in Wallāda's case—which has given the story great allure. The many critics who describe Ibn Zaydūn's poetry on Wallāda as tender and full of nostalgia and anguish are in fact only reading into this poetry what their expectations dictate.

Although much of his poetry deals with the theme of love, he is not sentimental, and this, in itself, is a step forward. In Eastern poetry, there is always a very thin line between the emotive and the sentimental, with lesser poets frequently falling into the latter due to the ever-present element of nostalgia. The greater poets, however, instinctively avoided the trap, and this is so of Ibn Zaydūn, even when he is weeping. His lack of sentimentality, despite occasional hyperbole, is the result of a basic aristocracy which bars him from cheap emotions. In these poems he wrote as a genuine craftsman, and allowed no mawkishness or vulgarity to infiltrate the work.

II.9 *A short comment on love poetry in al-Andalus*

One must remember that the life of Ibn Zaydūn, like that of many other Andalusī poets, was dominated by the lust for power, or a persistent quest for financial viability. As such, although love affairs have been recorded in connection with quite a few Andalusī poets, al-Andalus never produced any great love poet like the many major Umayyad love poets, or the Abbasid, al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf. This is a point that merits further investigation, since the Andalusī scene, exuberantly rich in natural scenery and social opportunity alike, would seem to have provided the right conditions for such a poet to emerge.

Yet one can find some very sensitive erotic verse in al-Andalus, both in formal poetry and the *muwashshah*; and Ibn Bassām and others have recorded some very fine poems of desire and abstinence, passion and chastity, love and deprivation. These motifs in which the attitudes of chivalry, courtesy and a gentle style of address are established, form the basis of courtly love, of the chivalrous attitude towards woman, which became part of the Renaissance in Europe. These attitudes, it must be emphasised here, are not of a purely Andalusī origin but form part of the Arabic love literature so rich both east and west of the Mediterranean, one which still needs to be discussed in modern terms, and to be seen not simply in the light of semantic and technical accomplishment, but vis-à-vis the Arab-Islamic ethos and background which underlies the erotic. Scholars who link the rise of courtly love poetry in Europe to the Andalusī poetic output could do well to study the whole corpus of Arab love poetry where those attitudes and sentiments that are still found so attractive, have originated.

Islam substantially merges the personal with the communal. Religion is not simply a matter of private, individual practice. The Islamic ethos rather secures a congenial fusion of personal and public happiness, giving believers a sense of belonging to a vaster entity, regulating their way of life and their modes of interaction, and generating in them a harmonious sense of completeness in a world that they felt to be whole and integrated.

Islam also liberates the body. In Arab-Islamic culture, body and soul are not necessarily involved in a conflicting dualism; the new psyche moulded by Islam, in some aspects a continuation of the pre-Islamic psyche, was not prone to guilt, self-punishment and self-mutilation, and the idea of an original sin would be most perturbing to believers. Neither as a religion nor as a way of life does Islam create spiritual disintegration, or dwell on pain, atonement and metaphysical fears (we only encounter some of the latter later on, in Ibn Khafāja) and it never revels in distress. Sexuality is never an evil in itself, and is in fact legitimate and pleasurable within the sacramental boundaries of the *sharī'a*; even in Sufism, it is through the tremors of the body, through a sublimated eroticism, that the divine is approached. All this strongly underlies the capacity of Muslims for a warm-blooded emphasis on

joie de vivre, an attitude immediately noticeable with respect to the Andalus. What Islam gave the believer was freedom from the confusing doubts and contradictions leading only to a depressed state of mind, and this love of life and vibrant interaction with it remain strongly characteristic of Andalusí poetry, marking it as both firmly Arab and firmly Islamic.

The integration of body and soul should not be taken to mean that the Muslim ethos is permissive, but rather that it recognises the close and natural relationship between love and passion, and urges avoidance of the illicit, without killing eroticism or maiming virility. The famous tradition of the Prophet, "whoever loves, and abstains, then dies of love, dies a martyr" expresses great reverence for Eros. Abstinence is in fact only the other face of desire, it is desire checked and kept at bay, but legitimate in itself, and so long as it does not revel in debauchery, it is never filthy, ignoble or riddled with guilt. Chastity is sought as an Arab-Islamic attribute *par excellence*, originating in the pre-Islamic Arabian desert, where it was regarded as one of the major qualities of the perfect man, then confirmed by Islam, and the whole concept came to be connected with the principles of *futuwwa* ("chivalry"). Illicit love, discouraged by the Arab-Islamic ethos, often prevailed, just as wine drinking did, and we have a large corpus of literature describing the pleasures of wine and of physical love, extending at times to the description of scenes of debauchery and sexual abandon. In such cases, certainly, *joie de vivre* was taken to extremes, but within a vast culture of so much temptation (thanks in part to the cult of concubinage and the lawful association with slave girls), deviations will take place. This all led, naturally, to a "double" approach vis-à-vis women, with the "free woman" consciously and legitimately separated from the slave girl. It also led to a great variety of approach in love poetry.

In an essay of limited length, one can discuss such major themes only too briefly; and a large corpus of Andalusí poetry has in any case been lost to us, so that our available choices remain limited. It is apt, nevertheless, to give examples of the variety of love poetry written in al-Andalus. One of the finest is the short poem by Cordoban Ibn Baqī (d. 540/1145):

When night came trailing shadows
 I gave her wine to drink
 dark and fragrant as musk powder.
 I gripped her as tightly
 as a warrior his sword.
 Her braids were the scabbards
 that hung from my shoulders.
 When the sweet weight of sleep
 overpowered her
 I loosened her embrace
 and moved her from my chest
 to save her from sleeping
 on a palpitating pillow! ⁶⁸

The following poem by the Andalusī Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī in the 4th/10th century reflects the notion of chivalrous abstinence:

Although she was ready to give
herself to me, I abstained
and did not accept
the temptation Satan offered.
She came unveiled in the night.
Illuminated by her face,
night put aside its shadowy
veils as well.
But I clung to the divine precept
that condemns lust and reined in
the capricious horses of my passion,
so that my instinct
would not rebel against chastity. ...
She was a field of fruit and flower,
offering one like me no other enjoyment
than sight and scent.
Know that I am not
one of those beasts gone wild
who take gardens for pastures.⁶⁹

This is often achieved in a single expression of longing, desire, anguish, joy, aesthetic reverence and extreme tenderness. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Abbār (595/1198-659/1260) has a lovely piece reflecting the same attitude:

When slumber flirted with his⁷⁰ eyelids
and wine made him obedient to my embrace,
I wanted to let him have my cheek
as a pillow, but he chose my palm.
And he spent the night in a sanctuary
undisturbed by treacherous advances,
and I spent the night thirsty, neither drinking
nor leaving the water source.

Ibn al-Abbār reiterates this in other poems where the desired companion is in an intoxicated state and thus more inclined to surrender, and where he curbs his desire and conquers his urge, "disobeying the sultan of love and obeying the sultan of chastity".

'Abbās is probably right when he says that "the poet during this age [the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries] started making of chastity and the conquering of desire a literary genre, without [necessarily] expressing a genuine moral personal ideal", and regards Ibn al-Abbār as one of these poets.⁷¹ However, in many of these pieces that have been preserved, mainly in general compendiums, there is a tenderness and a chivalrous spirit towards the beloved, whether this was a woman or a young man. Ibn al-Ḥaddād's (d. 480/1087) love for a Christian girl maintains this tender reverence towards the woman:

My eyes saw in Nuweira a fire that deludes
 although fires commonly guide.
 You're water, which cannot be caught,
 You're fire which burns in the heart.

No culture I know of has ever exceeded the capacity of Arabic culture to merge the body with the spirit in a legitimate union. Sufi expression and profane eroticism alike normally treat the body with reverence. The 'Udhri poetry of the Umayyad period was neither a rejection nor a transcendence of the flesh, but rather an expression of reverence for the beloved's honour and good repute. This is the sacred responsibility of genuine love. Its authenticity lies in its selflessness and its tender protectiveness.

II.10 *Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Ammār*

With Ibn 'Ammār (d.479/1086) we have a poet who epitomised the Machiavellian spirit. From a humble background, and endowed with charm, eloquence and a persuasive personality, he was one of that group of adventurers who roamed the Peninsula in search of a rich patron, finding in al-Mu'taḍid (ruled 434/1042-462/1069) and his son al-Mu'tamid (ruled 462/1069-484/1091) the patrons and, in the case of al-Mu'tamid, the friend he sought. Al-Mu'tamid honoured him and gave him security, status and wealth, and, as soon as he became the ruler of Seville, sent Ibn 'Ammār, at the latter's request, as governor of Silves, the home town where the poet had suffered poverty and humiliation in his early youth. Yet the status accorded the poet did not prevent him from betraying his patron. He eventually conspired against him, and spent time in prison, subsequently meeting a horrific death at the ruler's own hands.

Ibn 'Ammār was certainly a good poet, but not a great one. If we remember, Ibn Hānī, Ibn Zaydūn, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād and Ibn Khafāja by a number of enduringly exciting poems, we do not memorise any of Ibn 'Ammār's. He must, nevertheless, be remembered, in the context of Andalusí poetry, as a poet who liberated himself to a considerable extent from the inherited approach and methods of the old poetry, to which poets, even the great Ibn Zaydūn, still largely adhered. Perhaps his most robust rejection of the traditional approach lies in his characteristic capacity to go straight to the heart of the theme he is addressing, omitting the redundant overtures of *ghazal* or other subjects, which he uses only very sparingly. In a poetic field where aestheticism and objective descriptions were a major involvement, the verse of Ibn 'Ammār represents a basic departure. What is striking about his poetry is the fact that it almost completely mirrors the events of his life. It is built on a rational basis, often with a utilitarian purpose in mind, and expressed in a language of great immediacy and clarity, employing, invariably, a well-knit phraseology, with bouncing rhythms and an elevated tone of

address. His use of metaphor is not particularly original, but he can, occasionally, come out with an interesting metaphorical line, such as, "You taunt me with being skinny; It is the sword's honour to have a thin blade."⁷²

Occasionally, Ibn 'Ammār has attempted pure description as in the following famous lines:

My eye frees what the page imprisons,
the white the white and the black the black.⁷³

Most of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry, however, is an expression of his direct experience with rulers and the powerful men around them, and, as such, is a revealing source for the social life of the upper echelon of Andalusī society. He had very few poems on love (some of them being on homosexual love), and none of them sounds really authentic or profound. Also, his sole ambition in life being to acquire power, he has few poems of satire. The most virulent satire he wrote was the one he composed while in the prison of al-Mu'tamid, which embodies a slur of homosexuality against al-Mu'tamid and smacks of coarseness:

I see you ablaze with women's love.
But I knew you of old to love men. ...
Do you remember our youthful days
when you were like the crescent moon,
when I used to embrace your slim figure
and drink the nectar of your mouth,
content to keep to a sinless path,
but you'd try your best to trespass into sin.
I'll expose you little by little,
lift up the curtains one by one!⁷⁴

There were many poets in al-Andalus, before, after and contemporary with him, whose poetry was equal to and often greater than Ibn 'Ammār's. In this essay the interest in him lies in the fact that he represents a poet who inadvertently rejected the art for art's sake movement in al-Andalus (itself unrecognised in critical terms at the time and even in modern studies of the period) and opted for a verse of real life experience. His lasting attraction for posterity is the fact that he was a self-made man who led a robustly adventurous life, associating intimately with princes, then dying a violent death—indeed, it is interesting to note how many Andalusī poets remain a focus of attraction not simply because they wrote good poetry, but because of their unusual life stories.

II.11 *Al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād*

"Luxuriant prince, valiant ruler, tender poet, loyal husband, devoted lover, compassionate father, deposed king, destitute stranger, wretched prisoner, victim of fate." This is the romantic image which one modern literary his-

torian⁷⁵ has of Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, called al-Mu'tamid (431/1039-488/1095), son of the famous and powerful al-Mu'taḍid, who was himself a poet and a promoter of poets. Al-Mu'tamid grew up in surroundings of great wealth and splendour, in an atmosphere in which poetic and literary accomplishments were championed. As said above, he lives in memory first and foremost because of the tragic figure he cuts, as the prince whose fall from great wealth and power produced so many poems of exile and self-lament, bewailing the vicissitudes of time and the treacherous mutability of fate, and his image is further enhanced by his relationship with I'timād al-Rumaykiyya, a girl of humble origin who, washing clothes on the bank of the river, completed a verse begun by al-Mu'tamid during a walk he was taking with Ibn 'Ammār, and whom he married thereafter. She seems to have been his favourite among his several wives, and it was she who mothered most of al-Mu'tamid's children mentioned in books on the period. She also accompanied him in his exile to North Africa. Al-Mu'tamid had countless women, and wrote poetry on many of them, but it is the way he married I'timād, and the fabulous luxury with which he is reputed to have surrounded her,⁷⁶ which have guaranteed the perpetuation of this relationship as a love story.⁷⁷

Al-Mu'tamid does not seem to have received a strong rooting in the various branches of knowledge available in al-Andalus.⁷⁸ This is particularly evident when his poetry is compared with the works of the erudite Ibn Zaydūn. When still a youth his father sent him to govern Silves in the west of al-Andalus, and he stayed there until the regrettable tragedy which clouded the life of al-Mu'taḍid: the treason of his son, the Crown Prince Ismā'il, and the latter's subsequent death at his own father's hands. Al-Mu'tamid was then recalled to Seville and himself made Crown Prince.

When he became ruler of Seville in 461/1069, he expanded his domain over several other Andalusí towns, including Córdoba, which he took in 462/1069. However, when the threat from the Spaniards increased, it was al-Mu'tamid who called in Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, the Berber leader of the Almoravids in North Africa, to the aid of the Muslims in Spain. The history of the ensuing political events, culminating in the seizure of power by Ibn Tāshfin and the establishment of the Almoravid kingdom in Spain, together with the banishment of al-Mu'tamid, the strongest of the party kings, to Aghmāt in North Africa, is well documented in other essays in this book. What is important for this essay is to try to evaluate al-Mu'tamid's verse and see what place he must be accorded in the chain of poetic development in al-Andalus.

Al-Mu'tamid spent around three years as a prisoner in exile before he died. Despite his poverty and loss of political power, he was visited by several poets whom he had honoured and treated with liberal generosity, notably Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 527/1132), the delightful Sicilian poet who had fled

the political upheaval in his own country and taken refuge in Muslim Spain, and Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113), both of whom wrote moving poetry lamenting al-Mu'tamid's exile.

We have noted in our study of Andalusī poetry the periodic appearance of a poet who turns his back on contemporary poetic models in the East and writes in a language and style nearer to home. Al-Ghazāl was such a poet, and so, to an extent, was Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, both using a direct, simple (often almost conversational) and highly urbanised diction in their verse. We have also seen, in our discussion of al-Ramādi, the conflicting tendencies at work in Andalusī poetry, which sometimes appeared in the same poet: a tendency, on the one hand, to simplify and approximate to the rhythms and intonations of life in al-Andalus, and, on the other, to employ a terse, grandiose style and laboured metaphorical creations. We have also seen how the simplified style was quickly arrested by three counter movements: first, the appearance of Ibn Hānī, Ibn Darraj and others writing a poetry of high rhetoric and difficult language; second, the propagation of a major aesthetic movement in poetry resorting to precious, decorative, highly-skilled descriptions of natural objects and scenery in static treatments characterised by minute, dainty and elaborate detail; and third, the rise of such poets as Ibn Zaydūn who was able to merge this elaborate aesthetic style with the prerequisites of a poetry directly addressed to the "other", whether a woman, a ruler or other men of status, thus achieving a verse that was formal, stately, compact and aristocratic, full of embellishments and complex figures of speech.

The tendency to simplified poetry, seen in al-Ghazāl, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi and others, was now picked up once more by poets of the generation flourishing in the second half of the 5th/11th century, Ibn 'Ammār, al-Mu'tamid, Ibn al-Labbāna and others. Ibn 'Ammār, as we have seen, wrote a direct and lucid poetry mirroring the events of his own life, but al-Mu'tamid's diction, particularly in his later Aghmāt poems, was simpler, often intimate, related to his innermost personal feelings, with a looser sentence construction than Ibn 'Ammār's. Al-Mu'tamid's best poetry, from an artistic point of view, was written on themes such as love, pleasure and wine,⁷⁹ during the more leisurely period of his life. It is mainly, though not completely, in the poetry of this earlier phase that he showed his skill (a limited skill at best) in using a variety of figures of speech⁸⁰ which Ibn Zaydūn used with such natural dexterity, and it was during this early phase, too, that he showed his strongest links with the poetic conventions of his day. One suspects that, despite some delightful examples, al-Mu'tamid's love poems were written very much according to the conventions of erotic verse in his times, as discussed in the section on Ibn Zaydūn; for, we see that, in spite of the countless number of women at his command, he complained, almost invariably, of deprivation and of the woman's resistance, or at least reticence. Much of his other verse, however, is a direct reflection of his genuine experience, some of this verse

being so simple that it begets answers from others in the same rhyme and metre, such as the exchange he once had with his son, al-Rādī, who is not known as a poet. Conversational and cerebral, such poems are not among his best, and can serve only as historical records. However, the poems through which al-Mu'tamid is mostly remembered by modern Arabs are not the bucolic or love poems written in his courtly days, but some of his heroic verse and elegiac poems on himself as he slowly withered in Ibn Tāshfin's prison in Aghmāt. Posterity still quotes his two lovely heroic verses on his own courage:

Never did I charge into battle
with the hope of returning safe.
This is the ways of my ancestors.
The roots beget the stems.

Of the many poems he wrote on his exile, the following verses are among the most moving, written when his daughters visited him at the Fitr feast:

In the past feast days made you happy
and here you are in fetters in Aghmāt,
seeing your daughters hungry and in tatters,
penniless, weaving other people's clothes. ...
Barefoot, they tread on mud,
as if they'd never trodden on musk and camphor.

This is a reminder of the "Day of Mud", mentioned above. Lucid, simple and spontaneous, and born out of the agony of bitter experience, this poetry only rarely rises to real heights of expression. Crucially, one misses in it the royal pride, the self-assertion, the anger, the rage even, of a betrayed but once powerful prince who had commanded so much wealth and influence and enjoyed the plenitude of life to the hilt. An affable, gentle tone permeates this verse, a keening voice at times, announcing his captivity and humiliation to the world, the poet coming through as tender, even meek sometimes, overwhelmed by mental and physical pain, his verse pouring out of a heart broken by national and personal catastrophe. There is no reflection in this verse, either, of the malignancy of the "other"; at times al-Mu'tamid even praises Ibn Tāshfin from the latter's own prison: "My heart yearns for Yūsuf. Were it not for the ribs around it, it would fly."

From the splendid and dazzling flights of Ibn Zaydūn's elegant poems, we thus now descend to a strongly-gripped reality, the static tableaux of the aestheticians being replaced by movement and a vividly delineated stage peopled by the poet, his friends, his family, even little babies "opening their mouths only to nurse."⁸¹

We must see, therefore, in the poetry of the 5th/11th century in al-Andalus, two parallel traditions: one, elaborate, rhetorical and highly stylised, dominating the scene almost unchallenged for near on a century; and the other, a natural outpouring, direct and simple, and completely independent

of fashion, reflecting an almost desperate attempt, on the part of Andalusi poetry, to come into its own and attain an independent style. Al-Mu'tamid and such contemporaries as Ibn al-Labbāna and Ibn 'Ammār are perhaps the best examples of this second current. From a critical point of view, there is very little affinity between the two poetries, and this is not simply a matter of thematic and attitudinal components, but, more crucially, of poetic style, of the aesthetic level of poetry, of the problem of truth and sincerity and their relevance to particular traditions.

The contemporaneous flow of these two currents is an interesting issue of literary history; for although one can sometimes find, in the history of art, several movements simultaneously at work, there is usually a logical link between them—romanticism, for example, can grow in the teeth of classicism, and can co-exist with symbolism. Such relationships are governed by a robust artistic principle: a new trend arises out of the need of art to correct an existing trend, the attributes of the new counterbalancing and often annulling the faults of the old, without the old necessarily disappearing from the scene straightaway. One can also conceive of a period of active modernisation and change, within which a number of established traditionalists remain happily at work. But here in the al-Andalus of the 5th/11th century, the simple, informal, self-expressive poetry of al-Mu'tamid and others seems to have been a poetry of its times, marking a real change of gear, just as the more elaborate trend was also a poetry of its times, and still at the height of its splendour; they co-existed, with neither attempting to correct or annul the other. One must conceive of Andalusi poetry as a poetry with many open sequences working at once. The trend towards simplified diction and a more direct approach will reappear in later poetry, such as that of Ibn Sahl, Prince Yūsuf III of Granada (9th/15th century) and others, and the trend towards elaboration will continue to have many propagators, attaining a new peak in the poetry of Ibn Khafāja. Ibn Khafāja will, however, be considered separately in the following essay.

¹ See his chapter "The Propagation of Things", in *The Shape of Time, Remarks on the History of Things*, New Haven-London, 1978, p. 62 *et seq.* The phrase quoted is on p. 63.

² There is no space here for a more detailed discussion of this highly technical area. For more on the subject see S. K. Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden, 1977, II, 537-42.

³ For a full discussion of this, see *ibid.*, II, 534-573, 594-598, 605-639.

⁴ The composition of the Galician-Portuguese Cantigas only began towards the end of the 12th century, representing some of the earliest lyrical poetry in the Iberian Peninsula, and achieving their greatest brilliance during the first half of the 13th. See the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton, 1974 (enlarged edition), under *Galician and Portuguese Poetry*.

⁵ *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1937, p. 20.

⁶ See James Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry, A Student Anthology*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1975, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸ See Ihsān 'Abbās, *Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusī, 'aṣr siyādat Qurṭuba*, Beirut, 1960, pp. 65-68. To determine the linguistic roots of these words would need a specialised study. However, in view of the occasionally different vocabulary in the present-day Arab world, one feels that some such words, restricted mainly, sometimes exclusively, to one area, probably stem from the original languages of the different tribes settling in the various regions. Many of these words are derived from perfectly correct Arabic roots, yet are widely different from each other. Numerous examples could be given of these.

⁹ See 'Abbās, *ibid.*, pp. 64-65, for examples of these proverbs.

¹⁰ See Robert Merrill (ed.), *Ethics/Aesthetics, Post-Modern Positions*, Washington (DC), 1988, pp. 47-58; and "Minor Literature and the Deterritorialization of Language", in Ronald Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari*, London-New York, 1990, pp. 116-23.

¹¹ Bogue, *op.cit.*, p. 116, paraphrasing Deleuze and Guattari paraphrasing Kafka in *The Diaries of Franz Kafka: 1914-1923*, ed. Max Brod, trans. Martin Greenberg with Hannah Arendt, New York, 1949.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁵ According to Kafka, a German Jew writing in Prague, this is characteristic of "minor literature", i. e., of a literature written within the context of a more dominant literary tradition. The problem with Andalusí poetry is that it had constantly to vie with Eastern poetry (which led it to exhibit the features of which Kafka speaks), in order to assert its own excellence.

¹⁶ This was noted in the 7th/13th century by Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-Andalusī (or al-Maghribī) in his famous, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ridwān al-Dāya, Damascus, 1987. Quoting from the poet Muḥammad b. 'Ammār (422/1056-477/1113), he says, "I did not find in any other poet in al-Andalus a single poem whose diction was so smooth that you cannot hear incongruence even in a single verse, *except* his poem eulogising al-Mu'taḍid b. 'Abbād." (p. 87, italics mine). While this is rather exaggerated, it is indicative of what I have said above.

¹⁷ An example of this is the invention of the *maqāmāt* ("assemblies"), picaresque tales in rhymed prose revolving around the personality of the trickster.

¹⁸ Such as the fashionable chase poems (*tardīyyāt*) in the Abbasid period in the East, and the poems on flowers and gardens (*nawriyyāt* and *rawdīyyāt*) which became very fashionable in al-Andalus (but had also been written in the East).

¹⁹ "And the poets, the erring follow them * Hast thou not seen how they wander in every valley* And how they say that which they do not?" (xxvi, 224-26).

²⁰ In pre-Islamic poetry, and especially in the verse of the Umayyad, Dhū 'l-Rumma (77/696-117/735) (who grew up in the desert of al-Dahnā' in south-east Najd and was in direct contact with pre-Islamic poetic traditions) the "desert journey" was deeply symbolic of the tortuous journey of life on earth, as the poet described the blazing heat of the noonday sun and the desolation and dangers of the pitch black night, full of weird voices and terrifying phantoms. Al-Farazdaq, in contrast, provides an abortive treatment of the "desert journey", where it is sometimes completely distorted and even truncated. In a eulogy written to Bilāl b. Abī Burda, the viceroy of Basra where the poet himself lived, he claims that he had worn out his she-camel in the "long and tedious" journey to the town! See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, Beirut, 1960, I, 65 (this is one of many examples in his poetry). It is also interesting to note that Dhū 'l-Rumma, perhaps the most profound of all the Umayyad poets, was not considered a *fahīl*, i. e. a great poet. The *fuhūl* were the great poets of the period who had to excel in four thematic prerequisites: *fakhr* (vaunting), eulogy, satire and description (see my "Umayyad Verse" *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, Cambridge, Vol. I, 1983, p. 428.) Among these themes, Dhū 'l-Rumma excelled only in description. When he asked al-Farazdaq why he, Dhū 'l-Rumma, was not regarded as one of the *fuhūl*, the older poet answered, "Because of your constant weeping over the abandoned campsites ... and your preference for describing camels and desert." (See al-Marzubānī, *Al-Muwashshah*, ed. A. M. Bajjāwī, Cairo, 1965, p. 274; and see *ibid.*, p. 272, for Jarir's damning opinion of him.) There is clearly an interruption in the poetic concept itself, in this age so close to pre-Islamic times. For more on this, see my "Umayyad Verse", pp. 401-402 and 427-428. Interestingly, many Andalusí poets tried to be loyal to these four prerequisites of the good poet.

²¹ *Op.cit.*, p. 44.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45. See also Aḥmad Haykal, *Al-Adab al-Andalusī min al-fath ḥattā suqūt al-khilāfa*, 2nd. ed., Cairo, 1962, p. 206; and see Muḥsin Jamāl al-Dīn, *Udābā' Baghdādiyyūn fī 'l-Andalus*, Baghdad, 1963, where he devotes a separate section to him, pp. 11-22.

²³ See footnote 20 above.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁵ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi died two years before Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī came to al-Andalus—a sign, this, of the earlier spread of Eastern literature among the Andalusis, evident from the fact that the author had never visited the East. Also worthy of note is the reception of *al-Iqd* in the East. On seeing it, al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, the ruler of Isfahan around the middle of the 4th/10th century, who had hoped to find in it an extensive reflection of Andalusī literary achievement, expressed his clear disappointment in his famous remark, "This is our own stuff come back to us"; the "us" and the "they" here probably reflect an unconscious tendency to feel the presence of a schism between the two main centres of medieval Arabic culture, Baghdad and Córdoba.

²⁶ It should be stressed here that we are working only with the material that has come down to us; the greater part of Andalusī poetry has in fact been lost. The picture might have been different had the whole poetic repertoire been available.

²⁷ See *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁸ *Dīwān Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1964, pp. 238-39.

²⁹ *Samhariyya* denotes strong, invincible spears, being derived from Samhar, a man who excelled in making them; while *Mashrafiyya* swords are fine swords made in villages in the Mashārif (heights) of Syria. See this *rā'iyya*, in praise of Ja'far b. 'Alī, in his *Dīwān*, p. 161.

³⁰ See A. Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1991, p. 185.

³¹ This is the opening of one of his most famous poems, a *rā'iyya* in praise of al-Mu'izz li Dīn al-Lāh, *Dīwān*, p. 146; al-Anṣār were the Prophet's Medinite followers who supported him when he fled to Medina in 622, the first year of the Islamic calendar, from the persecution of his Quraysh tribe.

³² See his *nūniyya* describing the manner of eating of a gluttonous man, *Dīwān*, pp. 376-77. Yet for all its immediacy, the exaggerated, often grotesque descriptions ("as if a widow's orphans are in his mouth"), and the inaptness, together with the lack of a comic dimension which would have been so appropriate here, indicate that Ibn Hānī's greatest strength as a poet lay elsewhere. For the literary historian the importance of such attempts is historical: the art of description discussed below, in its new form as a self-sufficient art practised for its own sake had already become part of what the audience of poetry expected of poets, and the attempts of Ibn Hānī merely reflect such demand.

³³ *Dīwān*, p. 252.

³⁴ See Haykal, *op.cit.*, p. 259, where he asserts, very plausibly, that Ibn Hānī's emigration to North Africa was due to his religious beliefs and his Fāṭimid connections.

³⁵ See "Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, VIII, 1977. Sperl here compares the first part of the poem (the overture), comprising the section dealing with the poet himself, which he calls the strophe, with the other section, the antistrophe, involving the eulogised person (in this instance the Caliph). The two parts often, but not always, represent the juxtaposing of scarcity, fatigue and failure on the part of the poet, with wisdom, plenitude, generosity and fertility represented by the Caliph. Three of the various overtures the poet may select represent his unhappy situation: the love overture (always unrequited), the desert encampment (always in a state of desolation) and the arduous desert journey (always exhausting and demanding the greatest endurance on the poet's part). Sperl makes an interesting comparison here between the infertility of personal "individualistic" love and possible fulfilment in the relationship of the poet (the individual) with society, under the guidance of the monarch. The comparison here is between the barrenness of the poet's relationship to his beloved and the abundance of the Caliph. But this, however attractive, reinterprets the generally individualistic motives of the panegyric and the fundamentally materialistic basis of the poet's relationship with the Caliph—the selling of self and the idealisation of gain—and converts what is, in fact, a material quest on the part of the poet to a state of altruistic grace and social responsibility. On the other hand, the poet's complaint of his failure in love is one of the oldest motifs in Arabic poetry, faithful to the inherited image of woman as elusive and coy, to the well-pre-

served code of honour and the fundamentals of society itself. As such, to set the personal vis-à-vis the social as if these were basically antithetical may well seem far-fetched. It is interesting to see how Ibn Darraj, while preserving the (often exaggerated) motifs of exhaustion and hardship on the journey to the dignitary, reverses the feminine image and demonstrates the greatest possible attachment between himself and the woman (his own wife) he so reluctantly leaves behind—the relationship with her being one of warmth and love, which the poet must sever in order for both of them to survive. Sperl is, however, speaking mainly of the overture in the Arabic poem, which may be a description of unrequited love, where the poet always complains of rejection and unrequited passion, or of the arduous desert journey which the poet undertakes in order to reach the eulogised dignitary (Sperl here emphasising the eulogised king).

³⁶ By the beginning of the 3rd/9th century the continuous evolution of Arabic poetry had led to a new way of dealing with imagery in the Arab East. This new school, which involved poetry and prose alike, was bent on creating elaborate imagery and literary expressions. Poets and prose writers alike began an adventure with the image which sprang directly from a now established urbanism, and from a change from oral composition to written text. A great interest in aesthetics and artistic improvisation thus began, and, being already highly urbanised, Andalusī poets and men of letters became natural adherents to this school. See my discussion of this aesthetic movement in my other essay in this volume, "Nature poetry in al-Andalus and the rise of Ibn Khafāja".

³⁷ The major sources for Ibn Shuhayd's poetry are Ibn Bassām's *Al-Dhakhira fi mahāsin ahl al-jazīra*, al-Tha'ālībī's *Yatimat al-dahr fi mahāsin ahl al-'aṣr* and Ibn Khāqān's *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa masraḥ al-ta'annus fi milah ahl al-Andalus*. For a more detailed treatment of the sources, see James Dickie (ed.), *The Dīwān of Ibn Shuhayd of al-Andalus*, Cairo, 1969, (henceforth referred to as *Dīwān*), pp. 74-78.

³⁸ Other cultures could envisage the hero, sometimes a god or a demi-god, indulging in excesses and even sin. Indra, in the *Mahabharata*, kills a Brahman, breaks a pledge with a former enemy and commits rape, and Heracles disobeys Zeus, treacherously kills a guest and betrays his own wife; both are severely punished for their sins. See Georges Dumezil, *The Destiny of the Warrior*, Chicago, 1970, pp. 65-104.

³⁹ H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle, ses aspects généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire*, revised ed., Paris, 1953, pp. 467-68, and see Dickie's introduction to his *Dīwān*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁰ Poem No. 65, pp. 161-62 in his *Dīwān*.

⁴¹ His poem No. 66, p. 163.

⁴² In pre-Islamic times the man who combined most of these qualities was always preferred to preside over the tribe. Bustām b. Qays, for example, was preferred to two other famous horsemen because he combined the qualities of horsemanship with great generosity and chastity, while one of the others was open-handed but not chaste and the third was chaste but miserly. See Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥawfī, *Al-Ḥayāt al-'Arabiyya min al-shi'r al-jāhili*, Cairo, n. d., p. 261; and see p. 250 for the description by another tribal chief, Qays b. 'Āṣim, of the merits which qualified him for the honour: liberal generosity, clemency and chivalry. It is a matter of general knowledge that pre-Islamic Arabs never chose a coward as tribal *shaikh*. See Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Al-Shu'arā' al-fursān*, 2nd. ed., Beirut, pp. 99-115 and 148-57.

⁴³ See A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 104; and Dickie, *Dīwān*, pp. 70-72.

⁴⁴ See for example the story recorded by Ibn Ḥazm of a Cordoban dignitary who fell in love with a handsome youth he saw by chance, and, when he could not locate him, suffered, became emaciated and died. See the chapter on "Death" in *Tawq al-ḥamāma fi 'l-ulfa wa 'l-ullāf*, ed. and introduced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, Tunis, 1982, pp. 186-90. What is interesting about this is the natural way in which Ibn Ḥazm speaks about homosexual love, as if it were a normal and socially accepted thing.

⁴⁵ See Cola Franzen's vivid rendering of his lovely poem, "After the Revels", in her *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, 1989, pp. 21-2, translated from the Spanish version of Emilio García Gómez in *Poemas áraboandaluces*, Madrid, 1930, in which description is tinged with emotional involvement. García Gómez's book contains two descriptive excerpts from Ibn Shuhayd.

⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 239. For more on his critical ideas, see *ibid.*, pp. 237-9 and 276-82; Dickie, *Dīwān*, pp. 66-70, and Haykal, pp. 424-34.

⁴⁷ Kindly translated by Cola Franzen for this essay from the Spanish version of Emilio García Gómez in *Poemas árabigoandaluces*. See also her translation of his lovely short poem, "My Beloved Comes", in *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Wise sayings are not the same thing as philosophical or contemplative poems. The latter, usually found in modern Arabic verse, can be long, but they have less appeal than the famous wise sayings which the Arab poet was in the habit of giving to suit the occasion, the theme or the emotional experience he was having. These are indeed most treasured parts of any poem, and they are lodged in the memory of generations, helping to confirm the general *Weltanschauung* of the Arabs and propagate a continuous philosophy of life.

⁴⁹ The greatest of the known pre-Islamic poets—Umrū'u 'l-Qays, ʿArafā, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Labīd and others—are in this group, as are al-Akḥṭal and to an extent Jarīr and al-Farazdaq among the Umayyads. One of the greatest poets of the Abbasid period, al-Mutanabbī, also belongs to this category and so does Aḥmad Ṣāuqī in modern times.

⁵⁰ A fourth category would be that of the maverick, a poet introducing a lone but original experiment which, for all its artistic viability, initiates no movement and attracts no imitators, but is left for another generation, sometimes centuries later, to savour and appreciate.

⁵¹ See this poem in *Diwān Ibn Zaydūn*, ed., with notes, by Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1960, pp. 46-47.

⁵² Only a few very short pieces seem to have been inspired by the fashion for aesthetic description in his day, and even in these it is clear that he had no taste for the dehumanised descriptions of other poets; a human element, mindful of the "other", is always there in varying degrees. See for example his two poems, "Frozen Wine" describing an apple, *ibid*, p. 271; his poem describing a medicine, p. 281; and his piece, "Roses and Wine", p. 288.

⁵³ *Diwān*, pp. 123-25.

⁵⁴ Ibn Zaydūn, it is said, had asked a slave girl owned by Wallāda to repeat a song he liked, which aroused the latter's suspicion and jealousy.

⁵⁵ See for example his poem, a *dāḍiyya*, in his *Diwān*, pp. 90-93.

⁵⁶ See these two epistles in al-Rikābī, *op.cit.*, pp. 252-66 and 267-81 respectively.

⁵⁷ The theme of unrequited love seems to have been popular in Andalusī poetry, a fact noted by several literary historians. See 'Abbās, *op.cit.*, II, 156 *et seq*; and see al-Rikābī, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

⁵⁸ Homosexual love poetry is not known to have generally attracted prolonged suffering on the part of poets. The main reason for this is that, unlike the case of Platonic love in Greek culture, homosexually-inclined men in medieval Arabic culture usually sought young boys, who lost their attractiveness when they grew to be complete bearded adults. Ibn Bassām quotes Ibn al-Abbār on this:

No, the gazelle is no more handsome
and his countenance, once like a moon, no more shines,
a beard has appeared on his face, a blemish
which brought him death with no resurrection.

In another poem Ibn al-Abbār asserts that he "only likes a youth when his face is like dawn, but not when night [i.e. the beard] surrounds it; as if covered with tar." Ibn Khafāja also has quite a few poems on this. See his poems Nos. 98, 140, 141, and 319 in *Diwān Ibn Khafāja*, ed. Sayyid Muṣṭafā Ghāzī, Alexandria, 1964. The first appearance of the beard, the '*idhār*' could, however, still stir up much desire, and the '*idhār*' was often the object of affectionate description by the poet. It was sometimes compared to basil leaves: "Cheeks like a rose, eyes like narcissus; and on the face a '*idhār*' like basil at [the side of] a river." (Verses by Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Hawwārī, quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, VII, 374-75.) It was also compared to violets:

If you once loved his face which was a garden
with fresh narcissus and blushing roses,
Love him more now, be besotted by him,
for he has added the violets of his '*idhār*'.

(Verses by Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ā'isha, in Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, p. 205.

However, the poetry of Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī (609/1212-649/1251) poses a problem regarding this situation, for his constant love poetry to a Mūsā, which fills his *diwān*, points to a

kind of lasting attachment. A converted Jew, his unremitting *ghazal* on Mūsā raises the suggestion that the poet may have been writing a poetry of devotion and atonement to the Jewish Prophet, Moses, that his Islam was probably not authentic. This idea needs to be studied in much greater length in the light of the poet's life and circumstances, but reading his poetry gives the impression of a profound and genuine devotional vein, not free of contrition and sorrow, subtly camouflaged? in the garb of erotic love. The few clear verses here and there that attempt to prove his genuine conversion, or the presence of a real person called Mūsā, could have been deliberately composed by the poet as an additional blind. It is regrettable that there is no space in this essay to follow this through.

⁵⁹ These are his *nūniyya*, his *lāmiyya*, and his *qāfiyya*, *Dīwān*, pp. 9-13, 34-36 and 46-47, respectively; and see the translation of the *qāfiyya* by Cola Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-37 and by Christopher Middleton and Leticia Garza-Falcón in their anthology, *Andalusian Poems*, Boston, 1992.

⁶⁰ Ibn Zaydūn acknowledges "insincerity" in his panegyrics. When imprisoned by Ibn Jahwar, he wrote from prison reminding him of the fact that he had "spent ... [his] time eulogising him, only to be compensated with prison," but, after all, he adds, "This is the punishment of the lying poet." *Dīwān*, p. 255.

⁶¹ *Dīwān*, p. 288.

⁶² For the musical overture to his *kāfiyya*, reminiscent of Ibn Hānī's, see his *Dīwān*, pp. 97-98.

⁶³ The story has it that he was eventually summoned by the ruler but was found to be dead. The date of his death sounds possible, since the treatment he received may probably have been due to the confusion of the *fitna* period.

⁶⁴ See this famous 'ayniyya in Muḥsin Jamāl al-Dīn's slim volume, *Udabā' Baghdādiyyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Baghdad, 1962, pp. 37-38; and other references.

⁶⁵ It is strange to see how candid Ibn Zaydūn seems to have been in his description of the intimacies he enjoyed with Wallāda, a princess and the daughter of a former Umayyad Caliph. Ibn Bassām quotes the poet: "She appeared, with [the eyelashes of] her narcissus eyes lowered over the red shyness [of her cheeks], and we sat under a cool shade, in a blooming garden, with the banners of its trees raised, and its profuse streams flowing, and the pearls of dew sprinkled everywhere, and the froth of wine well formed ... then each of us confessed love to the other, and complained of love's pain in the heart, and we spent the night plucking the daisies of lips, and the pomegranates of breasts, until the morning parted us." *Al-Dhakhira*, Cairo, 1939, I, 377.

⁶⁶ In al-Andalus, there was shown much interest in blondes. Ibn Ḥazm tells us not only of his own preference for blondes but also of that of many of the Umayyad Caliphs, most of whom themselves had fair hair and hazel eyes. See *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, pp. 61-62, and, in English, see this in A. R. Nykl's translation, *The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers*, Paris, 1931, pp. 39-41. In his description of Wallāda, in his *nūniyya*, Ibn Zaydūn also refers to her blondeness: "Who [God] formed her in silver, and crowned her with unmixed gold," translation by Michael Sells.

⁶⁷ This love affair forms the central subject of 'Abbās's discussion of Ibn Zaydūn's poetry; see *Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusī, 'aṣr al-ṭawā'if wa 'l-murābiṭīn*, Beirut, 1962, pp. 161-67; and see the detailed discussion of Rikābī, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-251.

⁶⁸ Translated by Cola Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

⁶⁹ Translated in *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰ The use of the masculine gender does not always indicate a male. The use of male to denote female is commonplace in medieval Arabic poetry and Aḥmad Ṣhauqī, in modern times, also used it to address a woman.

⁷¹ See *Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusī, 'aṣr siyādat Qurṭuba*, p. 159.

⁷² See Ṣalāḥ Khālīs, *Muḥammad b. 'Ammār al-Andalusī*, Baghdad, 1957, p. 220.

⁷³ Translation by Cola Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. vii. See also such short pieces as his description of the night, of a boat, a silver bowl, a cloudy day, an artichoke, a pen, etc., in Khālīs, *Muḥammad b. 'Ammār*, pp. 195, 228, 229, 230, 246, 248 respectively.

⁷⁴ Khālīs, *ibid.*, p. 292.

⁷⁵ Ṣalāḥ Khālīs, *Al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād al-Iṣṣbili, ḥayātuhu wa shi'rūh*, Baghdad, 1958, p. 19.

⁷⁶ This is reflected in the episode known as *yawm al-ṭīn* ("The Day of Mud"), when al-Mu'tamid ordered musk and camphor to be kneaded with water and thrown on the floor, and

had his wife and daughters wade in the "mud" formed by the mixture to satisfy I'timād's whim to wade barefoot in the mud. See Khālīs, *Al-Mu'tamid*, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁷ Khālīs has a whole chapter on al-Mu'tamid's relationship with women, including a long section on his relation with I'timād (*ibid.*, pp. 60-83, and *passim*).

⁷⁸ See Khālīs, *ibid.*, pp. 20-23; and see also, for example, Raymond Scheindlin's comments on this, in *Form and Structure in the Poetry of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁹ See Cola Franzen's translation of two poems belonging to this phase, "Remembering Silves" and "Night of Festivities", *op.cit.*, pp. 83-85 and 88-89 respectively. See also C. Middleton and L. Garza-Falcón, *op.cit.*, for their translations of the Silves poem, "To Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammar Going to Silves", and for two other poems by him, "To Rumaykiyya" and "To His Chains".

⁸⁰ Scheindlin discusses al-Mu'tamid's use of rhetorical devices such as *jinās*, *muṭābaqa*, *tawriya*, parallelisms and others in his *Form and Structure*. See in particular his chapter "Relationships within the Bipartite Verse" and *passim*. Michael Sells does justice to those in his translation of the *nūniyya*: the "... time that used * to make us laugh * in their company, their nearness * turns to make us grieve." and "Our days turned black * losing you * while nights with you were bright." From a recent translation, given to me by courtesy of Dr. Sells.

⁸¹ However, not only in his latest stage, but throughout his poetry, kinetic imagery is used and the poet is depicted as always moving, whether in the splendour of his court or in the misery of his prison. See the rest of this poem "The Prisoner in Aghmāt Speaks to his Chains" translated by Cola Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-91; see also Franzen's translation of the lovely poem by Ibn al-Labbāna describing al-Mu'tamid's leaving al-Andalus to go to exile, pp. 88-89.

Please consult the bibliography at the end of my other essay in this volume, "Nature Poetry in al-Andalus and the Rise of Ibn Khafāja".

NATURE POETRY IN AL-ANDALUS AND THE RISE OF IBN KHAFĀJA

SALMA KHADRA JAYYUSI

The wide diffusion of nature themes in Andalusī poetry has been the subject of many partial or complete studies of Arab literary history, and there is a largely general consensus on the nature of this poetry and the causes underlying its pervasive riches. Yet there are, I feel, many questions which remain unanswered, and which must be dealt with if we are to avoid simplistic interpretations. The subject merits, it must be said, a far more substantial study than this work has space to give it.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NATURE POETRY IN AL-ANDALUS

I.1 *Relationship to the pastoral*

We must first ask whether it is possible to regard this poetry as part of a pastoral tradition, which, in the European sense, involves an idealised, imaginary world of bucolic simplicity and perfect peace, where love between shepherds and shepherdesses is exemplary and leads to a blissful existence of peace and harmony, where shepherds play the flute and sing rustic songs—a world set, usually, in a bygone Golden Age when life was primitive and unadulterated.¹

The profuse nature poetry of al-Andalus does not, however, belong to this tradition; in fact, there is very little medieval Arabic poetry with pastoral yearnings. The pre-Islamic poet was indeed deeply involved with the fauna and flora of the desert world around him, but he always remained a separate entity, existing either in dialogue with nature or in opposition to it. It was a relationship of conflict and conquest, and the best achievement for man, as depicted in this poetry, was to succeed in traversing the expanse of the desert towards a particular destination. From time immemorial the Arab spirit was truly informed by the desert: the vast, beautiful and burning desert, unyielding to time and to man, stretching into infinity, in which man is no more than a small unit, finite and mortal amidst the inexhaustible stretch of sand that would be born and reborn beneath his feet as he endlessly trudged along, consumed by fatigue yet enduring in his struggle for subsistence against the desert's aridity and scarcity. It was impossible for the pre-Islamic bedouin ever to merge in complete oneness with the desert, and whatever familiarity

he gained was achieved only through the harshest experience. In this continuity of the desert, the drama of life and love and struggle unfolded, and the bedouin discovered not only his aloneness and finite limits, but also infinity, timelessness and, in an unconscious way, God. In this way the desert penetrated the very depths of the Arab spirit and informed the Arabs' view of the world, their everyday ethics, their ideals, and their concept of art, and of place and time. This is why the monotheism professed by Islam was accepted without much difficulty. The poetry written on the desert was always invested with emotion and a deeper meaning than its outer contours would indicate. Everything was related to an experience of a higher order.

The concept of time, so closely related to place, was tied to the nature of desert life: springs drying up, pastures becoming arid, loved ones departing as tribes moved on in search of new grasslands, manhood and valour challenged by the constant raids, and brave men dying in battle to defend the honour of the tribe. Time revolved not in circular rotation, but in sudden spurts of events, expected yet never predictable, filling life with constant apprehension and challenge. Life in the desert was no peaceful, blissful existence.

Through what I feel was a highly evolved linguistic and aesthetic sophistication growing in the teeth of ecological scarcity and material deprivation—a sophistication that later enabled the new Muslims to use pre-Islamic verse to explain the holy texts and to record the language²—pre-Islamic poetry arrived at a fine symbolic representation of experience. The poet was able to codify his life in terms of symbols and archetypes: the she-camel, the horse; other animals, man himself, the desert, the perpetual voyage and the hunt were all turned into symbols of great poignancy. The horse and she-camel, the means by which the nomads secured their move from places of aridity to more fertile abodes, became symbols of perfection, and, in the latter case, an archetype for the unyielding endurance through which the bitter hardships of the desert were braved and conquered. The trip was a symbol of man's arduous journey through life, the hunt became the symbol of man's struggle for existence where a picture of constant confrontation and pursuit is depicted. Survival becomes dependent on the capacity to kill, and all this is a symbolic way of expressing a realistic philosophy of life, where no dreams are possible beyond the harsh reality of this constant encounter with the desert. The poetry is in part a constant cry of protest against this situation, camouflaged by a realistic acquiescence in the inevitable, with no pastoral elements in it at all.

The earliest medieval Arabic poetry I know of involving some notion of yearning for the simplicity of life in nature is the *fā'iyya* of Maysūn al-Kalbiyya, wife of the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya (ruled 40/661-61/680), who longs for her desert home away from the complexity and artificiality of

life in Mu'āwiya's palace in Damascus: "Oh for a tent in which the winds blow freely, that's dearer to my heart than a stately palace!" However, Maysūn's was a genuine complaint with no fanciful dreams of an unattainable life. Her Golden Age was accessible.

In Abbasid and Andalusī nature poetry, orchards, flowers, fruits, fountains, trees and flowing streams became not only common images but direct objects of description, together with the man-made creations of palaces, ponds, orchards and shady arbours (the forlorn anguish of Ibn Khafāja, discussed below, was an exception), while the *muwashshahāt* also incorporated and confirmed the whole repertoire of this kind of facile, pleasant and enjoyable landscape imagery. Some poets developed the usage to real heights of metaphorical sophistication, both in the East and in al-Andalus. However, it was to external nature that the poet addressed himself, to an aesthetic object which beautified his surroundings, but which was not an essential element of his experience; his relationship with nature was not normally one of challenge and necessity. Nature, to this urban poet, was never wild and awesome, but friendly and accessible, humanised and under the poet's control. What the poet usually saw in nature was its external, pleasant and passive qualities. Again, then, there were no real pastoral elements in this poetry.

I.2 *A poetry of cultivated nature*

The *nawriyyāt* (poems describing flowers), *rawḍiyyāt* (poems describing gardens and lovely scenery) and *al-rabī'iyāt* (poems describing the spring season) came to represent a distinct genre in Andalusī and Eastern poetry—but particularly in al-Andalus, where it was officially encouraged and frequently attempted, especially from the end of the 3rd/9th century on. Yet the genre has never, to my knowledge, been treated by literary historians of the period as an artistic phenomenon meriting scrutiny in depth; it must, indeed, have seemed to some of them an unresolved puzzle. There is a general, simplistic consensus that these descriptions were inspired by the particular beauty of al-Andalus and the profusion of cultivated gardens and scenic stretches of landscape within the country. Jawdat al-Rikābī, for example, explains the phenomenon away in these terms,³ and in terms of the abundance of leisure and the particular kind of lifestyle which, he claims, allowed the poets to live freely in nature, bent [*sic*] on their frolicking life of love, merriment, and wine drinking.⁴ These suggestions are, of course, untenable. They ignore the constant wars which brought great havoc to the country. Moreover, there is no lack, in modern times, of cultivated gardens and beautiful scenery, but the concentration on minute descriptions of flowers and gardens would seem most unattractive, even unthinkable, to contemporary Arab poets. It is clear that this phenomenon could not have been a gratuitous creative experiment, but must rather have had roots in the development of

poetry as an art, and was evidently related to literary and psychological issues which we cannot ignore. A number of factors seem to have lain behind the appearance and confirmation of the genre.

1.2.1 *The propagation of a tradition*

The continued interest in description represented a propagation of the fourth prerequisite of good poetry⁵. In medieval times description was regarded by critics and audience alike as an art which only good poets could achieve, and the Umayyad, Abbasid and Andalusī poets continued to exercise it and—very importantly—to develop it away from its pre-Islamic characteristics according to the way their own lives had developed. Poets would describe whatever was available, inspired by the urge to excel in description as a major aspect of the poetry of their times.

It would be useful to trace the development of this genre in greater detail with regard to medieval Arabic poetry. However, only a brief description can be given here, due to limitations of space.

The art of description developed unabated, and has indeed lost its supreme importance only in present times. In the Abbasid age, although the old desert tableaux continued to some extent, particularly in openings to *qaṣīdas*, the great poets were easily able to convert the description of the desert environment into an urban landscape of palaces, ponds and cultivated nature. This began quite early with Abū Nuwās (141-145?/c.760-196-200?/c.816) describing wine, taverns and city-dwellers in a multitude of extremely poignant ways,⁶ while al-Buḥturī's (205/822-284/898) famous descriptions were supreme examples of verbal craftsmanship which are still enjoyed in our own times—he delineates not only "Īwān Kisrā", Caliph al-Mutawakkil's pond, and Caliph al-Mu'tazz bi-Llāh's palace al-Kāmil, but also al-Mutawakkil's procession, in the famous *rā'iyya*, a brilliant and elaborate poem, invested with zest and genuine emotion, and shimmering with movement and the hustle and bustle accompanying a public royal appearance at a time when Baghdad was at its height as the centre of Islamic civilisation in the East. Ibn al-Rūmī (221/837-283/899), too, was a most skilled delineator of mobile action and scenery (as in his famous piece describing a cook frying *zalābiya*, a kind of fritters). His poem, a '*ayniyya*, in which he describes the sunset, shows a poet endowing his descriptions with a misty layer of emotion that turns the poem into a memorable piece of work, not only pleasing to the visual imagination, but also enriching to the emotion. However, detailed description of nature, particularly of urban cultivated nature, was given a great new impetus by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (249/861-296/908). A member of the royal family (he eventually became caliph, only to be murdered the next day), he had no reason to indulge in eulogy, and could therefore concentrate on the description of taverns, wine drinking and frolicking, much in the vein of Abū Nuwās, but also on cultivated nature, as clearly exemplified in his description of still life:

A Tree of Bitter Oranges

A tree of bitter oranges, its fruits
 are like carnelian vessels filled with pearls.
 They appear from between the branches
 like the cheeks of virgins in their green veils.
 They waft fragrance to the hankering lover
 and kindle his sorrows.⁷

And this on a youth, in the homosexual tradition:

I gazed at his mole
 in a garden of pomegranate flowers.
 My heart flew to him,
 but was caught in the net
 of the youthful line of his beard.⁸

These two examples show only the beginning of this elaborate chiselling of images. Moreover, unlike many later models in the East, and particularly in al-Andalus, the descriptions are tinged with the poet's emotions. The following, however, is a good example of what came later—detailed descriptions of still life:

Don't you see the swaying narcissus looking at us
 with eyes that chide us and are happy to do so,
 As if their pupils in their beauty
 were golden vessels in camphor leaves,
 As if the dew on them were tears
 in the eyes of an abandoned lover?⁹

Most of his poetry, however, is not of this order, such poems being found only sporadically in his book. It is with al-*Ṣunawbrī* (d.334/955) that we see the strengthening of the trend to describe static nature, delineated without a genuine emotional involvement on the part of the poet:

Garden flowers when they smile,
 they beckon ...
 Still they speak though they are silent.
 The silence of gardens is speech.¹⁰

This trend was to be taken up almost immediately in al-Andalus, and developed until it became a genre in itself.

I.2.2 *Utilitarianism and psychological fatigue*

The use of poetry for extraneous and utilitarian goals has been a pervasive feature of Arabic poetry from pre-Islamic to contemporary times, and was embodied, in medieval times, in the panegyric, the *fakhr* poem and the satire. The panegyric, which was highly developed in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, aimed to uphold the authority of the state and the Caliph, and to confirm the power vested in the latter, and it was regarded as one of the four basic types of writing that made a *fahl*, a good poet. *Fakhr* expressed the

poet's pride in the tribe and its exploits in war and peace, affirmed its lineage, and recounted its history (hence the dictum "poetry is the record of the Arabs"), while satire was the other side of eulogy, being more often than not involved with tribal politics and status.

Eulogy, in pre-Islamic poetry, addressed itself mainly to men who merited it, with no material gain normally intended. With the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate, it acquired a utilitarian aspect which grew more marked during following ages. The panegyric now became a principal objective of poets, linked to material compensation which could be substantial at times, and it finally developed into something of a cult, with formulaic motifs and set rules within which the poet would prove his creativity.¹¹ The same phenomenon appeared in al-Andalus, and would indeed continue up to present times, with the object of eulogy now centering around the nation and its heroes, particularly the fighters for freedom, but with the rhetoric of praise and the high pitch and swelling rhythms which accompany it retained.¹²

In the medieval East the panegyric reached magnificent heights at the hands of such poets as Abū Tammām (c.188/ c.804-230/845), al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Rūmī (221/837-283/899) and al-Mutanabbī (303/916-354/966), sometimes eulogising major political figures, mainly the Abbasid caliphs, and, in the case of al-Mutanabbī, Sayf al-Dawla, ruler of Aleppo and Northern Syria, whom the poet regarded with genuine admiration for his exploits in the wars with Byzantium and for his noble lineage. Yet eulogy did not limit itself to men the poet regarded as really great; we see al-Mutanabbī himself eulogising Kāfūr, the then ruler of Egypt, for whom he had no real respect, and a mixture of financial need and political ambition sometimes underlay this relentless pursuit of the panegyric. In al-Andalus, an identical situation existed.

Following the final fall of the Caliphate in 422/1031 and the fragmentation of the country into many city states, poets could seek out a number of courts where some of the petty kings (not all of them were responsive to poetry) did in fact partly continue the tradition, established during the days of the Caliphate,¹³ of rewarding them and ensuring their loyalty. Moreover, just as many of the rulers and high dignitaries of state were poets, so many of the poets had political ambitions, the tragic story of Ibn 'Ammār, discussed in the other essay, being a good example of this. The eulogies of some of these petty kings, and, subsequently, of Almoravids and Almohads who were not well adapted to literary Arabic, do not ring true; they were rather imposed on poets by a dominant tradition, by political necessity and by financial need. The scope for satire and vaunting was still wide, as eulogy of one party often imposed the obligation to antagonise another, and rulers sometimes used the poet to attack their enemies.¹⁴ It is not strange that a profound sense of tedium should set in, leading, in its turn, to an overriding impulse towards another kind of poetry, away from the hypocrisy of the panegyrics and their repetitive conventions. The answer to this tedium,

which might be termed "psychological fatigue", was, clearly, this poetry of truce and calm, involving a complete divorce from utilitarianism, from the constant and—in the panegyric—subordinate relationship with the other.

I.2.3 *An aesthetic phenomenon*

Pure description is problematic, for, in its denial of real experience, it contradicts what many theorists regard as the essential function of poetry, namely the exploration and depiction of the human condition, which has been the concern of poets in all cultures (except in a few periods) throughout the history of poetry. The depiction of human experience has indeed varied in depth and scope, but poetry seems to be naturally responsive to human feelings and experiences, to an involvement with the stuff of what is essentially "human". Nor is this limited to the delineation of the poet's internalised experience, for much externalised poetry—the panegyric, the satire, the national theme, pastoral and Utopian poetry, and narrative and dramatic verse—is infiltrated with human content.

"To the majority of people," says Ortega y Gasset, discussing the involvement of art with human experience, "this is the most natural and the only possible setup of a work of art. Art is reflected life, nature seen through a temperament, representation of human destinies ..." ¹⁵ However, the history of world poetry does also show the rise of movements that are purely aesthetic, shunning the human element in traditional art and focusing solely on the presentation of aesthetic elements which are, again to use Ortega's words, "whimsical and arbitrary", divorced from usefulness and the idea of any kind of gain. The rise of aestheticism in 19th-century Europe is a clear example of this, but I feel certain that such movements can be found in many poetries of the world, and that our embarrassingly limited knowledge of world poetry and poetics merely indicates the unfinished and as yet unsubstantiated nature of modern critical theories. Arabic poetry is certainly one major world poetry that has been either overlooked or misunderstood by literary theorists; many Arab literary historians ¹⁶ and—until the last few decades—the majority of Arabists ¹⁷ have at times subjected it to a faulty, sometimes stunted and even pejorative evaluation.

Changes in poetry, whether radical or limited, are not always consciously forged, and successful poetic experiments are not necessarily the outcome of *deliberate* experimentation or of any prior knowledge of poetics. ¹⁸ Although certainly influenced by the cultural environment, by the expectations of critics and audience in a certain age, and by the necessity which the social (including political) moment imposes, poetry has its own life as well, which will develop at an accelerated or halted pace, according to circumstances, but will eventually pave the way for artistic change and development. One has to remember that poetry, like all forms of art, has its own organic cycle of development and its latitude of tolerance. A moment will come when *aesthetic*

fatigue will inevitably set in, and poetry's former tolerance of certain methods, of certain poetic "habits" as it were, will arrive at saturation point. Then a change of direction will be necessary, either suddenly, or gradually, running steadily through several generations of poets. Such was the case with the kind of nature poetry I am addressing here.

The *nawriyyāt* (descriptions of flowers) and *rawḍiyyāt* (descriptions of gardens and bowers), which were sometimes, though not always, limited to the delineation of still life, do not take hold of generations of poets, as is often suggested, simply because these poets are "superficial" or imitative. We are dealing with a genuine literary phenomenon, which must be related to something larger than itself. Yet scholars of this poetry have not attempted to explain this phenomenon in artistic terms. Emilio García Gómez says:

[Andalusī] poetry, with only very few exceptions, is very poor in thought ... they [the poets] were prisoners of the rigid moulds of form—like their Eastern counterparts—and could not introduce any change into poetry except [in the field] of meaning, which they tried to invest with novelty by means of rhetorical devices. They exaggerated in this until they produced those decorative arabesques in poetry ... These dainty Andalusī poems, weighted down with so many elegant embellishments, were devoid of any intellectual order, even of any human feeling in many cases.¹⁹

This comment is not untypical, and reflects the prevalent misunderstanding of the creative necessity underlying this kind of descriptive verse. While Rikābī's assumptions evoke imaginary poets submerged within an easy life of wine, women and pleasure, so Gómez's notion evokes vacuous poets bent on exaggerated exercises in imagery carried to the point of "those decorative arabesques in poetry", weighed down with elegant embellishments.

What seems to me to have happened is that, weary of utilitarianism, and of life constantly threatened by wars both external, and later by the critical *fitna* years, poets resorted to this kind of poetry not only as an escape from psychological fatigue, but also from the aesthetic fatigue caused by the repetitive patterns of eulogy and other utilitarian themes. A completely new attitude of neutrality and calm was needed, a liberation from the orbits of power and the defilement of state politics, a concentration on painting with words. In fact the tendency towards this kind of decorative poetic vocabulary should be viewed not as a narrowing of the resources of poetry, but as a widening of poetic diction, an exercise of the imagination to focus on verbal refinements, to cull rare epithets and find ever new ways of describing the same thing: a rose, a narcissus, a violet, a bower, a garden, a stream. When a large part of the vocabulary of a language has been dedicated to extolling the ideal image of men in power, with hundreds of poets competing to catch a new meaning yet unsaid, an original expression yet undiscovered, within a constricted, unnatural and, to many poets, unpalatable area, the language needs to rediscover its hidden riches, to utilise new avenues of expression, to look into its

own present possibilities and bring in variety and originality, allowing, through the abandonment of the usual and expected, the burgeoning of a new vitality in poetic language and metaphor.

Pre-Islamic poetry embodied the variety necessary for a substantial utilisation of the existing vocabulary, and also combined several opposing tendencies in art. The Arabic *qaṣīda* was an all-inclusive structure. There is no space for a full analysis of the various combinations of opposing tendencies I believe to exist within it, but a brief summary may serve to explain my thesis. The old Arabic ode has been criticised by many modern critics for accommodating several topics at once. Yet the pre-Islamic poem was a record of the whole of experience, and other critics have been able to show the subtle relations that bind the poem into a unity of sorts. Second, there is the co-existence of several schools of poetry: a subtle and strange combination of romanticism (as evidenced in the *aṭlāl* overtures and the pervasive nostalgia for lost love and lost time), of realism (as evidenced in the recounting of the annals of the tribe, and in the wise sayings, which gave poetry a philosophical dimension) and of obliquities (as evidenced in the symbolic and archetypal patterns of many of the passages describing the traces of the camps, the desert riding animals, the voyage, the chase, etc.). Third, the ode also combined the two major artistic notions which have always stood in opposition to each other: the notion that art should serve the social order (expressed in the portion of the poem dedicated to vaunting and to the annals and military exploits of the tribe and to celebrating its honour and importance) stands in antithesis to the notion of art as pure aesthetics (expressed in the minute descriptions of the perfect man and woman, and of desert animals, and of those aspects of desert life which accommodated direct description.) The symbolic and archetypal evolution of these descriptions provided the odes with greater sophistication and deeper human dimensions, thus adding a new element to their purely descriptive aspect. We do not, unfortunately, have a record of the earlier pre-Islamic poetry, when these traditions were less developed, but we might conjecture that such poems began as pure description of the objects the poet held dear: his beloved, his ideal of manhood, his riding animals, etc., then evolved steadily till they had acquired the sophistication we find in extant pre-Islamic poems.

The evolution of the art of description during the 3rd/9th century eventually, however, took on purely aesthetic attributes; and, in assessing this quality, we should begin by considering what such descriptions of nature were *not*. They were not usually connected with the mystery of creation, for God does not figure, except rarely, as the Supreme Being, the divine order behind nature. Nor is nature herself treated as a goddess. The *nawriyyāt*, in fact, show nature as fragmented, as contemplated piecemeal. The poet, like an anatomical examiner, concentrates on one object, not on nature as flux, continuum, or solid world of varying beauty. The *rawḍiyyāt* may exhibit

greater space and movement, but the poems usually remain divorced from crucial experience. Moreover, nature is not, in this poetry, associated with any moral order, but is rather completely amoral. It does not arouse meditation in the poet, or excite any philosophical views on life and the universe, nor does it lend itself to any symbolism or any mythic notions. The poetry has no didactic purpose, its only possible aim, beyond its own existence, being to excel over another piece like itself. There is no trace of primitivism; and although it is divorced from social preoccupations, it is usually written in the context of a gathering of wine drinkers and pleasure seekers. Moreover, we do not find in this poetry any rejection of urban life, but rather a projection of it. However, it is a life that involves no sense of conflict, but also no ecstasy in the soul, only some vague aesthetic fervour not normally linked with any spiritual joy in beauty. The joy in it is formal, visual, outside the premises of the soul. What there is, above all, is order, a neat and well-defined order, and a nature reduced to order which man can dominate and place under his control. The poem or the part of the poem dedicated to this kind of description has no need of any dramatic dimension connecting it with something outside itself, and no ambition to fuse with other feelings or evoke a mood. It is an independent organism, sufficient to itself, responding to the aesthetic need for "a realisation that the Beautiful has independent importance and that the poet must be technically scrupulous in his work."²⁰ And scrupulous the poets were in their constant striving to perfect their depictions. What a difficult task this must have been! Here is the 5th/11th-century poet, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qūtiyya, describing a walnut:

Its covering is composed
of two halves so joined
it's a pleasure to see:
like eyelids closed in sleep.

Cleave it with a knife
and you will say the convex side
is an eye bulging out
straining to see.

while the inside is an ear
because of the convolutions
and crevices.²¹

Yet, in their striving for perfection, the poets were not, as the European symbolists were, dedicated to the worship of beauty or the ideal. The art of description in Arabic did not solely aim at describing the beautiful, but at describing its object beautifully. Consider, for example, Ibn *Shuhayd*'s description of the flea:

It repels sleep and dwells
 when its victim sleeps, among the clothes.
 It creeps to the sleepers, rending the wraps
 even from bodies fashioned in luxury,
 biting the thighs of lovely girls, its mouth
 is a deadly spear.
 It dominates many a tender body,
 enjoying to dwell within
 the range of glances cast by lovely girls.²²

Such poems usually lack the fervour accompanying all acts of worship, and do not normally contain symbolic features. They are rather works of uncompromising artistry, an unremitting test of the poet's skill as he manipulates his craft to perfection.

In its self-sufficiency, its self-conscious manipulation of poetic material and its complete liberation from didacticism, utilitarianism and the idea of profit, and from social and moral issues, it meets the conditions of "Art for Art's Sake"—all accomplished quietly, with little notion of the significance of this important movement in art, which, in the hands of the 19th-century Europeans, attracted so much attention and gave rise to such endless controversy.

1.2.4 *The influence of the Quran*

It is also worthwhile to look for influences in certain suras in the Quran. The 55th *sūra*, "al-Raḥmān", for example, provides several examples of comparison of the concrete with the concrete—a kind of imagery which abounds in the *nawriyyāt* and *rawḍiyyāt*. There is also, in this sublimely beautiful *sūra*, a passionate enumeration of many of the lovely gifts of this earth, transposed onto a non-worldly paradise in the hereafter: pearls, corals, rubies, brocade, restful pavilions, green cushions and lovely carpets; fruits, palm trees, pomegranates, running fresh waters, verdant branches, luxurious leaves, gardens dark green with foliage; and above all, beautiful virgins yet untouched by man or jinn. The influence of such descriptions, found in great profusion in the holy text which Muslims often learned by heart, should not be overlooked. Ironically, this would tie these conventions more to desert deprivation and scarcity, which made the Quranic promises of a fertile existence through eternity so deeply appealing to desert Arabs, than to the fertility and greenness with which al-Andalus abounded. The poets writing such poetry were not, however, much influenced by the rigorous subordination to God in the holy texts, and these poems were not poetically magnificent responses to the wonders of God's creations. The descriptions in the al-Raḥmān *sūra* are regularly interposed with rhythmic interjections of "Which is it, of the favours of your Lord, that ye deny?" and other reminders. But this connection with the divine power infiltrates the poetry only in some stray verses here and there. This again points to the purely "aesthetic" nature of these descriptions.

I.3 *The relationship with the arabesque*

The connection made by García Gómez between these often ornate descriptions and the arabesque is not without an element of denigration; and, as such, it is ironic that 20th-century Spanish poets such as Rafael Alberti and Lorca have benefited so greatly from his own translations of them. In an interview with Natalia Calamai Alberti says:

The book of Arab-Andalusian poetry of Emilio García Gómez that appeared between 1928 and 1929 was a revelation for me and had a great influence on my work, but above all influenced the work of Federico García Lorca. Federico wrote a book of *qasīdas*, *El Diván del Tamarit*, and other similar poems that would not have been possible if it were not for García Gómez's book. I was very impressed by that poetry, which up to then had been poorly known from 19th-century translations, and suddenly it appeared, due to the work of a rigorous scholar of the first rank, with a new sense of what translation should be, of what poetry is, a man after all of our own Generation of 27, a profoundly poetical generation. That book opened our eyes to all that Andalusian past, and brought it so close to us that it left me with a great preoccupation with those writers, those Andalusian writers, Arabs and Jews, born in Spain. ... Those superb writers link up perfectly with our poets of the Golden Age. If one studies Arab-Andalusian poetry carefully, so full of metaphors and miniaturism, we will see that there is a continuity with later poetry, of Góngora, Soto de Rojas, and, centuries later, with our own.²³

It is not difficult to envisage a link between the arabesque and this concentration on miniature descriptions. Yet the link is reciprocal, for the arabesques themselves early displayed the interest of the artist in vegetal and floral patterns, the first of which are seen in the mosaic walls of Qubbāt al-Ṣakhra (the Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem where the inscriptions on the walls record the year 71/691, i.e. during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (ruled 65/685-85/705). Then, during the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (ruled 85/705-96/715) the Aqṣā Mosque was built in Jerusalem where the same interest is displayed. During the reign of Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (ruled 106/724-126/743) the Mushattā palace was built south of what is now Amman where those delicate floral patterns again appear. In the same 2nd./8th century we see them also in the Umayyad palace of al-Mufajjar near Jericho, and later in the early Umayyad palaces of al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī in Syria;²⁴ and the tradition continued thereafter. One might also attribute the particular interest in the delineation of still life objects to the fact that Islam, which opened up ecological avenues for the Arabs undreamed of in the Jāhiliyya, also prohibited visual representation, and creative possibilities in the fine arts, other than architecture, inevitably focused on non-representational art, of which the arabesque (and the calligraphy) are major phenomena. One must remember that there was no tradition of plastic arts in pre-Islamic times to build upon, one which could pose a challenge to this prohibition. Desert, mostly nomadic, Arabs in al-Jāhiliyya, whose language and poetry had developed so much that they reflect a con-

siderable widening of human awareness and creative genius, had no tradition of plastic arts in pre-Islamic times, because they had no means of developing any of these forms. Painting and sculpture are only possible in an ecology that could provide the material necessary to achieve them and the sedentary life style that could guarantee their preservation. Pre-Islamic Arabs accordingly did all their painting and sculpting in words.

II. THE RISE OF IBN KHAFĀJA

II.1 *Introductory comments*

The arrival of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Khafāja (451/1058-533/1138) heralds a new departure in Andalusi poetry. Literary historians usually see the change he engineered in this poetry in terms of his treatment of nature, while some see it also in terms of his particular attitude to the world, one which embodied crucial feelings vis-à-vis existential problems, particularly the problems of youth and old age, of life and death. There is no doubt that this existential attitude, together with his treatment of nature in his more sophisticated poems, does reflect an original, enriching and profound mind; yet Ibn Khafāja's claim to poetic originality does not stop there, but also involves, in a very special way, questions of diction and style, of vocabulary and syntax. Some of his poems in fact reflect an important and strongly-marked linguistic development.

Ibn Khafāja was born in 451/1058 at Shuqr near Valencia, where he spent most of his life. His birthplace was remarkable for its verdant beauty and fertility,²⁵ and this helped him fully to exploit the long experience of nature poetry in the East and in al-Andalus, and, indeed, to develop it to a far greater level of sophistication than it had ever previously demonstrated. He had a sound education and, being independently wealthy and apparently uninterested in political careerism, he felt no need to eulogise rulers to secure income or status. However, his poetry does in fact include a few panegyrics on certain dignitaries, notably the Almoravid ruler, Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, and members of his family, whom he praised for their actual personal qualities, not for any material gain, writing out of a genuine happiness that the Almoravids had saved al-Andalus from the chaos of the *ṭā'ifa* period, with its constant internal feuds and external wars, and, by retaking Valencia and its surrounding area from the Spaniards, had restored the poet's own home town. It was during the Spanish occupation of the region that Ibn Khafāja had experienced the only serious expatriation from his home, when he fled to North Africa, there to bewail his estrangement and express his great yearning for al-Andalus.²⁶ Otherwise, his life was generally uneventful; he remained unmarried, but seems to have enjoyed many friendships. When he was 64 years old he collected his poems and wrote an interesting foreword to them,

together with introductory comments to specific poems. He lived to be over eighty, a fact which led to extreme anguish in his later life as he saw the circle of his friends gradually diminish:

Their bodies and abodes are effaced,
I see nothing but ruins and graves.
Great sorrow for me to see their places a mere wasteland
and the limbs of friends all dust.²⁷

At one point in middle age he stopped writing poetry altogether, clearly as a result of a particular state of mind, and only returned to writing in order to eulogise Ibn Tāshfīn.

A critic must see, in Ibn Khafāja, two distinct poetic personalities, both genuine, and each creative in a different way. It was as if there were two poetic selves at work in him: the first harking back to a different age, and the second surging forward towards a time beyond his epoch. The traditional, with this poet, was as touched by poetic fire as the innovative, but his style, his choice of vocabulary, syntactical arrangements and rhythmic structures varied according to which of the two poets was writing. There was, first, his warm affinity with the inherited bedouin style, in which he wrote several poems studded with the place names of Arabia and references to its fauna and flora,²⁸ so expressing a deep-seated nostalgia (seen later, also, in the poetry of the great Sufis) for a way of life, a culture and a remote place which he would never know, but which he would yet, with millions of Arabs and Muslims over the centuries, learn (mainly through the inherited poetry) to identify with and yearn for. For all its apparent imitativeness, this poetry, the poetry of a master, shimmers with genuine feeling and rhythmic fluency. It also embodies a familiar nostalgic tone which his other poetry, even those poems dealing with existential problems and bewailing the death of friends and the passage of youth,²⁹ almost completely lacks.

The fact that Ibn Khafāja wrote this kind of poetry means that not all his diction and imagery is fresh and new, and that his style is not consistently original. He is, also, not always innovative in some of his more modernised poems where he uses much of the vocabulary and imagery familiar to us in the Eastern and Andalusī poets of the modern school, but in some of his poems he demonstrates a revolutionary attitude to language, using a vocabulary of great originality. As for syntax, while much of his poetry follows the "the familiar order" of syntactical arrangements, some of his more original poems exhibit a distinctive difference, one which marks a crucial moment in Andalusī poetry and demonstrates that this poetry was ready for a revolutionary change in diction and syntax alike. Had these changes become a way of writing in al-Andalus, a genuinely Andalusī style would perhaps have been established.

I feel myself at a great disadvantage here, for the only way one can demonstrate the verbal dexterity of a poet, and the originality of his vocabu-

lary, phraseology and syntax, is to quote him in Arabic; writing in English, it is rather difficult to demonstrate the originality of a word he uses and the distinctive structure of his sentences. The inadequacy of a system of transliteration in a work meant not just for readers who know Arabic, but also for the general cultivated reader is obvious, and as for translating the textual material involved, this would, more often than not, fail to reveal the originality of both syntax and vocabulary.³⁰ However, I still feel I should emphasise this major aspect of Ibn Khafāja's work here, generally overlooked by other critics, even at the risk of appearing obscure and being unable to substantiate my argument at length. Connoisseurs of poetry will understand that the change of which I am speaking represents a crucial aspect of poetic development which cannot be overlooked in an essay whose major aim has been to show how the poetic art in al-Andalus developed in its linguistic and metaphorical aspects, which are the touchstone of all poetic change in any language.

II.2 *Diction and syntax*

Dealing, first, with diction, Ibn Khafāja's original treatment may be seen in a number of ways. He sometimes selects his vocabulary from a long-forgotten repertoire, or chooses rare plurals, or uses words in a novel way that arouses immediate surprise in the reader, sometimes coining them anew and using them with an intended meaning not generally used in Arabic.³¹ Even in his selection of familiar words he often opts for the warm, the sensuous and the richly layered word, so that these words often convey a kind of insistence and assertion, of profound passion. In this respect he is usually mindful of the importance of the "texture" of words, so closely connected with meaning and emotion.³²

A remarkable feature is his persistent capacity to transfer words between different semantic areas. This is, of course, a basic poetic principle, especially in connection with words denoting the erotic, but Ibn Khafāja is particularly profuse in his use of such techniques. He often, for example, borrows from the vocabulary of battle to describe other themes,³³ or from the vocabulary of the human form to describe nature.³⁴ Yet this transference and juggling with words always reflect the images and concerns dwelling in a poet's mind, and one can learn a great deal about Ibn Khafāja from his vocabulary: warm and sensuous, obsessed with human intimacy, turbulent and conscious of the violence of life around him in a war-ridden country, awed by nature and eternally mystified both by its beauty and by its permanence vis-à-vis human mutability.

As for his treatment of syntax, he sometimes audaciously arranges his words to form phrases and sentences in a way unfamiliar in the syntax of the inherited poetry.³⁵ The kind of revolutionary syntactical phenomenon seen here is one that happens within poetry every now and then, and, if taken up

by other poets, can change the poetic art dramatically. However, Ibn *Khafāja* was not, for all his genius, destined to be the catalyst who would engineer a lasting revolution in Andalusī poetry; although he was emulated, his style coming to be known as the *Khafājīan* style, it was not these basic features of change that poets emulated, but rather some (not all) aspects of his description of nature.

The failure of this audacity to take root in Andalusī poetry is due, I feel, to several factors: to the unsettled political conditions of the times, certainly, and to the fact that this experimental aspect of Ibn *Khafāja* was not the dominant element in his style; but, most importantly, to Andalusī caution and fear of too much linguistic adventurism, of achieving real freedom away from the mother culture in the East, in which (despite the tendency of several Andalusī poets, critics and literary historians, noted in my other essay in this volume, to attempt to vie with Eastern poetry), they sought constant nourishment.³⁶

II.3 *Rhetorical devices*

There is no space here to go into Ibn *Khafāja*'s sophisticated use of the various rhetorical devices in which the Andalusī poetry of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries was so rich; a useful study of this kind would entail the incorporation of many transliterated words and phrases and run to lengthy descriptions. Like other poets of his own and earlier times, with Ibn Zaydūn ranking supreme in this respect, Ibn *Khafāja*, particularly in his more youthful phase, made a profuse use of embellishments,³⁷ and in his employment of these varied figures of speech, the products of a leisurely exertion, he is sometimes very individual and innovative, at other times very deliberate and unnecessarily complex. Not only does this poet have many short pieces demonstrating inventiveness and a serious rigorism in his use of figures of speech, but some longer poems are also full of them. Yet for all the deliberateness and ornamental nature of these devices, something genuinely "poetic" remains behind in several of his poems, something that is in no way divorced from what is authentically and vibrantly artistic. There is in him an abiding thirst for beauty and life, and an eternal anguish about their finite nature which almost always provide a deeper layer to his poetry.

II.3.1 *Antithesis and paradox*

The frequent use of antithesis, one of the rhetorical figures most commonly used by Ibn *Khafāja*, can, when exploited by a profound poetic mind, lead by its very nature to the more elevated use of paradox. Ibn *Khafāja* saw everything in terms of its opposite and his use of paradox is one of the most exciting and profound features of his poetry. By a narrow definition, paradox is a statement which seems superficially untrue but proves to be valid when considered more closely. However, it need not be merely verbal, or witty; a more sophisticated use of paradox is situational, born out of a paradoxical

apprehension of experience. Ibn Khafāja used both situational and verbal paradoxes, sometimes with great sophistication. One should view Ibn Khafāja as a poet whose psychological make-up was highly sensitive, and whose outlook on the world was intuitive and painfully aware of the contradictions inherent in human life. He was indeed a man of a spontaneously paradoxical nature, for he could see at once all aspects of the human condition and never failed, in his best poems, to express this conflictual outlook with great verbal sophistication. When he contemplated an experience, or even a scene, he saw at once fire and water, thirst and satiety, dark and light, night and day, joy and sorrow, love and loneliness, youth and old age, death and life.

A good many of his verbal paradoxes revolve around the antithesis of fire and water. A number of scholars have noted his frequent use of the "fire" image, yet we should also note his common setting of this image against an image of coolness, or of water. This is indeed a constant, almost obsessive motif, abounding in his oeuvre. Describing a bitter lemon, he says:

An image of water and fire is seen lucidly there,
my glance, as it drowns, it burns.³⁸

The following is another good example of his purely verbal paradoxes:

In the pitch black night, I saw the eyelids of the winds
turning inflamed eyes of live coals,
while a groaning chill touched the embers,
changing hot coals into cold.³⁹

More interesting, however, are his situational paradoxes. In a short piece he says:

Your love is firm, but I am full of consternation
at our ever fated separation
As if we were in a revolving sphere.
When I appear, you disappear.⁴⁰

The following depicts an ambivalent and crucial emotional involvement:

Yet one moment I turn to God in atonement,
the other moment I am a lover.
I weep for my sins, and I mourn for love.
I cry when fear [of God] engulfs me,
and when the moment comes, I pluck the fruits [of passion].
As if I am the pliant branch of a bān tree
bent by the north wind this way and that.⁴¹

While the following attains a more elevated level of both situational and verbal paradox:

This is the crow of your dusk screeching, chase it away.
This is the turbulent sea of your night seething, cross over.
On your night journey take nourishment
from drops of the pure light of stars;
wrap yourself in the green leaves of darkness;

wear the robe of the sword, embroidered with
 drops of blood under the swirling smoke;
 throw good deeds against bad and sip
 the purity of life from turbulent clouds of dust.⁴²

This is a completely new approach, matched in sophistication only in the poetry of the best Sufis. His paradoxes are part and parcel of his metaphysical outlook, of his naturally ironic mind, and are apt to "dramatically enlarge or in some way startlingly modify our commonplace conceptions and understandings."⁴³

II.4 Metaphor

It was Ibn Khafāja's misfortune that he was born in the age of embellishments. He did in fact excel in them, but, when a poetic piece focuses on them, they tend (as in other Andalusī and Eastern poetry of this kind), to dilute or obscure what is genuinely "poetic", camouflaging (although in his poetry less than in others) the passion and urgency of a poetic situation. His use of embellishments, moreover, has often led critics away from realising the crucial use of metaphor in his verse, for, in much of his poetry, Ibn Khafāja concentrates more on metaphor, compensating for the artificiality of deliberate embellishment by his very poignant use of words and his often sensuous handling of thought through vibrant images. This aspect of his poetry in fact deserves a far greater space than this essay can give, for he is a poet who rarely resorted to the direct statement,⁴⁴ but expressed almost everything through metaphorical representations. He used many kinds of image: visual, kinetic, olfactory, organic and auditory, so that, after reading him, one's mind is full of colour, smell, sound, shapes and movement. When he describes a battle, one can see the combat raging, the dust and smoke of battle rising, the horsemen charging, swords hitting with lightning precision, with the sword and the neck coming instantly together, spears breaking, shields tearing apart, while the cups of misery pass round, and steeds of all colours cleave the folds of battle dust and smoke under their ferocious riders. What commanding passion—and what rigour—go into the making of such poems!⁴⁵ Describing a sword in battle, he says:

Sharp like a tongue of fire ...
 You'd think it a torch flying through
 steeds of turbulent clouds of dust.
 Like a shooting star it falls through the smoke,
 aflame, and hits the goal;
 then a blazing fire burns,
 and water flowing from its blade drowns.⁴⁶

Aside from the many battle metaphors, he employs many other kinetic images of remarkable vitality: clouds hurling themselves on the earth, water flowing, rain falling, animals fighting animals and charging against travellers—there is very little like all this in Andalusī poetry.

Ibn Khafāja's capacity to delineate turbulence, violence and bloodshed is, however, often balanced in his work by calmer images that can be intimate:

The wine of youth has intoxicated him.
Thus he sways as he goes on his way,
so pampered, he turns a lazy gaze
and walks with short steps away.⁴⁷

The following employs a disturbing image of entanglement:

I tripped on the tail of drunkenness that evening,
while the wind was entangled in the waves of the gulf.⁴⁸

Images of both thirst and drinking abound in his work, the following being characteristic:

He almost drank my soul, I almost drank his cheek.⁴⁹

Some of his metaphors are deliberately inventive. There must, we should remember, have been a constant battle in his creative faculty between the concept of the image held by poets of his epoch, especially those who followed the aesthetic trend of accurate description, hard, concrete and clear, with no link to emotion, and his own natural inclination to create images not only from a pictorial creative imagination of dazzling vividness, but also from the heart within which the poet strives to unify the exterior and interior worlds, a process which enabled him to delineate a complex existential experience. The tension created by this clash was considerable, and produced conflicting results, but it also produced some brilliant images, illuminated by the poet's particular outlook and fancy, many of them rich with emotional connotation. Although he used some images simply for aesthetic purposes, and some others in the traditional style, he also displayed great courage in conquering for poetry regions of experience hitherto undiscovered, fusing a refined aestheticism with complex psychological and emotional states. His is the nearest verse in al-Andalus to being, in R. A. Foakes' phrase, "inclusive poetry", offering an experience in its entirety, complex and rich in contradictions. We have seen some of his very crisp and lively metaphors in the examples provided above, and one comes across many original images in his poetry: the morning bridled by the Pleiades, the lightning saddled by the crescent (p. 203), the slumber that loses its way to the eyes (p. 205), etc. The examples are endless. This is a poetry remarkably free of abstractions, even when the poem revolves around an abstract idea. Love of nature, undoubtedly part of a general attitude present in al-Andalus, but also a very personal, sometimes private experience, was utilised, in his case, to serve the multiple purpose of his relationship both with art and with the world. Metaphorically, he had a predilection for awesome nature; images of clouds, mountains, the flux of the sea, mist and celestial beings abound, and, one feels, participate in the poet's experience of life.

II.5 *Ibn Khafāja and nature*

Ibn *Khafāja* is primarily renowned in Arabic literature as a nature poet, and there has been much literature, in Arabic and other languages, on his relationship with nature. This relationship is complex, but can be placed in two main categories: first, description for the sake of description (aestheticism), sometimes used as a background for wine drinking, love and pleasant settings; and second, the vision of nature as a sublime being, an object of communion and inspiration whose intimations arouse in the poet metaphysical notions of eternity and finiteness, permanence and mutability, and conflicting feelings either of deep regret for man's vulnerability on this earth or of abiding faith in his endurance—the latter, of course, an ancient motif in Arabic poetry.

II.5.1 *Aesthetic Aspects*

Ibn *Khafāja* does not simply demonstrate the continuation of the aesthetic current in al-Andalus, but strongly confirms it, thereby proving that, against a background of acute historical turmoil in which whole cities were being lost, this perpetuation of an élite culture survived, unbroken, longer than might have been expected for this kind of rarefied experiment. It is something of a considerable value for the history of art and aestheticism to find this movement so early in the history of poetry, for poetry and art in medieval times were mainly employed in the service of princes, religion or the tribe. As mentioned above, it is like a move, unconscious at the time, towards the achievement of an art for art's sake, towards the flourishing development of an amoral, asocial and apolitical mode of composition. Consider, for example, the following description of a black man swimming (poem No. 299):

A black man is swimming
in water so limpid, its pebbles show
As if it's an eye
and the swimmer its pupil.

At a period when other Andalusī poets excelled in describing "static" images (which was an art in itself), Ibn *Khafāja*, as demonstrated above, showed considerable dexterity in portraying broad pictures of moving objects and creating images pulsating with life. In many of his poems of pure description, the static typical of both Eastern and Andalusī poetry within this genre becomes dynamic and, while no personal voice is expressed, the verse is yet invested with an exciting passion.

Ibn *Khafāja* was compared to al-Ṣunawbarī (d. 324/939) in the East with respect to this kind of pure description—a rather sorry comparison in view of this poet's absolute superiority over the Syrian poet.

II.5.2 *Communion with nature*

It is not, however, his purely descriptive poetry that underlies Ibn Khafāja's claim to be the greatest nature poet in Arabic, but rather his obsessive involvement with nature. This involvement caused him to be dubbed *al-jannān* ("the gardener"), and his delightful descriptions of nature as a background to festive circles of friends, to wine drinking and eroticism are rich and sometimes original, with flowers, plants, trees, mountains, celestial bodies and bodies of water, and various animals (particularly the horse, but also such animals as the dog, the rabbit and the wolf) being skilfully described. Sometimes, indeed, he employed these objects in purely aesthetic descriptions which, though usually skilful, often seem strained and artificial; often, though, he used them as central indications of a broader intimacy with nature, which itself appears to inform the course of the poet's life and correspond to his moods. In many of his poems, in fact, Ibn Khafāja humanises nature, so that it ceases to be a scene pleasing to the eye, becoming, rather, a being capable of communing with the poet's feelings and moods. J. C. Bürgel describes two features of Ibn Khafāja's poetry: the humanisation of nature and "the interprojection of macrocosm and microcosm" which "comes into play with the poet's using cosmological comparisons, or describing cosmological, meteorological phenomena in terms of humanization."⁵⁰

II.5.3 *Nature as immutable, man as mutable*

For all the considerable number of poems directed to friends, it is important to realise that Ibn Khafāja was a lone spirit, involved in a kind of private reverie and personal communion to which only nature is admitted. This element of communion has not always been recognised, although the Russian scholar, B. Y. Shidfar, feels that Ibn Khafāja is "a synthesis of all that Andalusian poetry had achieved so far" and asserts that "the poet rose to a philosophical level of expression."⁵¹ It is this last point, concerning what I like to call his "metaphysical outlook", which is central to this poet's oeuvre and distinguishes him from all other Andalusī and Eastern poets of nature. It makes his work an experiment of unique dimensions, involving the most profound existential aspects of the human condition. 'Abbās also noted, briefly, the poet's idiosyncrasies, his great attachment to youth, his forlorn fear of death, the "poignant sensibility of the conflict between him and [the passage of] time."⁵²

It is interesting to see how Ibn Khafāja combines all these characteristics at once. One should recognise, nevertheless, that there were two forces at play within his creative process. First we have the force of the already established tradition of nature poetry in al-Andalus, with its aesthetic descriptions of cultivated nature which had developed, most probably, because of the great and active Andalusī interest in garden cultivation as a sign of urbanity, wealth and status (early Andalusī poetry did not show this pervasive

interest.) Ibn Khafāja must have been largely influenced by this Andalusī element, for although he benefited greatly from such Eastern poets as al-Ṣunawbarī, the genre was not only popular in al-Andalus but had come to be regarded as a touchstone of trenchant poetic skill which poets were loth to neglect. This is evidenced by the profusion of poets writing in the genre (while much Andalusī poetry was, we know, lost to us in the constant upheaval of internal and external strife, some of it has been preserved in books of *adab* and in anthologies), an indication of the tacit pressure to which the poet was undoubtedly subject. However, Ibn Khafāja's main inclination was to view nature as a source of spiritual communion. One cannot separate the two, and the first probably triggered the second by sharpening this sensitive poet's consciousness of nature as a central theme which he exploited to the maximum.

Ibn Khafāja's major poems containing a metaphysical aspect are his mountain poems, his night poems and his poem on the moon, although several others reflect this basic preoccupation in a less conspicuous way. If this poet could see, in nature, a general harmony which unified it with man and other beings and created a constant rapport with the poet's mind and spirit, he was also, simultaneously, aware of the immense gulf separating the poet from the immutability and invincibility of nature's major phenomena. A major example of this is his *bā'iyya* on the mountain, translated below. The anchored mountain, bringing out as it did the poet's own helplessness and vulnerability, filled him with awe; personified in the poem, the mountain speaks of its own long history with mankind, a monologue confirming its permanence and invincibility, and so bringing into focus man's and the poet's own finiteness. The courage he calls up at the end of the poem reiterates an old Arab poetic motif of pre-Islamic and Umayyad times (highly symbolic, particularly in the Umayyad Dhū 'l-Rumma), that of the endurance of both man and beast vis-à-vis the vast and treacherous desert. However, what is important in this poem is not the final declaration of faith, but the forlorn and solitary nature of the poet, a tiny human figure plodding his way through the night (also highly symbolic) at the base of the mighty mountain. There is a desperate voice in this poem, which also constantly reappears in others. In a poem he wrote on the night, the poet is seen endlessly walking in the dead of night, a "coal black" night like a crow's wing, traversing the interminable and terrifying wilderness, as the only living soul, with nothing but the wind to ride, while the snake of the night journey never dies, and the dead corpse of the morning is never visited. Again the poem ends on a note of courage, but with a difference: the poet sleeps embracing his sword, the bosom friend that never betrays, a tacit acknowledgement of the permanent danger that accompanies life. A third poem, on the moon, shows less awareness of life's besetting dangers than the other two, but is highly sensible of the mutability of life as the poet speaks of the moon's changing faces and positions ("You pass, now waning, now waxing, now

ascending, now descending, while people move on, oblivious, bent on their pleasures or their work, in the same realms where others had been and perished with no trace").⁵³ Danger is the central motif of several poems, lurking for the poet or for other living beings, but arousing in the poet a determination to prevail. Even in the wolf poem, which seems direct and lucid, the double attitude can be seen. The "treacherous" wolf may indeed symbolise the permanent danger facing life, but the poet, traversing the black starless night where only his own courage and the wolf's eyes are ablaze, still feels confident in his strength.⁵⁴

II.5.4 *Man facing his destiny*

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of Ibn Khafāja's experience was his realisation of the passage of time and the withering away of youth, the time of love and beauty, of wine drinking and frolicking. And what sorrow he expresses over the arrival of old age, with its worries and its aches! If age brings wisdom to the eyes, it also kindles the fire of despair in the heart. His constant feeling of nostalgia for youth and disillusion with old age arises not simply because old age means the end of pleasure, but because of the imminence of death which he saw looming on the horizon. The expression of sorrow for the passing of youth is an old and abiding motif in Arabic poetry, in which we find numerous poems bemoaning the weakening of physical powers and the appearance of white hairs. Ibn Khafāja's sensibility is, however, of a different order; his is a genuinely anguished experience, and his poetry on the subject has a touch of terror in it, terror of death and annihilation. 'Abbās emphasises this almost pathological fear of death overwhelming the poet: according to al-Ḍabbī, Ibn Khafāja would apparently go alone to the outskirts of Shuqr and, on reaching a ravine between two mountains, would scream, "Ibrāhīm, you'll die", continuing in this way until he fell unconscious.⁵⁵ His persistent feeling of insecurity vis-à-vis the certainty of death haunted him even when he could still enjoy the pleasures of life—for how can one enjoy them, or feel security, "when the end of passers-by is death"?⁵⁶

It would be an interesting study to compare Ibn Khafāja's tragic attitude towards youth, old age and death with that of Eastern poets such as al-Ma'arri (died at 84) and Abū 'l-'Atāhiya (died at 80) both of whom had lived sufficiently long to feel the onslaught of age and the approach of death. The attitudes of these two poets, one a sceptic with a predilection for the ironic and the other an ascetic, would demonstrate marked differences from that of Ibn Khafāja, who could never reconcile himself to the most crucial factor in man's destiny.

II.6 *Concluding Remarks*

So much more could be written on this truly fascinating poet, had space allowed. In Ibn Khafāja there is a sensuous apprehension not only of experience, but also of thought, for some of his poems were the result of a reflec-

tive attitude, of a notion that might have arisen from an induced experience born out of his state of mind. The ideas occurring to him in such situations are transformed into an existential experience, and are apprehended poetically and expressed through sensuous diction and imagery. Yet there is, in all this, an artistic rigour which preserves the self-contained nature of the poem and keeps it free of sentimentalism and mawkishness. We have seen how, in his relation to nature, he epitomises, and, in several respects, transcends the nature poetry written in al-Andalus. It is also interesting to see how many of Ibn Khafāja's poems tend to possess organic or, at least, thematic unity.

If Ibn Khafāja's poetry was not directly religious, it was, in its best examples, sometimes metaphysical, with a very deep and poignant sense of the world and of the unknown, of the secret of the elements, the domination of celestial bodies, the mysteries of the seasons, the awesome majesty of nature. His poetry is, finally, the expression of a reflective mind, of a diligent explorer of the soul:

Others boast of the pleasure they receive
from wine glass and cup bearer alike.
But men like me are to be seen
alone with themselves, searching for themselves.⁵⁷

APPENDIX

Ibn Khafāja

The Mountain Poem

By your life, there is no telling
if the wind's bluster or camel's back
Put the speed under my saddle

For no sooner, dawn star, do I
soar up in the east to be born
Than I have cruised west at day's end

Alone, by one desert delivered
to the next and seeing through
Night's mask the manifold face of death

No friend but my pointy sword
No home but the saddle
I meet with nobody

With no company is mine at all
But the ghost of a smile
A hope intermittent in desire

And night everlasting proves
False the dawn,
False the foretelling of it

Black dreadlocks of night eternal
Trail behind me
Always I hug such bright hopes

Yet night's shirt I did once rip
And saw beneath
Fangs agape, a gray wolf

A dark one, gray as dawn
And peering out like stars
For so his eyes were burning

Then I came to a mountain
Reaching up and up
Its peak achieved the meridian

It blocked every which way
The rushing winds and at night
It shouldered the stars

Arched over desert a mountain
Like some thinker
Weighing all the consequences

Clouds like turbans, black, wrap him
Lightning fringed them
With tufts of crimson

And mute as he was, languageless,
On my night journey I heard him
Speak to me of the mysteries:

To the murderers, he told me,
I gave refuge, to men grieving
And patient ascetics a shelter

How many nights when, coming, or going
A traveler passed me by
How many caravans in my shadow rested

How often the wild winds
Whacked my flanks and emerald
Oceans crowded me in

Yet did death's hand take all, folded
Every one away, in a wink
The killjoy winds blew them off

My trees will stir-only the shudder
 Of human ribs, and my doves,
 when they call it is a keening

What stopped my tears was not
 Forgetting, but an exhaustion
 I had wept them all out with farewells

How long will I be in this place
 While friends move on, how often
 See the backs of such as never return?

Till what time must I contemplate
 Stars that rise and set
 Forever and ever and on?

Have mercy, Lord, a mountain asks you
 Hear his prayer, touch with your Grace
 The hand, uplifted, of your lover.

Such was the sermon I heard
 One might learn less of matters
 In the compass of a lifetime

In tears he stirred, grief excited
 Such consolation was mine
 He was the best friend to travel with

As the track veered away, me with it,
 I answered him: Peace,
 One of us has to stay and one move on.

TRANSLATED BY MAGDA AL-NOWAIHI
 AND CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON

¹ The European pastoral developed to include the pastoral elegy and the pastoral drama. It was initiated in the 3rd century B. C. with the *Idylls* of the Greek poet Theocritus who, writing in the confines of a city life in Sicily, yearned for the unattainable rural simplicity of a shepherd's life. The tradition was, however, established in the 1st century B. C. by the Roman poet Virgil who, between 42 and 37 B. C., wrote the *Eclogues*, which were widely imitated by Renaissance poets and writers.

² How this activity of explaining the denotative by the connotative must have affected the interpretation of language and religious texts, and what it must have done to poetry's oblique and different way of using language, should be the subject of a separate work.

³ See *Fi'l-adab al-Andalusī*, 2nd. ed., Cairo, 1966, pp. 130-1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵ The other three are eulogy, satire and *fakhr*, that is, praise of self and/or the tribe. See al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, ed. A. M. Bajjāwī, Cairo, 1965, p. 273.

⁶ Wine is, of course, an old theme, beautifully treated by the pre-Islamic al-A'shā and the Umayyad al-Akḥṭal, among others, but it became a major theme in the verse of Abū Nuwās.

⁷ *Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz*, ed. Michel Nu'mān, Beirut, 1969, p. 223.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁰ *Diwān al-Ṣunawbarī*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1970, p. 430; and see his *rā'iyya*, on the month of March and the burgeoning of buds and leaves in it, pp. 77-9, where many flowers—roses, narcissus, daisies, lilies, anemones, violets, jasmines, yellow wallflowers, and other blossoms—are described, together with birds and musical instruments. See also his *sīniyya* eulogising a dignitary, which he begins by describing a tree of yellow plums in a garden where multi-coloured flowers are in bloom, p. 155. This is one of the early attempts to combine the *nawriyya* with eulogy. Al-Ṣunawbarī has many examples of *nawriyyāt* and *rawdīyyāt*.

¹¹ Several major studies on the Islamic panegyric have appeared recently. See, for example, Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge-New York, 1989, particularly pp. 9-47; and see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *Abū Tamīm and the Poetics of the Abbasid Age*, Leiden, 1991, pp. 109-235.

¹² In the 19th century panegyrics were still directed to rulers and important people. For more on this, see S. K. Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden, 1977, I, 29.

¹³ Al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir (ruled 350/961-366/976) greatly encouraged culture and poetry. See Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusī*, 'aṣr siyādat Qurṭuba, pp. 43-52; and the description of the way al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir honoured poets by having those whom the critics regarded as good poets officially registered and given a regular salary, p. 60; this tradition continued during the rule of his son, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (ruled 392/1002-399/1008), p. 62.

¹⁴ A case in point is Ibn Shuhayd's satire on the orders of the last Caliph Hishām al-Mu'tadd (ruled 417/1026-422/1031). See *The Diwān of Ibn Shuhaid al-Andalusī*, ed. Yaqub Zaki (James Dickie), Cairo, 1969, pp. 81-82.

¹⁵ José Ortega y Gasset, *The Dehumanization of Art and other Essays on Art, Culture and Literature*, Princeton, 2nd printing, 1972, p. 24.

¹⁶ It is beyond the scope of this discussion to go into the many reasons underlying the tragic misconceptions concerning Arab poetic history and language on the part of quite a number of Arab writers, and also on the part of some Arabists. The problem with Arab literary and cultural history is that, aside from such major scholars as Ṭāhā Ḥusain, Muḥammad al-Nuwaihi, Iḥsān 'Abbās and others, many of the Arab writers who upheld and wrote positively about it were usually old-fashioned. Presenting emotional, often religious arguments for the greatness of the old literature and the sublimity of the language, they were not only unconvincing, but often grating to the modern ear. On the other hand, those Arab writers who have attacked the Arab literary heritage, and their list is quite long, have usually been biased or, at least, unscholarly, being limited in their knowledge of the language and the culture, often simply parroting what some non-Arab historians had said. It was only with the rise of Arab critics and literary historians such as Kamal Abu Deeb, Mansour 'Ajami, Jābir 'Aṣfūr, Muḥammad Mustafa Badawi, Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, Adnan Haydar, 'Abd al-Fattah Kilito, Fedwa Malti-Douglas, Yūsuf al-Yūsuf, and others, who are versed both in the history of their own literature and language and in the modern tradition of world literary criticism, that medieval Arabic poetry has begun to be explained in modern terms as a major, complex and artistically illuminating contribution.

¹⁷ The same trend is reflected in the work of several Arabists. Some of those writing in English are J. C. Bürgel, Andras Hamori, Wolfhart Heinrichs, James Monroe, Raymond Scheindlin, Stefan Sperl, Jaroslav Stetkevych, Suzanne P. Stetkevych, Michael Zwettler and others.

¹⁸ The use by the Umayyad Dhū 'l-Rumma (77/696-117/735)—probably an illiterate poet—of a highly pronounced assonance and alliteration, was the result of a keen poetic gift, instinctively taking hold of the poet.

¹⁹ *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī, baḥṭh fī taṭawwurihī wa khaṣā'iṣih*, translated into Arabic by Ḥusain Mu'nis, 2nd. ed., Cairo, 1956, p. 25.

²⁰ *The Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton, 1974 (enlarged edition), under "Aestheticism".

²¹ This and other poems from Cola Franzen's translations in *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, San Francisco, 1989, are quoted here by kind permission of the translator. The above is on p. 19.

²² *Diwān*, p. 87, and see his description of the artichoke, p. 140.

²³ Quoted by Cola Franzen in her introduction to *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, p. ii. It is also refreshing to see a strongly burgeoning interest in this poetry arising simultaneously among English-speaking translators. Three recent translations have been made of selections of

Andalusi poetry, mainly from the collection of the 7th/13th century anthologist, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, (modern edition ed. by Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya, Damascus, 1987.) The first is by Cola Franzen, *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, quoted above, translated from E. García Gómez's Spanish translation of the original Arabic; the second is, *Banners of the Champions, an Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond*, selected and translated from the original Arabic of Ibn Sa'īd's anthology by James Bellamy and Patricia Owen Steiner, Madison, 1989; and the third is by Christopher Middleton and Leticia Garza-Falcón, *Andalusian Poems*, translated from the Spanish translations, Boston: David L. Godine, 1992. This is conclusive proof of the importance and universality of the skill achieved by Andalusī poets in the field of metaphorical representation.

²⁴ This information was kindly given to me by Nasser Rabbat, Assistant Professor at the School of Architecture at the M.I.T. and a specialist in Islamic architecture.

²⁵ Al-Ḥimyarī, in the 9th/15th century, describes Shuqr as very rich in trees, fruits and rivers, well populated, with mosques and inns and markets, surrounded by the river, and reached in winter only by ship. See *Ṣifāt jazīrat al-Andalus*, selections from *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī khabar al-aqtār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo, 1937, pp. 102-4.

²⁶ See his two short pieces on this in his collection, *Dīwān Ibn Khafāja*, ed. Sayyid Muṣṭafā Ghāzi, Alexandria, 1960, pp. 364 *th* 136.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁸ Adopted in particular from the poetry of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and Miḥyār al-Daylamī, as the poet says in his introduction to his collection, p. 14.

²⁹ There are quite a few poems in this style. See the examples he gives of poems in the old Arabian style, *ibid.*, pp. 14-6, and see, for another example, his *mimīyya* on pp. 172-6, a mixture of this style and of the poet's particular flavour; and other poems.

³⁰ It might even produce "monstrosities", to use J. C. Bürgel's expression on the same subject. Bürgel refers this to the "intricate, aphoristic, and often highly artificial style", see "Man, Nature and Cosmos as Intertwining Elements in the Poetry of Ibn Khafāja", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 14, 1983, p. 31. As I see it, much of the difficulty arises from the occasionally unfamiliar syntax and vocabulary which do not translate easily. Deliberateness and an intricate style are shared by many other Andalusī poets who translate very well into English.

³¹ Such as, to give just two examples, his use of the word *ghamīm* for *ghamām*, meaning "clouds", p. 239; or his use of a rare plural *amdāḥ* instead of *madā'ih* for eulogies, p. 213.

³² For example, his use of *yujamjimu* i. e. "stammer" (for tidings of death reaching the poet in a halting fashion); or *tulaḥlihu* i. e. "root itself" (speaking of death establishing an abiding rootedness, so that it permanently besets itself); another very poignant example is his use of the word *qallaṣa*, i. e. "shrink", "recede", "shorten" (for the night shortening its garment, pp. 74 and 147, for the dawn wind shrinking the tail of clouds, p. 247, and for the train of youth, once long, now being contracted by old age, p. 278. The word is not a usual one in other poets' repertoire and is graphically indicative of this poet's palpable sensibility towards the constant change besetting life. Of great interest also is his occasional attempt to coin new words from existing nouns, such as *mu'anbar* from *'anbar*, i. e. fragrant with "amber", and *muṣandal* from *ṣandal*, i. e. smelling of "sandalwood". This kind of individuality was constantly present in the *rajaz* poetry of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj (d. 145/708) in the Umayyad East who coined many words in the fashion noted above to suit the same pattern, see my chapter "Umayyad Verse", in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1983, p. 418.

³³ Magda M. al-Nowaihi, in her thesis, *A Literary Analysis of Ibn Khafāja's Dīwān* (in press at E. J. Brill, Leiden) discusses this aspect at length.

³⁴ For a fuller discussion of this, see Bürgel, *op. cit.*, pp. 34¹-8.

³⁵ Such as the following example: "I tremble for beauty in anguish, a branch" (meaning "I tremble like a branch") p. 121 of his *Dīwān*. It is impossible here to reproduce the novelty of the syntax in Arabic, and for greater clarity his Arabic work should be consulted. See also the second verse of his *ḥa'iyya*, p. 138, the eleventh verse of his *fā'iyya*, p. 100, both untranslatable in such a way as to bring out their syntactical originality. Also of stylistic interest is his omission of the conjunction where it is customarily used in Arabic even in modern times, e. g. two verses in a *rā'iyya* of his (pp. 122-3), "the carnelian of your cheek, the pearls of your mouth", and "the lilies of your neck, the dew of your pearls." which would normally require an "and" between the two phrases in each verse. A very good example of his new use of words, word

relations and syntax is found in the five lines at the end of his *lāmiyya* on p. 264, which give a good idea of his novel way of using words: the groaning of the poet in the chains of complaint; the neighing of the intrepid man of honour; the poet pulling the reins [of his poem] so as not to speak too long; the descriptions of the emaciated state of the poet whose leanness causes him to sway, etc.; all these verses are really very deliberate and contrived, but they demonstrate the poet's audacity in using words and phrases.

³⁶ In fact, Ibn Khafāja was attacked by a contemporary Andalusī critic who did not understand his style, to which attack the poet responded that poetic styles will differ according to the varied theme of the poem (not a completely adequate answer, but then poets do not always realise the vitality of the changes they are engineering.) See pp. 11-4 of his introduction.

³⁷ Magda al-Nowaihi, *op.cit.* has undertaken a detailed analysis of Ibn Khafāja's use of these rhetorical figures, resorting to a considerable use of transliteration, which is really the only way of demonstrating this poet's remarkable venture.

³⁸ From his short *qāfiyya* on p. 70 of his *Dīwān*; and see four other short *qāfiyyas*, p. 76, the 2nd. verse, p. 115, the 4th. verse, p. 163, the 5th verse, th p. 355, the 1st. verse; see also, p. 124, the 4th line of his *lāmiyya*, where he describes the fire in his heart [he says "ribs"] and the wetness of his sleeves [from weeping]; other examples abound.

³⁹ *Dīwān*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ *Dīwān Ibn Khafāja*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1961, p. 115 (piece not found in the Ghāzi edition.)

⁴¹ *Dīwān*, the Ghāzi ed., p. 122.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2.

⁴³ *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, under "Paradox".

⁴⁴ Which he used in such poems as his short *bā'iyya* on atonement, pp. 213-4, and in his lovely *mīmiyya* on his coveting a very young girl, unattainable because of his age of fifty-one, p. 81. This last poem is not devoid of imagery, but he uses rather familiar and easy metaphors. One exception is the second hemistich of the 8th verse, where his syntax is unusual.

⁴⁵ See his *qāfiyya*, *ibid.*, pp. 253. Note the various colours of the horses. See also, for other descriptions of fighting, his *hā'iyya* on pp. 251-3; and see below his short *rā'iyya* describing a sword.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 271. This is a good example of his novel use of syntax. I have attempted to retain as far as possible his placing of the verb "drowns".

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 33 for the quotation, but the whole article should be consulted.

⁵¹ Quoted by Bürgel, *ibid.*, p. 32 from Shidfar's book *Andalusīyā literatūra, Kratkiy ocherk*, Moscow, 1970, p. 135. See also 'Abbās, *op.cit.*, p. 207, where he speaks of the poet's uniqueness in absorbing the manifold external influences available to the poets of his time.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

⁵³ For the mountain, night and moon poems see his *Dīwān*, pp. 215-7, 131-3, and 130-1 respectively.

⁵⁴ See his *lāmiyya* on his meeting with a snake, *ibid.*, pp. 119-21; and see his *hā'iyya* describing a fierce dog charging against a rabbit, p. 147; and see p. 180 for his meeting with a wolf, "disguised behind the curtains of the dark ... and wrapped in the vagrant, icy wind". See also pp. 85-6 for another poem, a *rā'iyya*, on the wolf. The wolf, usually treated as a symbol of treachery, has been the object of quite a few Arabic poems, Cf. the treatment of both al-Akḥṭal and al-Farazdaq of the theme, very clearly symbolic, related to the poet's state of mind, in my "Umayyad verse", pp. 403-4 for the former and pp. 398-9 for the latter. Cf. Ibn Shuhayd's treatment of the wolf, p. 119 of his *Dīwān*.

⁵⁵ See 'Abbās, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

⁵⁶ *Dīwān*, p. 309.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

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ZAJAL AND MUWASHSHAHA HISPANO-ARABIC POETRY AND THE ROMANCE TRADITION¹

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From the time of the Italian scholar Giammaria Barbieri, who wrote in 1581,² down to the present, four centuries have gone by, in which Arabic origins have been repeatedly proposed for Provençal poetry, and just as repeatedly rejected. Today we are riding the crest of another wave of enthusiasm for the Arabic thesis.³ Nonetheless, the literary tradition, imagery and rhetorical conventions of Arabic poetry are significantly removed from those of medieval Romance poetry in several crucial respects. Hence, the partisans of Arabic origins would find themselves on firmer ground if they could account for the discrepancies, as well as the similarities, between the two traditions.

Let me elaborate: it is indeed true that Provençal and part, though by no means all, of Arabic love poetry, share certain conventions, the most striking of which is the portrayal of the beloved as a distant and unattainable Lady, often addressed in the masculine form, whom the poet must serve faithfully but hopelessly. In Arabic, this convention is hardly Pagan, that is to say, it is not pre-Islamic. Instead, it developed soon after the rise of Islam, while its major exponents were the bedouin poets of the 'Udhri school, believed by traditional scholars to have flourished in the Arabian Peninsula during the early Umayyad period.⁴ From the Quranic ideas and vocabulary employed by these poets, it does seem clear that the relationship of a faithful lover to a single Lady, whom he was fated to love eternally, was shaped by the new monotheistic religion revealed by the Prophet, in which man was exhorted to worship a single deity who, in turn, had promised him an eternal life beyond the grave, unknown to Pagan Arabs. Later, among Andalusī poets, this form of service was boldly and explicitly likened either to worship of the neo-Platonic Intellect or of God Himself:

We lacked any proof that would bear witness to your creation, which we could use in comparison, save only that you are visible.

Were it not that our eye contemplates your essence we could only declare that you are the Sublime, Essential Intellect.⁵

We have believed firmly in nothing, after you have left, save in adopting faithfulness to you as our attitude, and other than that we have not embraced any religion.⁶

At other times, the *literary* deification of the Lady, though less explicit than in the above examples, is implied by the poet through the technique of placing an iconic description of her in the very centre of a poem that is organised

around the principles of ring composition.⁷ Nevertheless, the stock imagery employed in these portrayals is very different from that used in Romance.⁸ The Arab Lady is commonly described as having a waist thin as a reed, emerging from hips ample as sand dunes; her mouth contains teeth like pearls, while its saliva is intoxicating as a potent wine; her face, which is likened either to a sun or to a full moon, reveals eyes gentle as a gazelle's, yet which ruthlessly shoot arrows that penetrate the lover's heart, thus wounding him fatally, as also occurs with some frequency in the love poetry of the *Greek Anthology*. According to some poets, these arrows, which are her eyelashes, are shot from the bow that is her eyebrows. For his part, the lover endures his lot, taking great pride in not blaming the Lady for the pain she causes him, even when driven to the point of madness or death. For all the world like a Cheshire cat, he wastes away from passion until his body is no longer visible, so that his presence may be detected only from the moans emanating from his empty clothes. According to one tradition, which originated in Abbasid Baghdad, and which came to prevail in Andalus, rather than referring to the Lady by means of a *senhal* or nickname in order to conceal her true identity, the lover ostentatiously refuses to reveal her name at all:

Yet I will never name him! Before they obtain what they seek, I will lose all my wits and face all misfortunes.⁹

We do not name you in our poem by reason of our respect and honor for you; moreover, your elevated rank makes it unnecessary to do so.¹⁰

Whereas in Provençal poetry the lover has normally never met the Lady he worships, and she, in turn, is unaware of his feelings for her, and often, of his very existence, Arabic love poetry is essentially one of separation; in the past, the lovers have indeed trysted and enjoyed the fruits of love; today, because the poet has been slandered by his enemies, the love union of the past, although it is fondly recalled, is no longer possible:

And now I praise God for the time we spent together, for which you have found consolation, whilst we have remained [true] lover.¹¹

Nonetheless, the poet continues to hope that the Lady will one day relent and grant him her favours once again; if not in this world, then in the afterlife:

If only death had fulfilled our union with you, it would have been the most generous of days.¹²

If meeting in this world should be difficult, then at least, we will meet you in the place of Resurrection, and this will suffice us.¹³

Furthermore, this is only one half of our story, for a substantial portion of Arabic love poetry is pederastic. As in the Greek tradition, here too the beloved is a beardless youth, and it is conventional for the relationship between boy and older lover to come to an end as soon as the boy reaches puberty and his beard begins to sprout:

With his pure golden complexion, he almost makes the clouds weep;
 But he felt ill at ease with his first beard, like a colt which has never known the
 bridle.
 And when he saw me he hung down his head, disconsolate, and was wrapped in
 shame,
 For he was thinking that his new beard would make my love for him disappear,
 But I see his bearded cheeks as sword belts from which hangs the saber of his
 glance.¹⁴

The previous sentiment bears comparison with Straton of Sardes's (ca. 117-138 A. D.) epigram:

Wast thou not yesterday a boy, and we had never even dreamt of this beard
 coming? How did this accursed thing spring up, covering with hair all that was so
 pretty before? Heavens! what a marvel! Yesterday you were Troilus and to-day
 how have you become Priam?¹⁵

Hispano-Arabic love poetry is one of conceits; of the sort familiar to us from
 the *Greek Anthology* and the Renaissance lyric, which the poet builds with
 the stock imagery inherited from a multisecular tradition. Thus, basing him-
 self on the conventional image of the Lady's face, which is commonly de-
 scribed as being bright as the sun or the full moon, the Andalusi poet Ibn
 Zaydūn (394/1003-463/1071) declares:

Our days have been transformed by your absence, so that they have become
 black-morned, whereas with you our nights were white.¹⁶

In describing a boy drinking a glass of wine, the Umayyad prince Marwān b.
 'Abd al-Rahmān of Córdoba (d. 399/1009) states:

It is as though the cup, in his fingers, were a yellow narcissus rising from a silver
 vase,
 Which arose like a sun, his mouth being the West, and the hand of the shy cup-
 bearer, the East,
 So that when it set in his mouth, it left a rosy twilight on his cheek.¹⁷

On the slenderness of the lady's waist, Ibn Zaydūn says:

When he bends over, the pearls of the necklace weigh him down by reason of his
 having been brought up in luxury, and the ankle rings make him bleed because of
 the tenderness of his skin.¹⁸

On the *topos* of the lady piercing the lover with the arrows of her glances, al-
 A'mā al-Tuḥīlī who, though born in Tudela, as his name indicates, spent
 most of his life in Murcia and Seville (d. 520/1126), elaborates as follows:

*What is the state of hearts * when in the sheath of eyelids*
*There are eyes whose sharp edges * are the keenest arrows of death?*

The bows of the eyebrows * whose arrows are his two eyes,
 Are like the *nūns* of a writer * that have been traced by God.¹⁹

The implied social structure of Provençal poetry is a feudal one and, if we are
 to believe the class-restrictions that obsessed Andreas Capellanus, courtly

love between a lover and his Lady was appropriate only when his rank was inferior to hers.²⁰ In medieval Islam, there was no feudal structuring of society, and no aristocracy of birth. As the case of the Egyptian Mamlūk or "slave" dynasty illustrates, even slaves could aspire to become monarchs. In the chapter on "Obedience" contained in his treatise on love entitled *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* ("The Dove's Neck-Ring"), Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba explicitly states:

We all know that the beloved is neither equal, nor of parallel rank, to the lover; thus she is in no position to avenge the latter's wrongdoing ... You often see that a man is not loved by the girl who is his slave, so that no one can prevent him from mistreating her, and even less, from taking revenge on her.²¹

In such a slave society, poets often addressed their complaints to loved ones ranging from slave-girls and dancing-boys to princesses of the royal blood. Conversely, monarchs could address courtly love songs to their slave-girls. In this respect, Ibn Kharūf of Córdoba (d. 601/1205) describes a dancer in the following terms:

With his varied movements, he plays with your mind, and is robed in beauty as he throws off his clothes.

Swaying like a branch in the garden, frisky as a gazelle in its lair;

With his comings and goings he plays with your reason as fate plays at will with men[.]

And presses his head with his feet, as the point of the sword is bent to its hilt.²²

In contrast, Ibn Zaydūn refers to his Lady, the Princess Wallāda, daughter of al-Mustakfi, last caliph of Córdoba, as follows:

It has not been harmful that we should not have been his equal in nobility, since in love there is a compensating equality from the fact of our mutual satisfaction.²³

The *amīr* al-Ḥakam of Córdoba (r. 180/796-206/822), otherwise known for the severity of his reign, became the slave, poetically speaking, of five disobedient harem-girls who rose against him and refused to see him, at which point he complained:

[Willow boughs] swaying over sand dunes
 Turned away from me, decided to eschew me;
 I told them of my right, yet they persist
 In their disobedience, when mine has ceased:
 A king am I, subdued, his power humbled
 To love, like a captive in fetters, forlorn!
 What of me, when those who tore my soul from my body
 Are stripping me of my power and might in love!
 Excessive love has made of me a slave,
 Though before that I was a mighty king!
 If I weep, complain of love, more unjustly
 They treat, eschew me, bring me near my death!
 The gazelles of the palace left me suffering
 Pains of deep love, abandoned on the ground!
 I humbly put my cheek on the ground
 Before one reclining on a silk couch:

Humble demeanor behooves a free man
Whenever he becomes a slave through love!²⁴

Nor is the love sung by Andalusī poets a never-to-be-consummated relationship. At times, it depicts the control of carnal desire, which is, nonetheless painfully present, as in the following poem by Ibn Faraj of Jaén (d. 366/976):

Many a woman, ready to surrender, have I abstained from and so did not respond to Satan's temptation.
During the night she appeared unveiled, and the darkness of the night was itself unveiled.
But I made my mind stand guard over my desires and continued to be chaste, as is my nature.
And so I spent the night with her like a thirsty camel colt whose muzzle hinders him from nursing.
Such is the garden where, for someone like me, there is only the enjoyment of looking and smelling.
For I am no loose, freely grazing animal that I should take the garden for my pasture.²⁵

A similar sentiment is expressed by Ṣafwān b. Idrīs of Murcia (560/1165-598/1202):

Oh his beauty! though beauty is just one of his qualities. All magic is in the way he moves.
He is a full moon: if the moon above were given one wish, it would say: "I would be one of his haloes".
When the crescent moon on the horizon faces him, you see him as an image in a mirror.
The mole on the page of his cheeks dots the "N"s written on them by his locks.
I was with him when the night, under its cover, brought together two flames: the one of my breath, the other of his cheeks,
And I held him as a miser holds his money, embracing him on all sides;
I bound him with my arms, for he is a gazelle, and I was fearful of his escape.
But my virtue kept me from kissing his mouth, though in my heart were burning coals.
How strange it is that one whose breast burns with thirst complains of thirst though water be in his throat.²⁶

In other examples, the passion is definitely consummated, sometimes by resorting to trickery, as in this poem by Ibn Shuhayd of Córdoba (382/992-426/1034):

When, drenched in drunkenness, he lay down and fell asleep, and the eyes of the nightwatchman closed in slumber,
I approached him timidly, like a friend who is searching for something,
Imperceptibly as a dream, I crept towards him, and, as sweetly as breathing, I drew close to him,
I kissed the whiteness of his neck and sipped the redness of his lips;
And I spent my night with him deliciously, until the darkness smiled, showing the white teeth of the dawn.²⁷

Finally, it should not be forgotten that the love poetry of Andalus relies upon a long literary tradition going back, at very least, to the 5th century in pre-Islamic Arabia. Even if we were to assume that Provençal poets knew enough classical Arabic to understand the surface meaning of any given poem, it is rather difficult to believe that they could have been familiar enough with the literary tradition on which it rested to recognise the frequent allusions to that tradition. As an illustration of this point, let me take a conceit elaborated by Ibn al-Ḥajj of Lorca (fl. 6th/12th century), in which he describes the moment when a young boy's beard begins to sprout, thereby signalling the end of the poet's love for him:

Once you were a moon on the night of its fullness, but then night decreed that you should set.
Your first beard appeared and I said: "Love is gone. The raven has announced our separation."²⁸

The full import of this passage cannot be grasped without a thorough grounding in pre-Islamic poetry, in which the raven is a bird of ill-omen. Its croaking portends the arrival of the dry season, when bedouin tribes must part from one another to pasture their camels farther afield than is necessary in the time of rains. Thus, in Arabic poetry, the raven is a harbinger of separation, insofar as its arrival signals that the Lady will soon depart with her tribe, leaving the lovelorn poet behind to mourn her loss.

This brief survey of some of the main features and thematic highlights of Hispano-Arabic love poetry raises some questions for which the partisans of Arabic influence on Provençal poetry will have to provide adequate answers before their views can advance from the category of the hypothetical to that of established fact. Our survey also provides a synthesis of that poetry's content, presented as a necessary introduction to problems of form, in which the relationship between Arabic and Romance is of an entirely different order.

Let me then proceed to a more technical part of my discussion. Here, it becomes necessary to introduce another theory of more recent vintage, for which the factual basis is becoming more certain with each day that passes, namely that of the Romance origins of Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry. When Samuel Stern pointed out, in a path-finding article written four decades ago, that certain Hispano-Hebrew poems belonging to the *muwashshaḥa* genre ended with words couched in the archaic Ibero-Romance dialect known as Mozarabic,²⁹ and when this feature was confirmed for Hispano-Arabic *muwashshaḥas* a few years later by Emilio García Gómez,³⁰ a revolution was launched in our knowledge of several literatures, of which the authors could hardly have foreseen the ultimate implications, some of them still not accepted today in certain circles. This is so, despite the fact that, unlike the case of the alleged but, as yet, textually undocumented close encounter in Provence, here we have impressive textual evidence. Thus, regarding the

theory of Ibero-Romance origins for Andalusī strophic poetry, I feel that it would not be unfair to invoke the Turkish proverb “the dogs bark, but the caravan moves on”. Let us examine some of the evidence in favour of, and against this theory.

It is well known to specialists in the field that classical Arabic poetry, whose origins go back to a pre-Islamic oral tradition of formulaic improvisation that flourished in the Arabian peninsula,³¹ is based on a quantitative metrical system, like that of Greek and Latin. This system comprises sixteen meters, first described and codified by the medieval prosodist *Khalil b. Aḥmad* (d. 175/791).³² Furthermore, this poetry is composed of a varying number of lines, all in the same meter, within each individual poem, and all divided into two hemistichs, of which the first is normally blank, whereas the second monorhymes with all the other second hemistichs in the poem. In contrast, we are informed by several reputable medieval Arab authorities that two new forms of Arabic poetry originated in Andalus: the *zajal* and the *muwashshaha*.³³ Subsequently, these two forms became so popular, that they spread eastward from North Africa into the heartlands of Islam, where they are still cultivated today.

These two Andalusī innovations have often been discussed in relation to one another, not only by modern critics,³⁴ but also by medieval Arab scholars.³⁵ To such an extent is this so, indeed, that they have been called “sister-genres”.³⁶ This has occurred, for several persuasive reasons: first of all, both forms are strophic, and both are closely related in structure. Second, both incorporate elements of vernacular diction to a varying degree. Third, both exhibit puzzling departures from the rules of classical Arabic metrics. Fourth, *muwashshaha* poets often doubled simultaneously as composers of *zajals*, and vice-versa. Fifth, *muwashshahas* frequently contain passages quoted directly from *zajals*, while the reverse is also true.

From a linguistic point of view, the *zajal* is composed entirely in the vernacular Arabic dialect of Andalus, occasionally besprinkled with words or phrases in Hispano-Romance. In contrast, the *muwashshaha* is in classical Arabic, with the exception of its final element, which is normally in vernacular diction, either Arabic, Romance, or a combination of both.

The two genres may further be distinguished from one another in structural terms: The *zajal* proper always exhibits an initial refrain called *maṭlaʿ*, of which a typically common form is a couplet rhymed AA, followed by an indefinite number of strophes, each of which contains a string of lines, usually (but not less than) three, called *ghuṣns* and rhyming together, yet differing in rhyme from one strophe to the next (bbb, ccc, ddd, etc.), followed by a final element that rhymes with the refrain (*a*) but reproduces exactly half of the refrain’s lines and rhymes. This element is termed *markaz*. Furthermore, all the *ghuṣns* in the poem are symmetrical, although they may be couched in a different meter from that of the *markazes*. The latter, in turn, are also nor-

mally symmetrical. Thus, one archetypal form of *zajal* (of which subsequent developments are complications resulting from the addition of internal rhyme) exhibits the rhyme-scheme AA, bbba (AA), ccca (AA), ddda (AA), etc.³⁷

The basic *muwashshaḥa* pattern is similar to that of the *zajal* except that its *markazes* reproduce the entire set of lines and rhymes found in the refrain: AA, bbbaa (AA), cccaa (AA), dddaa (AA), etc.³⁸ Three further differences are: (1) About one-third of the extant Andalusī *muwashshaḥas* lack the initial refrain. (2) An overwhelming number of *muwashshaḥas* are only five strophes long, whereas *zajals* are often considerably longer. (3) The final *markaz* of the poem, technically called *kharja*, is usually in the vernacular; it is introduced as a quotation and, in many cases, it can be shown that it actually is a quotation from another *zajal* or *muwashshaḥa*, normally a refrain, but sometimes a *kharja* from a previous poem. To further complicate matters, there exists a hybrid form, linguistically in vernacular Arabic throughout, like the *zajal* proper, which I have already described, but containing *markazes* that duplicate the full set of lines and rhymes found in the refrain, as occurs in the *muwashshaḥa*. This form which, following Stern's terminology, I shall designate the "*muwashshaḥa*-like *zajal*", in contrast to the "*zajal* proper",³⁹ further coincides with the *muwashshaḥa* in that it may be refrainless, it often ends with a quotational *kharja*, and is usually five strophes long. Structurally, the hybrid is thus a *muwashshaḥa*, whereas linguistically it is a *zajal*. The fact that the *zajal* is entirely in the vernacular, whereas the vernacular element in the *muwashshaḥa* is confined to the *kharja*, and that the structure of the *zajal* proper is simpler than that of the *muwashshaḥa*, of itself tends to suggest that the *zajal* form is the more ancient of the two, and that the *muwashshaḥa* is a later, learned imitation.

Nonetheless, at this juncture we are confronted with a serious problem of documentation, for we are specifically informed by one medieval Arab scholar that the *muwashshaḥa* was *invented* toward the end of the 3rd/9th century by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd of Cabra, a court poet of the Cordoban *amīr* 'Abd Allāh (r. 275/888-300/912).⁴⁰ Muḥammad's poems, and those of his immediate successors, have been lost,⁴¹ so that it is not until the beginning of the 5th/11th century that we possess surviving texts, the earliest of which were composed by 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā' (d. 418/1027).⁴² In contrast, whereas we are not told who invented the *zajal*,⁴³ the earliest extant poems known until recently were those of Ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160).

This means that *zajal* texts only surface around two centuries after the invention of the *muwashshaḥa*, and less than a century after the earliest surviving *muwashshaḥa*.⁴⁴ Following a positivistic train of reasoning, most scholars have therefore assumed that the *zajal* is a derivative of the *muwashshaḥa*, and have sought to explain their position in terms of a process whereby the masses took over a learned and courtly genre and turned it into a more popular *gesunkenes Kulturgut*.⁴⁵ Such a hypothesis, however, ignores one

important point: by no means may Ibn Quzmān or his successors be considered popular poets simply because they composed in the vernacular. In fact, they are all learned poets, just as learned as authors of *muwashshahas*, for, as has been pointed out previously, the line between one genre and the other was often crossed by the same poet. Ibn Quzmān himself has left us one *muwashshaha* that is the product of his own hand.⁴⁶ Nor were his *zajals* composed for the common people. Instead, the majority of them are panegyrics dedicated to wealthy and learned patrons, whereas the love poems he composed, while they often include popular themes, also exhibit a thorough knowledge of classical Arabic thematic conventions and literary history.

A further factor is that the structure of the Andalusī *zajal* proper coincides arrestingly with that of the most primitive and widespread type of Romance *zajalesque* poetry, specifically with the Castilian *zéjeles*, French *virelais*, Galician *cantigas*, Italian *ballate*, and Provençal *dansas*.⁴⁷ In contrast, the classical poetry of the Arabs can provide no precise or convincing parallels to the *zajal*.⁴⁸ We are therefore very much entitled to suspect that the Andalusī *zajal* may have taken over the prosodic form of a pre-existent Romance genre that was already widespread in Western Romania when the Arabs conquered the Iberian Peninsula.

This entirely legitimate suspicion has, in recent times, been hotly contested, often with less knowledge than intemperateness, by a number of scholars who are, at best, correct in stressing that the putative Romance congeners of the Andalusī *zajal* are all documented later than the poems of Ibn Quzmān.⁴⁹ The possibility therefore arises, as they seek to establish, that the Romance *zajal* could have derived from its Andalusī Arabic congener, rather than the reverse. According to such a hypothesis, we are led back to the moot question concerning the Arabic origins of Romance lyrical poetry.

In the preceding exposition, an attempt has been made to present, as briefly as possible, the results of scholarly research amounting to a vast bibliography on the subject. As with all summaries, one is fully aware that suppression of nuances may lead to oversimplification. Synthesis has, nevertheless, been necessary in the interests of clarity. The above account isolates three major questions: One, which came first, the *zajal* or the *muwashshaha*? Two, which influenced the other, Romance or Arabic strophic poetry? Three, where did the close encounter take place, in Provence or in the Iberian Peninsula? Partisans of the Arabic thesis have, quite naturally, claimed priority for the *muwashshaha*, which they have attempted to derive from classical Arabic poetry. Subsequent to its invention, they add, the classical *muwashshaha* was taken over by the populace and transformed into the colloquial *zajal*, which was eventually acclimatised in Romance. Until recently, such scholars have had documentable chronology to back up their notions.

In contrast, partisans of the Romance thesis, since they lack sufficiently early documentation to support their views, have had to assume the existence

of a Romance folk lyric from which the *muwashshaḥa* derived through its vernacular *kharja*. Thereafter, they assert, the *zajal* derived from the *muwashshaḥa* by the same process of popularisation proposed by their rivals, for on this one issue the two antagonistic camps seem to agree. Both hypotheses leave much unexplained, particularly the perplexing question of meter, which one group views as a mere expansion of the classical Arabic quantitative system, and the other as an adoption into Arabic of the stress-syllabic metrics of Romance.

The metrical problem needs further study; it is too complicated a matter to deal with technically and *in extenso* on this occasion, and is a subject to which I shall return elsewhere. Let it suffice to say here, that a few *muwashshaḥas* and *zajals* are couched in the classical meters of the Arabs, whereas the vast majority are based either on fragments, or on distortions of such meters, which have acquired a striking stress-rhythm unknown to the classical Arabic tradition. In this respect, the difference between the monorhymed and the strophic Arabic forms is not unlike the difference between quantitative classical and stressed medieval Latin poetry. Furthermore, where metrical fragments or distortions of the *Khalilian* meters are present, they coincide in all cases with the rhythms, rhyme-schemes, and number of syllables per line found in the ordinary patterns of Ibero-Romance poetry of a popular type. Another typical feature of Andalusī strophic poetry is that it mixes meters, closely resembling, in this respect, the Hispano-Romance rather than the Arabic tradition.

In a recent publication, Professor Samuel G. Armistead and I suggested some new and urgent reasons why it is more convincing to view the *muwashshaḥa* as a derivative of an early and truly popular *zajal* genre in vernacular Arabic and Romance, now lost, which existed orally.⁵⁰ This suggestion was substantiated more fully, on the basis of internal evidence, in a second article.⁵¹ For the purposes of the present discussion, a summary of our arguments goes as follows: it is a characteristic feature of the *muwashshaḥa* genre that each poem must end in a *kharja* usually composed in the vernacular, either Arabic or Romance. In this respect, the *kharja* contrasts thematically and linguistically with what precedes it. Not only are we specifically told by a prominent medieval Arab theoretician that the inventor of the *muwashshaḥa* back in the late 3rd/9th century, "quoted colloquial Arabic and Romance diction, which he called the *markaz* [= *kharja*], and based the *muwashshaḥa* upon it",⁵² but we are also able to show that later, when examples become available, in many instances these *kharjas* are texts actually quoted from the refrain of a previous poem which the poet happens to be imitating in structure (*mu'araḍa*). We therefore have solid proof that the *kharja* is an independent poetic nucleus out of which the *muwashshaḥa* was built. I further pointed out that since the *kharja* of a later poem is usually in the vernacular, and is preferentially borrowed from the refrain of a previous

poem, we are dealing with a phenomenon in which *kharjas* are, as can often be documented, actual refrains from earlier *zajals*. This can be proven from the moment texts surface, but it also suggests that the same process may have been going on during the undocumented period, perhaps as far back as the time when the *muwashshaha* was invented. Whatever the case may be, from the moment of its emergence into the glare of history, the *muwashshaha* rests upon the *zajal* proper rather than the reverse.

Furthermore, it would be difficult to find a logical explanation for this singular phenomenon of quotation, unless we take into account a further factor that has not been fully appreciated until recently: *muwashshahas* and *zajals* were not poems intended primarily for reading or recitation. Instead, it can be demonstrated that, unlike classical Arabic poetry, but very much like their putative Romance congeners, they were essentially songs. In this respect, Averroes, in commenting on Aristotle's *Poetics* around the year 570/1174, discusses a passage in which Aristotle distinguishes among three means of artistic representation: rhythm, language, and tune. Aristotle indicates that they may be used either separately or in combination. To illustrate this point to his Arab readers, Averroes resorts to an example taken from Arabic literature:

Each of these means may occur separately from the others, like tune in flute-playing; rhythm in dance; and representation in utterances, I mean, in imitative non-rhythmic statements. Or all three may be brought together, like what is found among us in the kind of poems called *muwashshahāt* and *azjāl*, these being the ones the people of this peninsula have devised in this tongue. ... There is no melody in the poems of the Arabs. Indeed, they have either meter alone or both meter and representation.⁵³

In the process of commenting upon Aristotle, Averroes thus makes an important distinction: unlike classical Arabic poetry ("the poems of the Arabs"), which lacks melody (although, we might add, it could be, and often was, set to music), *muwashshahas* and *zajals* are essentially songs; he implies that they are normally composed to pre-existing tunes.

Furthermore, these strophic songs were composed to be sung in chorus as follows: First a soloist sang the refrain, which was repeated by the chorus. Then he sang the first strophe, ending on a word that rhymed with the refrain. This provided a cue to the chorus that the refrain was to be sung by them. After they had repeated the refrain, the soloist sang the second strophe, and so on.⁵⁴ Not only do we possess ample evidence, both medieval and modern, both internal and external, both Arabic, Hebrew, and Romance, for this method of performance, which I have provided in detail elsewhere,⁵⁵ but it has survived until the present in public performances of the North African *zajal*.⁵⁶ In fact, an understanding of the performance situation helps to explain the otherwise bewildering rhyme-scheme of the genre.

It follows that the function of the *kharja* in a *muwashshaha* is not only poetic, but also melodic in a very practical sense, for it indicates to future

singers, in a culture lacking a system for melodic notation, the precise tune to which a given text should be sung. Add to the preceding remarks that, in general terms, a refrain must necessarily contain at least two poetic lines or hemistichs, coinciding with two musical bars, and we can postulate a generative explanation for the structural difference between the *zajal* and the *muwashshaḥa*: if the commonest type of *zajal* refrain has two lines, as is the case; if a *muwashshaḥa* poet sets out to contrafact such a *zajal*; and if he begins by borrowing its refrain, as we know often happened, then the *muwashshaḥa* he builds onto his borrowed *kharja* must reproduce the full rhyme-scheme of the *kharja* in its preceding *markazes*, and indeed, in its own refrain, otherwise the resulting poem will be asymmetrical (i.e: AA, bbba [AA], ccca [AA], ddda [AA], eeea [AA], fffaa [AA]). Thus the structural difference between *zajal* and *muwashshaḥa* can be explained if we assume that the *zajal* was not the *muwashshaḥa*'s sister, but rather its mother. As a result, the priority in time of the *zajal* to the *muwashshaḥa* becomes a factor of crucial importance to our understanding of the entire phenomenon.

In two recent articles, I gathered documentary evidence in support of this view.⁵⁷ Not only does Ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160) speak of his predecessors in the *zajal* genre, going back to a century before him, but a *zajal* by one of these poets has surfaced. Likewise, there are Hebrew poems exhibiting the *zajal* structure in the corpus of Ibn Gabirol (ca. 411/1020-449/1057).

An Arabic manuscript copied in 440-1/1049, although the original must be considerably older, since our text is a translation of a Latin original from the Visigothic period, contains excerpts of Canon Law for the use of Mozarabs, one of which states:

It is not permitted for clergymen to attend performances or *zajals* in weddings and drinking parties; but rather, they must leave before the appearance of such musical performances and dancers, and withdraw from them.⁵⁸

A treatise on the regulation of Andalusi markets written by a market-inspector named Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, who was living in 319/931, provides further information:

Those who go about the markets [singing] *zajals*, *azyād* [?] and other types [of song] are forbidden to do so when [people] are being summoned to Holy War, or when they are being exhorted to go to the Hijāz [in pilgrimage]. But [if] they exhort people to participate [in the above enterprises] in a seemly manner, there is no harm in it.⁵⁹

From this data, it becomes clear that the *zajal* was a very old form in the Iberian Peninsula, that its origins were oral and popular, and that its existence antedated the invention of the *muwashshaḥa* by at least two centuries.

At this point, It becomes necessary to quote a famous passage by the Andalusi author Ibn Bassām (wrote ca. 499/1106-502/1109). The text both describes the *muwashshaḥa*, and gives a chronological account of its development:

The *muwashshahas* are rhythms that the people of Andalus used copiously in the [erotic genres of] *ghazal* and *nasib*, such that carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts, are broken upon hearing them. The first to compose the rhythms of these *muwashshahas* in our country, and to invent their method of composition, as far as I have determined, was Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī, the Blind. He used to compose them after the manner of the hemistichs of classical Arabic poetry (except that most of them were [composed] after the manner of the non-existent, hypothetical meters that are not used [in classical Arabic poetry]), by quoting colloquial Arabic and Romance diction, which he called the *markaz* [= *kharja*], and basing the *muwashshaha* upon it, without any internal rhyming in [the *markaz*] or in the *ghuṣns*. It has been claimed [as an alternate tradition] that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, the author of the *Kitāb al-‘Iqd*, was the first to [compose] *muwashshahas* of this type among us. Then appeared Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī, who was the first to extend the use of internal rhyming into the *markazes*, employing it at every caesura he came to, but in the *markaz*, exclusively. The poets of our age continued after this fashion, such as Mukarram b. Sa‘īd and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan’s two sons. Then there appeared our ‘Ubāda [b. Mā’ al-Samā’] who invented the [technique] of *tadfir*, that is to say, he reinforced the caesurae in the *ghuṣns* by adding internal rhyming to them, just as al-Ramādī had reinforced the caesurae in the *markaz*. The rhythms of these *muwashshahas* lie beyond the scope of this anthology, since the majority of them are not [composed] after the manner of the meters [found] in the classical poems of the Arabs. For this reason, in this chapter I have selected, from among ‘Ubāda’s classical poetry, along with other [classical] writings of his [to the exclusion of the non-classical], that which will demonstrate his precellence and superiority.⁶⁰

Ibn Bassām was a learned scholar, well-grounded in the tradition of medieval Arabic poetics, and, when viewed from within that tradition, his description of the *muwashshaha* is anything but the garbled statement it has seemed to some of his modern readers. In his account, the *muwashshaha* is described in terms of its origin and historical development, and in terms of its similarities to, and differences from the standard set by classical Arabic poetry. In the latter instance, it is helpful to recall that one of the most famous definitions of classical Arabic poetry was that proposed by Qudāma b. Ja‘far of Baghdad (d. after 320/932), whose formulation was “poetry is measured, rhymed speech, indicating a given meaning”.⁶¹ This definition, along with the ensuing analysis provided by Qudāma, distinguishes four basic elements in classical poetry: meter, rhyme, word and meaning.

Seen from the perspective of these four parameters, Ibn Bassām’s description of the *muwashshaha* gains much in coherence: as far as *meter* is concerned, he tells us that, although the poems were not in the Khalilian meters, they did possess certain “rhythms” which resemble hypothetical meters not actually used in Arabic poetry. By adding that the poems were based on a colloquial *markaz* quoted by the poet, Ibn Bassām further provides a compelling reason for this strange departure from the Khalilian metrical system. With regard to *rhyme*, our author mentions the terms *markaz* and *ghuṣn*, thereby implying that at its earliest stage of development, the

muwashshaha was already strophic, and exhibited the typical alternation of end-rhymes known to us from later specimens. In contrast, internal rhyme developed gradually. At first there was none.⁶² Then, it was added to the *markazes*, and eventually to the *ghuṣns*. When it comes to *wording*, Ibn Bassām zeroes in on the major difference in this area between classical poetry and the *muwashshaha*, by pointing out that the latter's final *markaz*, also known as *kharja*, was in colloquial Arabic and Romance, adding that this colloquial element was a borrowed one, upon which the poet based his poem. In discussing *meaning* or *content*, Ibn Bassām affirms that the Andalusī *muwashshaha* was employed chiefly as a medium for love poetry.

His account indicates that the *muwashshaha*, far from being a genre of popular poetry, was an *invention* introduced into Arabic literature by a learned poet. Since it was, however, based upon a colloquial genre, namely the *zajal*, it must have been similar to, and also different from the model upon which it was built. The author further adds that this invention was made in Andalus, by an Andalusī poet; that it was improved upon by later Andalusī poets, and that it was much cultivated by the people of Andalus. Inasmuch as this new genre was based upon *markazes* couched in colloquial Arabic and Romance diction, our text also implies that the quantitative metrical patterns and strophic structure of the early *muwashshaha* were adjustments designed to adapt Arabic scansion and prosody to that of colloquial poetry in Arabic and Romance. Since these two traditions were not quantitative, this inevitably led to disturbances of the Khalilian system so drastic in nature that little can be gained by viewing this poetry as based on the Khalilian system. Our passage further states that at least one type of early *muwashshaha* was composed of lines made up of hemistichs, of which the first was unrhymed. This feature is a major characteristic of a predominant form of the Romance and Arabic *zajal*. Ibn Bassām goes on to affirm that internal rhymes were later added to this form of *muwashshaha*, first in the *markazes*, and then in the *ghuṣns*, in that order. Unfortunately, this information cannot be verified on the basis of the actual *muwashshahas* that have come down to us, because the earliest extant poems are those of 'Ubāda, who put the finishing touches on the process of internal rhyming. Nonetheless, the Andalusī *zajal* provides very valuable confirmation for Ibn Bassām's account of the development of the *muwashshaha*. Among the 149 poems contained in the *Diwān* of Ibn Quzmān, there are 82 simple compositions without caesurae. Next in order of importance come 40 compound *zajals* with internal, *unrhymed* hemistichs throughout the poem (al-Qabrī type), exactly as one finds in the majority of Romance *zajals*. There follow 17 poems with internal rhyming both in the *markazes* and the *ghuṣns* ('Ubāda type), and 10 with internal rhyming in the *markazes* alone (al-Ramādī type). In other words, in the *zajal* we find a survival of equivalents to all the lost forms alluded to by Ibn Bassām for the *muwashshaha*. The 7th/13th-century Tunisian author al-Tifāshī, in a chapter

on Andalusi music, explicitly states that "the songs of the people of Andalus were, in ancient times, either in the style of the Christians, or in the style of the Arab camel-drivers".⁶³ He adds that much later the philosopher and musician Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139) "combined the songs of the Christians with those of the East, thereby inventing a style found only in Andalus, toward which the temperament of its people inclined so that they rejected all others".⁶⁴ This musical tradition, based largely on *muwashshahās* and *zajals*, has survived to the present in North Africa. In a recent monograph written in collaboration with Benjamin M. Liu,⁶⁵ we noted that the melodic structure of these songs, as they are performed today in North Africa, is essentially that of the medieval European *rondeau* and *virelai*. Nor were we the first to point this out. In two pioneering studies of modern Andalusi music, which relied on lyrics from Morocco and Tunisia, Jozef M. Pacholczyk also noted that this tradition was one of *rondeaux*.⁶⁶ Our own study included far more texts, a few of them certifiable medieval Andalusi lyrics, from a different and more extensive collection than Pacholczyk's. It fully confirms his conclusions. Pacholczyk added that the arresting similarity between the *rondeau* patterns of modern Andalusi music and those of medieval Romance lyrics allowed only two possibilities: either the Arabs had borrowed the *rondeau* melodic structure from medieval Romance, or the reverse had occurred. At this stage in his investigations, Pacholczyk wisely rested his case. The exclusively *musical* evidence with which he worked was insufficient to reveal the direction in which the strikingly obvious influence had gone. Relying, as we did, on numerous other medieval Arabic and European texts, many of them *literary* and therefore not commonly known to musicologists, we were able to affirm that the direction of the musical influence was *from* medieval Romance *to* Arabic music. Not only is the *rondeau* melodic pattern used in North Africa of Romance origin, but the modern Andalusi tradition of Morocco exhibits a typically European absence of the quarter-tones that characterise Eastern Arab music,⁶⁷ while several of its modes are Gregorian rather than Oriental.⁶⁸ This finding has at least one important implication: the fact that al-Tifāshī and other medieval Arabs were in no doubt that Romance music in Andalus had significantly altered their own song tradition at an early stage in its development shows that the theory according to which Provençal troubadour lyrics had their origin in a model provided by Hispano-Arabic poetry needs some rethinking. Put differently, the "Arab" music and poetry of Andalus—said contemporary Arab witnesses—had already been modified by Hispano-Romance music and poetry.

One would feel more comfortable in accepting as conclusive the above evidence, some, though by no means all of which is circumstantial, if it could be shown that strophic poetry specifically couched in Romance actually existed in Andalus at an early date. In this instance, the Jewish philosopher Maimonides comes to our rescue. Writing in Andalus, ca. 560/1165

in his commentary to the Mishnah entitled *Kitāb al-Sirāj*, he engages in a discussion on whether or not the singing of *muwashshahas* at weddings and drinking parties is permissible. He complains that certain benighted doctors of the Jewish Law forbid the singing of poems in Arabic, even poems highly moral in content, whereas they permit the singing of even the most unedifying songs, as long as they are in Hebrew. Contrary to prevailing opinion, Maimonides proceeds to argue that

if there are two *muwashshahas* on the same subject, namely one that arouses and praises the instinct of lust, and encourages the soul to [practise] it ... , and if one of these two *muwashshahas* is in Hebrew, and the other is either in Arabic or in Romance, why then, listening to, and uttering the one in Hebrew is the most reprehensible thing one can do in the eyes of the Holy Law, because of the excellence of the Hebrew language, for it is not appropriate to employ [Hebrew] in what is not excellent.⁶⁹

One can only infer from this passage that, in the Andalusi environment, strophic compositions in Romance were commonly heard indeed, and one is therefore entitled to suspect rather strongly that these Romance songs so delighted the hearts of their Arab audiences that their *metrical form* was adopted early on as a vehicle for two poetic genres, the language, imagery and literary conventions of which were, nonetheless, inherited from the Arab tradition. If I am not entirely wrong in my assumptions, this process of hybridisation is what gave rise to the *zajal* and its daughter, the *muwashshaha*. If this theory is not unsound, we would have a very unique case in which Arabic-language poets borrowed elements from the local, native tradition, upon which they then impressed their own inimitable stamp.

¹ Two preliminary versions of this study were delivered, respectively, on April 20, 1990, as the keynote address to the Eleventh Medieval Forum held at Plymouth State College, Plymouth, New Hampshire, and on November 29, 1990, in the Departments of Comparative Literature, and Spanish and Classics, University of California, Davis.

² *Dell' origine della poesia rimata*, ed. Girolamo Tiraboschi, Modena, 1790.

³ See, especially, Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship*, Manchester, 1976; María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*, Philadelphia, 1987; Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, English translation, James A. Bellamy and Patricia Owen Steiner, *The Banners of the Champions, An Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond*, Madison, 1989.

⁴ A study of 'Udhri poetry, however, raises the serious question of whether it was actually the product of illiterate Arabian bedouins, as the native Arab tradition claims, or whether it was a poetry composed in Umayyad times by literate city-dwellers nostalgically attempting to idealise their desert past. I am personally inclined toward the latter view, and think that the corpus would be understood better if it were studied as an analogue to the European pastoral tradition.

⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, Córdoba, 384/994-456/1064. Arabic text and translation in James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1974, pp. 172-73, C, ll. 5-6.

⁶ Ibn Zaydūn, Córdoba, 394/1003-463/1071. Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 178-79, l. 9.

⁷ For a classical example of this technique, see the description of Wallāda in the central lines 24 to 28 of Ibn Zaydūn's *nūniyya*, in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 180-83. For a

muwašṣaḥa, see James T. Monroe, "The Structure of An Arabic *Muwašṣaḥ* With a Bilingual *Kharja*", *Edebiyât*, 1/1, 1976, pp. 113-23. For a *zajal*, see James T. Monroe, "Wanton Poets and Would-Be Paleographers (Prolegomena to Ibn Quzmân's *Zajal* No. 10)", *La Corónica*, 16, 1987, pp. 1-42.

⁸ For an overall study and classification of the topoi common to Hispano-Arabic poetry, see Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle; ses aspects généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire*, 2d ed., Paris, 1953.

⁹ Ibn Ḥazm, Córdoba, 384/994-456/1064. Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 173-74, F, l. 7.

¹⁰ Ibn Zaydūn, Córdoba, 394/1003-463/1071. Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 181-82, l. 33.

¹¹ Ibn Zaydūn, Córdoba, 394/1003-463/1071. Arabic text and translation in A. J. Arberry, *Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 116-17, l. 15.

¹² Ibn Zaydūn, Córdoba, 394/1003-463/1071. Arabic text and translation in Arberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17, l. 10.

¹³ Ibn Zaydūn, Córdoba, 394/1003-463/1071. Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 184, n. 37.

¹⁴ Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, Masila, 390/1000-456/1064. Arabic text in Emilio García Gómez, *El libro de las banderas de los campeones, de Ibn Sa'īd al-Magribī*, Madrid, 1942, reprint, 1978, p. 102, No. 286; Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, ed. Al-Nu'mān 'Abd al-Muta'al al-Qaḍi, Cairo, 1973, p. 138. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 67, No. 65.

¹⁵ Straton, *Mousa Paidikē*, in *The Greek Anthology*, translated by W. R. Paton, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Mass.), 1979, Vol. 4, Book 12, p. 379, No. 191.

¹⁶ Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 180-81, l. 14.

¹⁷ Arabic text and translation in *ibid.*, pp. 156-57, ll. 15-17.

¹⁸ Arabic text and translation in *ibid.*, p. 182, l. 26.

¹⁹ Arabic text and translation in James T. Monroe, "Two New Bilingual *kharjas* (Arabic and Romance) in Hispano-Arabic *Muwašṣaḥs*", *Hispanic Review*, 42, 1974, pp. 251-53.

²⁰ Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, ed. and trans. John Jay Parry, New York, 1941.

²¹ Arabic text in Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-ḥamāma fī 'l-ulfa wa 'l-ullāf*, ed. Ḥasan Kāmil al-Sayrafi and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo, 1959, p. 43. My translation.

²² Arabic text in García Gómez, *op. cit.*, p. 49, No. 124; Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, p. 80. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 200, No. 189. See, too, Cola Franzen, *Poems of Arab Andalusia*, San Francisco, 1989, p. 81. An older translation of *Rāyāt*, which failed to make an impact on the English speaking world, possibly because of the stiltedly Victorian quality of its diction, also exists. See, A. J. Arberry, *Moorish Poetry: A Translation of 'The Pennants', An Anthology Compiled in 1243 by the Andalusian Ibn Sa'īd*, Cambridge, 1953.

²³ Arabic text and translation in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 182-83, l. 29.

²⁴ Arabic text in A. R. Nykl, *Mukhtārāt min al-shi'r al-Andalusī*, Beirut, 1949, p. 12, No. 2; English translation in A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore, 1946, pp. 20-21.

²⁵ Arabic text in García Gómez, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, No. 204; Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, p. 104. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 187, No. 176. See, too, Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

²⁶ Arabic text in García Gómez, *op. cit.*, p. 79, No. 225; Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, pp. 111-12. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 202, No. 191.

²⁷ Arabic text in García Gómez, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, No. 98; Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, p. 72. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 188, No. 177. See, too, Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

²⁸ Arabic text in García Gómez, *op. cit.*, p. 80, No. 228; Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt*, p. 113. English translation in Bellamy and Owen Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 64, No. 62.

²⁹ "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwašṣaḥs hispano-hébraïques: une contribution à l'histoire du muwašṣaḥ et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol 'mozarabe'", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 299-346.

³⁰ "Veinticuatro ḥarṡas romances en muwašṣaḥas árabes", *Al-Andalus*, 17, 1952, pp. 57-127.

³¹ On the oral-formulaic nature of pre-Islamic poetry, see the applications of the Parry-Lord theory by James T. Monroe, "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 3, 1972, pp. 1-53, and Michael Zwieter, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications*, Columbus, 1978.

³² See Gotthold Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden, 1958; "Arūd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, pp. 667-77.

³³ For the *muwashshaha*, see Ibn Bassām, *Kitāb al-dhakhira fi mahāsin ahl al-jazīra*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1978, I, 469; Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-muqataṭaf min azāhir al-turaf*, ed. Sayyid Ḥanafī, Cairo, 1983, p. 255; Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, *Dār al-tirāz fi 'amal al-muwashshahāt*, ed. Jawdat Rikābi, Damascus, 1949, pp. 39-40; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, New York, 1958, III, 440. For the *zajal*, see Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-muqataṭaf*, p. 263; Wilhelm Hoenerbach, *Die Vulgararabische Poetik Al-Kitāb al-Āṭil al-Ḥālī Wal-Murahḥas al-Gālī des Saḥyaddīn Ḥillī*, Wiesbaden, 1956, p. 16. For both genres, see Ibn Rushd, *Il commento medio de Averroë alla Poetica di Aristotele*, ed. Fausto Lasinio, Pisa, 1872, I, 2-3.

³⁴ See, for example, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, *Al-Zajal fi 'l-Andalus*, Cairo, 1957; Emilio García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972, 3 vols; Samuel Miklos Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, ed. Leonard Patrick Harvey, Oxford, 1974.

³⁵ See Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-muqataṭaf*; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, III, 440-55; Ibn Rushd, *Il commento medio*, loc cit.

³⁶ Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁷ An alternate type of *zajal* is one in which the refrain exhibits an AB rhyme-scheme.

³⁸ For a more complete listing of rhyme-schemes, see Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170. Given the hybrid nature of this type of poem, one could just as easily call it the "zajal-like *muwashshaha*".

⁴⁰ Ibn Bassām, *Kitāb al-dhakhira*, p. 469. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, p. 440, following Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-muqataṭaf*, p. 255, incorrectly gives the name of the inventor of the genre as Muqaddam Ibn Mu'āfa of Cabra. But see Al-Ahwānī, "El 'Kitāb al-Muqataṭaf min azāhir al-turaf' de Ibn Sa'īd", *Al-Andalus*, 12, 1948, pp. 19-33.

⁴¹ They had already vanished by the time of Ibn Khaldūn, and perhaps even earlier. See *The Muqaddima*, vol. cit., p. 441.

⁴² Two poems by 'Ubāda are published in Sayyid Ghāzī, *Dīwān al-muwashshahāt al-Andalusīyya*, Alexandria, I, 5-10.

⁴³ Khillī is vague concerning who invented the *zajal*, thereby betraying that, in fact, the inventor was unknown. See Hoenerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁴ Obviously, *zajals* could very well have existed, and did exist, long before they were written down.

⁴⁵ The above, generally speaking, is the view of al-Ahwānī, García Gómez and Stern.

⁴⁶ Arabic text and Spanish translation in García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, II, 904-07.

⁴⁷ For a recent reappraisal of the relationship between the Arabic *zajal* and these putative Romance congeners, see Vicente Beltrán Papió, "De zéjeles y dansas: orígenes y formación de la estrofa con vuelta", *Revista de Filología Española*, 64, 1984, pp. 239-66.

⁴⁸ The *musammat*, which has often been loudly trumpeted as a source of origin for the Andalusī strophic forms, is an entirely different and unrelated phenomenon, as I shall demonstrate in a forthcoming study.

⁴⁹ See especially, T. J. Gorton, "The Metres of Ibn Quzmān: A 'Classical' Approach", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 6, 1975, pp. 1-29; Alan Jones, "Romance Scansion and the Muwashshahāt: An Emperor's New Clothes?" *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 11, 1980, pp. 36-55; *idem*, "Sunbeams from Cucumbers? An Arabist's Assessment of the State of Kharja Studies", *La Corónica*, 10, 1981-1982, pp. 38-53; *idem*, "Eppur si muove", *La Corónica*, 12, 1983-1984, pp. 45-70; *idem*, *Romance Kharjas in Andalusian Arabic Muwashshah Poetry: A Palaeographic Analysis*, London, 1988; J. D. Latham, "New Light on the Scansion of an Old Andalusian Muwashshaha", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 27, 1982, pp. 61-75; *idem*, "The Prosody of an Andalusian Muwashshaha Reexamined", in *Arabian and Islamic Studies ... Presented to R. B. Serjeant*, ed. R. L. Bidwell and G. R. Smith, London-New York, 1983, pp. 86-99; David Semah, "Quantity and Syllabic Parity in the Hispano-Arabic Muwashshaha", *Arabica*, 31, 1984, pp. 80-107. To the above penchant for minimising or, more alarmingly, just

ignoring the Romance elements in Andalusī strophic poetry, thus producing far more heat than light, contrast García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*; Federico Corriente Córdoba, *Gramática, métrica y texto del cancionero de Aban Quzmān*, Madrid, 1980; *idem*, "The Metres of the Muwaššaha, an Andalusian Adaptation of 'Arūd: A Bridging Hypothesis", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 13, 1982, pp. 76-82; *idem*, "Métrica hebrea cuantitativa, métrica de la poesía estrófica andalusí y 'arūd", *Sefarad*, 46, 1986, pp. 124-32; *idem*, *Ibn Quzmān: el cancionero hispanoárabe*, Madrid, 1984, 2nd ed., *Ibn Quzmān: Cancionero andalusí*, Madrid, 1989; *idem*, *Poesía estrófica (céjeles y lo muwaššahāt) atribuida al místico granadino Aṣ-Šuštārī (siglo XII d. C.)*, Madrid, 1988; Ulf Haxen, "Ḥarḡas in Hebrew Muwaššahas (A Plea for 'A Third Approach')", *Al-Qanṭara*, 3, 1982, pp. 473-82; James T. Monroe, "¿Pedir peras al olmo? On Medieval Arabs and Modern Arabists", *La Corónica*, 10, 1981-1982, pp. 121-47; *idem*, "Poetic Quotation in the Muwaššaha and its Implications: Andalusian Strophic Poetry as Song", *La Corónica*, 14, 1986, pp. 230-50; *idem*, "A Sounding Brass and Tinkling Cymbal: Al-Khalil in Andalus (Two Notes on the Muwaššaha)", *La Corónica*, 15, 1987, pp. 252-58; *idem*, "Wanton Poets and Would-Be Paleographers (Prolegomena to Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal* No. 10)", Samuel G. Armistead, "Speed or Bacon? Further Meditations on Professor Alan Jones' 'Sunbeams'", *La Corónica*, 10, 1981-1982, pp. 148-55; Samuel G. Armistead and James T. Monroe, "Beached Whales and Roaring Mice: Additional Remarks on Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry", *La Corónica*, 13, 1985, pp. 206-42; Yosef Yahalom, "Aportaciones a la prosodia de la moaxaja a la luz de la literatura hebrea", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 34/2, 1985, pp. 6-25. For a review of the polemic, see Samuel G. Armistead, "A Brief History of Kharja Studies", *Hispania*, 70, 1987, pp. 8-15; Susan L. Einbinder, "The Current Debate on the Muwashshah", *Prooftexts*, 9, 1989, pp. 161-77.

⁵⁰ "Beached Whales and Roaring Mice".

⁵¹ Monroe, "Poetic Quotation".

⁵² Ibn Bassām, *Kitāb al-dhakḥira*, I, 469.

⁵³ Arabic text in Ibn Rushd, *Il commento medio de Averroes alla Poetica di Aristotele*, Part I, p. 3; English translation in Charles E. Butterworth, *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁴ Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6.

⁵⁵ "The Tune or the Words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 8, 1987, pp. 265-317.

⁵⁶ See 'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jarrārī, *Al-zajal fi 'l-Maghrib: al-qasida*, Rabat, 1970.

⁵⁷ "Ibn Quzmān on l'rāb: A zéjel de juglaría in Arab Spain?" in *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Joseph H. Silverman*, ed. Joseph V. Ricipito, Newark, Delaware, 1988, pp. 45-56; "Which Came First, the *Zajal* or the *Muwaššaha*? Some Evidence for the Oral Origins of Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry", *Oral Tradition*, 4/1-, 1989, pp. 38-64.

⁵⁸ Studied in Monroe, "Which Came First", pp. 45-46.

⁵⁹ Studied in *ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

⁶⁰ The Arabic text and above translation of this obscure, difficult and, therefore, often-misunderstood passage, are discussed and defended philologically in Armistead and Monroe, "Beached Whales", pp. 212-34.

⁶¹ S. A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd al-šī'r of Qudāma b. Ġa'far al-Kātib al-Baḡdādī*, Leiden, 1956, pp. 9/2.

⁶² Therefore, the *muwaššaha* could hardly have derived from the *musammaʿ*.

⁶³ Arabic text in Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, "Al-Ṭarā'iq wa 'l-alḥān al-mūsīqiyya fi Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus", *Al-Abḥāth: Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*, 21/1, 2, 3, December, 1968, p. 114; English translation in Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe, *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition: Music and Texts*, University of California Publications: Modern Philology, Vol. 125, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1989, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Arabic text in Al-Ṭanjī, *op. cit.*, p. 115; English translation in Liu and Monroe, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁶ "The Relationship between the Nawba of Morocco and the Music of the Troubadours and Trouvères", *The World of Music*, 25/2, 1983, pp. 5-16; "Rapporti tra le forme musicali della nawba andalusia dell'Africa settentrionale e le forme codificate della musica medievale europea", *Culture musicali: quaderni di etnomusicologia*, 3/5-6, 1984, pp. 19-42. See, too, Lois

Ibsen Al Faruqi, "Muwashshah: A Vocal Form in Islamic Culture", *Ethnomusicology*, 19, 1975, pp. 1-29; David Wulstan, "The *Muwašṣaḥ* and *Zajal* Revisited", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102/2, 1982, pp. 147-264.

⁶⁷ "The Editor's Column: La musique andalouse marocaine", *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 12: 3, 1989, p. 188.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶⁹ The Judeo-Arabic text is studied in James T. Monroe, "Maimonides on the Mozarabic Lyric (A Note on the *Muwašṣaḥ*)", *La Corónica*, 17/2, 1988-89, pp. 18-32. Translation and emphasis mine.

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IBN ḤAZM AND THE ṬAWQ AL-ḤAMĀMA

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Introduction

About three centuries after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, and shortly before or after the thirtieth year of his very eventful life, 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥazm (384/994-456/1064) settled down to a quiet existence as a scholar in Játiva, a town not his own. Ibn Ḥazm had been born in Córdoba, his father Aḥmad having served at the court of the 'Āmirid *hājibs* al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir, his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and his younger son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, nicknamed Sanchuelo, or Sanchol,¹ supposed regents for the Umayyad caliph. When Ibn Ḥazm was about fifteen, the 'Āmirid regime collapsed and a period of great disorder referred to by Arab historians as the *fitna* began. Aḥmad was placed under house arrest, where he died when Ibn Ḥazm was nineteen. The next fifteen years must have tested him to the extreme. An Umayyad loyalist, he was caught up in the violent struggles between the Umayyad and Ḥammudid aspirants to power. Before he was thirty, Ibn Ḥazm was twice vizier to Umayyad pretenders in Valencia and Córdoba, had seen battle, and had been imprisoned at least three times as a consequence of his loyalty to the dynasty.

I. The circumstances surrounding the Ṭawq

It was either following his second imprisonment in about 412/1022 or after his third imprisonment in 418/1027 that he wrote the *Ṭawq*.² At both times he is found at Játiva seeking safety in retreat from politics and peace of mind in scholarly study. The latter date, at least, marks his complete severance from the political career which had brought him so much danger and grief. The major focus of his life for the remaining four decades was to be history, law, philosophy, and theology.³ Yet, in this time when he sought to recover from many personal losses, he found it worthwhile to write a book on love and lovers, the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, or "The Dove's Neck Ring".⁴

He wrote the book at the request of a close friend, if we are to credit the circumstantial references in his preface. Ibn Ḥazm speaks of receiving his friend's letter sent from Almería bearing the news of his safety, after which the friend made a long and dangerous journey to Játiva to see Ibn Ḥazm face-to-face. These details lend credence to the understanding that this was an actual request, not the formal literary convention often seen. The friend may well have been Ibn Shuhayd (382/992-426/1035), poet and aristocrat,

brought up, like Ibn Ḥazm, at the Umayyad court and a close friend since childhood.

Such a request from a highly placed friend was not the sole justification for writing. Ibn Ḥazm regarded himself as particularly qualified to write the *Ṭawq*, having spent his youth until about the age of fourteen in the harem, and having been instructed by women in those years in Quran, poetry, and composition.⁵ Highly intelligent, observant, and sensitive, he acquired many insights into feminine psychology upon which he drew in writing the *Ṭawq*. Nevertheless, lest someone might accuse him of being interested too much in *hazl* (pleasantries) at the expense of the *jidd* (serious things, i. e., religious scholarship), Ibn Ḥazm, like some other serious Muslim scholars writing on love, also justified this project by recalling the Prophet Muḥammad's reported saying: "Rest (or recreate) your souls from time to time; they are apt to rust, in the same way that steel rusts", and two similar dicta of respected authorities.⁶

He returns again to this issue at the close of the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, revealing that the threat of criticism is not imaginary or merely possible. "I am aware that certain of my fanatical enemies will be shocked by my having composed a book of this kind. They will say, 'He has acted contrary to his professions, and deviated from his chosen path.'" He warns them against imputing impure motives to him, invoking both a Quranic verse (XLIX, 12) and a tradition of the Prophet warning against the sin of suspicion. He reminds them that, on the contrary, both a tradition and a maxim of the Companion 'Umar b. al-Khattāb advise that a Muslim should always put the best possible interpretation on the actions of a fellow-believer.⁷

Ibn Ḥazm wrote only one other belletristic work, the *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* ("A Treatise on the Merit of al-Andalus"), preserved only in al-Maqqarī's historical analects, the *Nafḥ al-ṭib*.⁸ The *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* also was nearly lost, although in the medieval period it was known to Arab Muslim scholars in both the Islamic East and West. It survived in a single manuscript⁹ copied by a rather careless scribe in 738/1338 and said to be only an epitome of the original. Yet, even as it stands, it is a masterpiece, a delightful window on the culture of Muslim Spain, an entrée into its intimate life. The fact that it was re-edited more than once since D. K. Petrof published the first edition of the Arabic text in 1914, and has been translated twice into English, as well as into German, French, Spanish, Italian and Russian is a testimony to the extraordinary interest the work has aroused.¹⁰

II. *The appeal of the Ṭawq*

The *Ṭawq*'s appeal to modern readers lies first in the timelessness of its subject, love. However, it must be said that most medieval Arabic works on love would be less appealing to modern readers than Ibn Ḥazm's book. The

special attractiveness of the *Ṭawq* is due to the fact that it is an exception to the tradition. He quite deliberately and in defiance of the practice of the time chose to illustrate his analyses of love's phenomena mainly with colourful anecdotes about himself and his fellow Andalusis, names and circumstantial details provided where possible. It was this difference which made the book a historical and social document. His narratives are lively and natural, and he uses the traditional ornaments of Arabic prose with a relatively light touch.

III. *Its relationship to a tradition*

Both Ibn Ḥazm and his friend Ibn Shuhayd are said to have prided themselves on breaking away from the slavish imitation of Syrian and Iraqi models, aspiring to literary expression that was more of their time and place, more direct and more Andalusī.¹¹ The three Arab authors before him essaying comprehensive, book-length treatments of love were Easterners and relied heavily on the quotation of the best poetry, opinions, traditions, and anecdotes from many sources. They were Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (255/868-297/910) with his *Kitāb al-zahra*, "The Book of the Flower", al-Washshā' (ca. 246/860-325/936), author of the *Kitāb al-muwashshā*, "The Brocaded", or "The Embroidered in Many Colours", and al-Kharā'iṭī (d. 237/938), with his *I'tilāl al-qulūb*, "The Malady of Hearts".¹² Ibn Dāwūd assembled an anthology of verses on love, together with definitions and sayings on love arranged in chapters headed by aphorisms on the phenomena of love that provided the organising theme for each. Al-Washshā' also reproduced poetry, sayings, anecdotes, and narratives from many traditional sources to supplement his comments on: 1) the subject of love; and 2) how to behave as a refined person, a *ẓarīf*. Al-Kharā'iṭī concentrated on the collection of traditions, anecdotes, and some verse and focused on passion as malady. These are not the only previous writers on love in Arabic, but they come nearest to undertaking the task that Ibn Ḥazm assumed. Exactly how much Ibn Ḥazm knew of these predecessors is not certain. Ibn Ḥazm refers once to an opinion expressed by Ibn Dāwūd (on which, a further word in a moment). Textual parallels in Ibn Ḥazm to al-Washshā' have been suggested¹³ though it must be said that some of these parallels are tenuous and the closest are of such a nature that they would seem to belong to categories of wisdom about love that were in general circulation. The same concepts or sayings recur in other works on love without any clue that their authors had seen or owned a copy of the *Muwashshā*. Whatever his mediating source, Ibn Ḥazm has used some of this fund of material on the nature of love. He has clearly drawn on the accumulated wisdom, sacred and secular, of Muslim scholarship and its heritage from antiquity, but he presents only what he himself with his critical mind believes to be correct or wishes to expose as false, and it is *his* poetry and largely his own anecdotes which illustrate his points.

Had he followed the practice of earlier authors on love and other *udabā'*, he would not have neglected to quote the famous poets and re-hash the lore of famous lovers. Certainly he could not have ignored the great poet-lovers of the Banū 'Udhra and their ilk. Yet this, in fact, is what he did, as he wrote to the friend to whom the *Ṭawq* was addressed:

I have kept in this book to the bounds set by you, limiting myself to things I have either seen with my own eyes, or I am convinced are true as deriving from a trustworthy reporter. Spare me those tales of Bedouins, and of lovers long ago! Their ways were not our ways, and the stories told of them are too numerous in any case. It is not my habit to wear out anybody's riding beast but my own; I am not one of those who deck themselves in borrowed plumes.¹⁴

After this refreshing departure by Ibn Ḥazm, writers of books on the theory of profane love resumed undisturbed the tradition of "wearing out other peoples' camels" and "dressing in borrowed adornments"; in other words, they kept to the habits of medieval Muslim scholarship, with its respect for the geniuses and authorities of the past and its enthusiasm for collecting their verses and *akhbār*. The best authors of books on love sought to make their individual mark through personal interpretation, opinion or argument on debated issues, but also by the presentation of a greater quantity and quality of collected materials of this sort. Some authors are essentially compilers.

Among the twenty-odd authors known to us who wrote treatises or books on profane love between the 3rd/9th and 11th/17th centuries, there were two general tendencies. One group was animated by literary, humanistic, even scientific interests, though its members wrote as pious Muslims. These writers on love celebrated the classic literary treasury of transmitted wisdom, poetry, tales, and anecdotes of love. The second group, exemplified most prominently by Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, was guided by a concern for the religious and moral questions entailed in love relationships.¹⁵ Ibn Ḥazm is an exceptional author in this respect also. His book could be said to encompass aspects of the two tendencies. Down to his two closing chapters on continence or chastity and the vileness of sinning, the *Ṭawq* is a literary work. Comments about ethical or moral aspects of each subject are integral to his own theory of love, in which nobility of character is essential. In the final two chapters he concentrates wholly on the moral struggle, though poetry and anecdote are still among his effective tools.

The ethos of the whole is modulated by the Islamic moral code, but among the sources of ideas on love the 'Udhri ideal of chaste profane love plays some role. Ibn Ḥazm says he will not repeat the stories of bedouins—a reference of course to the tales of chaste, unfulfilled love like those of Jamīl and Buthayna or Majnūn and Laylā because their ways are alien to himself and his contemporaries. Yet their ideal of chaste love and faithfulness to death *does* live on in his work: Fidelity or loyalty was the linchpin of his love ethics and of his personal life, as was chastity. His chapter on "Death" is

about love-death, the fate of many 'Udhri lovers, and the lives of his victims were not so different from that of the famous Majnūn Laylā and his cohorts.

In organising his subject, Ibn Ḥazm himself is not totally outside the tradition, in spite of his reliance on his own poetry and stories for illustration. The formal structure of the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* conforms to and reinforces a trend. It begins with a discussion of the definitions, essential nature, symptoms and causes of love, *māhiyyat al-ʿishq*, followed by the *aḥwāl*, analyses of the stages of love, with its adventures and misadventures, with everything illustrated by little case studies (anecdotes and stories). This shape is more or less discernible in the works on love which were to follow for the next several hundred years.¹⁶

One scholar has vehemently contrasted Ibn Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-zahra* ("full of exquisite affectation and effeminate pedantry,") with Ibn Ḥazm's *Ṭawq* ("natural and human, direct and warm").¹⁷ The impressions that led to this unfavourable assessment of Ibn Dāwūd are perhaps partly a function of the differing nature of the two literary efforts, though these are inevitably shaped by the personalities of the authors. The *Zahra* is largely a verse anthology that slips in a few of the author's own efforts, modestly hidden under indications such as "a contemporary" (*ba'd ahl hādihā al-ʿaṣr*), while the *Ṭawq* is a treatise with the author's verses proudly taking a solo role everywhere, though not the starring one (his prose takes that), serving to elaborate the argument. In their psychological cores however, in attitudes and in facets of love explored, there are many similarities between the two works.

They are particularly connected by a "courtly spirit" that they share. Chapter themes in the *Zahra*, as in the *Ṭawq*, touch therefore on aspects of love as unfulfilled longing and related thoughts on humility and fidelity to the beloved, forgiveness, patience, keeping the secret, and chaste conduct in lovers. The feature which makes the *Zahra* seem a book full of delicate sadness is that it centres on this unfulfilled longing under its various aspects, drawing upon all the themes and nuances of the lover's experience to be found in the Arab poetic tradition up to Ibn Dāwūd's time. Ibn Ḥazm's brighter spirit and his finding of these themes in the flesh-and-blood reality of his own life and that around him, described in lively prose, gives the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* a wholly different atmosphere. Yet the "courtly spirit" rules, and it is no accident surely that the only poetry other than the author's own finding its way into the book is five lines from al-Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. 190/806), the Abbasid poet noted for this same spirit. They slip into the book as the lyrics for a song which was sung to the lute one memorable afternoon at the family mansion at Rabaḍ al-Zāhira by a lovely but elusive slave girl who had for two years totally captured the heart of the adolescent Ibn Ḥazm.¹⁸

In the courtly style of love, unfulfilled longing may overwhelm the lover and passion (*ʿishq* or *hawā*) becomes a serious and finally fatal malady. Love-death is the phenomenon most chilling and baffling to contemplate,

but one which fascinated to one degree or another most writers on the theory of love. Of those who came after Ibn Ḥazm, Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Sarrāj (d. 500/1106) gathered a mass of material on it, and Muḡhulṭāi (d. 762/1361) dealt exclusively with the subject.¹⁹ The *Zahra* touches upon love-death briefly at the beginning of chapter eight, following the title "A Refined Person Will Be Chaste". The author quotes—with an *isnād*—the alleged *ḥadīth* from the Prophet declaring that those who love passionately but chastely (some versions add: "and keep the secret") and die, die as martyrs (some versions add: "and are brought into Paradise"). As if to validate his book with a seal of reality, Ibn Dāwūd himself is alleged to have died of love at thirty-two years of age, destroyed by chaste and unrequited affection for a Baghdadi pharmacist. According to the *ḵabar* on this event, he quoted the same *ḥadīth* on his deathbed.²⁰ Ibn Ḥazm quotes the same saying at the opening of his chapter on "Death", without an *isnād*, and even without attribution to any person, calling it "one of the *āthār*", a term which can mean a tradition of the Prophet or one of the Companions. He does not, for whatever reason, refer to the *ḵabar* about the circumstances surrounding the death of his Ṭāhirī predecessor.

He does make a point of mentioning the author of the *Zahra* once though he misrepresents him to some degree:

Men have held various views about the nature of love and have discussed it at great length. I hold that it is a joining of the parts of souls that were divided in these created beings, a reunion in their original sublime element, not as Muḡammad b. Dāwūd has said—God have mercy on him—referring to some philosophers, that spirits are segmented spheres, but rather according to an affinity of their powers in their abode in the sublime world and closeness in the way in which they are constituted.²¹

Whatever the precise interpretation that one puts on the Arabic text,²² it is evident that Ibn Ḥazm wants to score a scholarly point against the most famous of his predecessors, the only writer on love theory he chooses to mention. Ibn Dāwūd, in fact, only reported this theory with others saying: "One of the philosophers [or: those who claim to be philosophers, *al-muta-falsifin*] alleges ...", referring to the idea that the souls of those who fall in love are two halves of one sphere which was divided by the Creator before being joined to their bodies, an apparent reflection of the speech of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*.²³

There are many other points at which Ibn Ḥazm reflects the existing body of opinion or controversy on love addressed by other Arab Muslim writers on the subject, as well, over the centuries. While it is not possible here to link all of Ibn Ḥazm's themes with similar or contrasting discussion in even the most important of the twenty-odd related works written by authors spanning at least nine centuries, with a few more examples one may convey a brief impression of the manner in which the *Ṭawq* was part of an on-going tradition

in the issues discussed as well as its general plan, as already indicated. Another topic for controversy, for example, was the question of whether, indeed, familiarity breeds contempt, as the axiom goes in English. "Some say that union too long enjoyed is fatal to love. That is a vile doctrine, advanced only by those who quickly tire of a sweet romance. On the contrary the longer the union lasts the firmer the attachment becomes".²⁴ His theory on this also applies to a related question: can love, or passion, exist in marriage or survive into marriage? His anecdotes in the chapter on "Union" include not only secret meetings of lovers, but lovers joined in a lawful relationship. No state on earth has the potential for greater bliss, according to Ibn Ḥazm, than such a union, if their love endures, reciprocated equally, and if God permits them to enjoy many years together at peace with each other and untroubled by the world.

In this vein, Ibn Ḥazm later tells an anecdote about Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Governor of Basra under the Umayyad Mu'āwīya I, who was said to have put the question to his courtiers: "What man enjoys the most blessed life?" They guessed it was the Caliph, but he reminded them of his troubles with the Quraysh. Then they ventured that it must be himself, but he reminded them of his own troubles with the Khārijis and the frontiers. "So, who is it, Prince?" they asked. "A Muslim man who has a Muslim wife, the two of them have enough to live on, and she is pleased with him and he is pleased with her; we do not know him and he does not know us!"²⁵

The prime role that the eyes play in falling in love was naturally a major subject for analysis throughout the history of the writing on love. Ibn Ḥazm's forerunner, Ibn Dāwūd, devoted the first chapter in the *Kitāb al-Zahra* to this theme, entitling it "He Whose Glances are Many, His Sorrows are Prolonged". There he gathered verse on this theme by a number of poets, short anecdotes, fragments of other wisdom and psychology, including explanations of the cause of passion attributed to Plato, Galen, and Ptolemy.

One century and three centuries after Ibn Ḥazm respectively, the two major Ḥanbalite writers on theory of love, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Qayyim, made strict control over the eyes the keystone of their strategy to avoid falling in love, and into sin, documenting their arguments and analysis with traditions from the Prophet and from Companions, and appealing to the testimony of well-known poets and famous anecdotes on the cause and effects of passion. Ten chapters in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Dhamm al-hawā* and four chapters in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* are devoted especially to the role of the eyes, their lawful use, averting the gaze, and the consequences of looking where one should not.

Ibn Ḥazm dealt with the role of the eyes in his own way. Though not less impressed than those later writers with the potential for sin, or personal suffering that might ensue from the awakening of passion, his general approach is to portray both the beauty of amorous attraction and the necessity for

avoiding sin. He treats the subject of love at first sight, but he is sceptical about the depth or staying qualities of such love. In his stories we frequently see the eyes play a part in arousing strong feelings but he does not engage in academic speculation on the mechanism for this. He also writes in detail on the use of the eyes to send coded signals to the beloved. However, in his penultimate chapter he does directly address the eye's problematic aspect for the faithful. This leads him to cite one Tradition and the Quranic text (XXIV, 30) on guarding the eyes,²⁶ but references to the need to control the eyes are integral to his discussion of tendencies and temptations to sin found in *affaires d'amour*, both heterosexual and homosexual.

Again, what makes Ibn Ḥazm different from the other authors on love theory is his use of very poignant stories, narrated vividly but with a certain economy of language, of cases of temptation to sexual transgressions (including some of his own narrow escapes). To a modern reader at least, the *Ṭawq* in this way makes a more profound impression on the mind and spirit than the more protracted and detailed studies of the doctrine of averting the eyes (*ghaḍḍ al-baṣar*) found in the Hanbalite works, whose authors amass more traditions, anecdotes of times past, and scholarly argument.

Ibn Ḥazm, in fact, impressed Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya himself sufficiently so that he quoted him thrice to support a point, though he also criticised him four times, alleging that he wrongly allowed music and glances at strange women and that he erred in his theory that the unity or similarity of elements in the souls of those who fall in love had existed from before their earthly creation.²⁷

IV. *The poetry in the Ṭawq*

To expand upon and refine the themes under discussion, he offers frequent quotations from his own poetry. The view has been advanced that in making his epitome or abridgment of the original work the copyist of the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* probably cut some of Ibn Ḥazm's poetry and that this was perhaps not a bad thing, since, it was opined, his poetry was not of the best.²⁸ It is true that, compared with some highly-regarded works of the classical Arabic poetry, Ibn Ḥazm's work may seem less richly ornamented and more prosaic, but "prosaic", in the first, positive meaning of the term, i.e. "of or like prose",²⁹ may hold the key to his intention: he strives often to express certain thoughts as clearly and connectedly as he might have done in prose.

In much of the Arabic poetry praised by medieval critics, the density of imagery and word-play and the focus on the perfection of the line more than the longer flow of thought work against clarity and continuity. Ibn Ḥazm seems to place the priority on the substance of his thought or feelings while choosing language as lyric or graceful as he can find, given the primacy of his first purpose and the restrictions of meter and rhyme. To feel this dif-

ference one need only set his work side by side with Hispano-Arab poets contemporary with him, like Ibn Shuhayd and Ibn Zaydūn.³⁰ Real thought flows from his lines while the verses of the more highly praised Ibn Shuhayd and Ibn Zaydūn seem in comparison to read like riddles, though clad in the approved splendour of layers of golden metaphor. His *alfāz* may not glint and dazzle like theirs, but his *maʿānī* glow steadily. It was this tendency in his poetry which enabled him so closely to match his prose discussion on theory of love with verses that drove home the point of the discussion.

Some of his verses are truly memorable. Even his less successful lines are often more attractive in thought and poetic realisation than many of the verses inserted in books of *adab*, biography, or religious studies in the medieval Arabic tradition, lines whose chief merit is often that they echo rather ponderously in meter a fragment of the preceding thought.

One does not often ask to what school of jurisprudence a poet belonged, in examining his approach to belles-lettres. This may be germane, however, in the case of Ibn Ḥazm, for there is good reason to think that at the time he wrote the *Tawq* he had either adopted the Zāhirī doctrines which determined the character of his life's work as a scholar or he was close to doing so. He had been brought up in the Mālikī school dominant in Spanish Islam, then had adopted Shāfiʿī doctrine³¹ for a time before undergoing a thoroughgoing conversion to Zāhirism, a viewpoint which for him had the most sweeping relevance to all facets of his life and thought. The basic Zāhirī approach was to derive the law only from the literal text (*zāhir*) of the Quran and the *Sunna*, without any of the tools of interpretation or casuistry used by other schools. Ibn Ḥazm applied this attitude to all his endeavours. His experience as a youth in his late teens and twenties at the most rarefied levels of political power and intrigue made him a reluctant and sad sceptic concerning man's capacity for good and for truth. His response to the pervasive vice and corruption he met was the conviction that there is no refuge except in God, who is Truth. He struggled with the phenomena of language and truth, man's tendency when he speaks about himself or for himself to use language in an arbitrary way, distorting it to dissimulate and deceive. Ibn Ḥazm respected language as such, and believed that its rules were in principle intended to allow accurate communication. However, only true friendship could provide the conditions for truth and sincerity in communication.³²

It may be significant that these ideas appear in the *Tawq*. In the tradition of Arabic poetic criticism, it was often asserted that the best Arabic poetry was the most lying, a view that was uncongenial to Ibn Ḥazm, it would seem. An observation which he makes in his chapter on contentment (*al-qunūʿ*) reveals the author's sensitivity to the issue of truth and sincerity in language:

Poets have a variation on the theme of contentment through which they desire to show off to their own advantage and show their mastery over deep thoughts and

far-fetched ideas. Each has spoken according to the strength of his natural talent, but they use language in an arbitrary way, speak affectedly, and get carried away with their own rhetoric; and it is all untrue from the beginning.³³

However, he is not so serious here that he is humourless about the issue of truth, for he boasts that he had outdone all the poets who competed in sentimental hyperbole on the theme of consolation after separation from the beloved. With exaggerated imagery, they expressed their contentment with the fact that they and their beloved were under the same heavens and supported by the same earth, encompassed by the same day and the same night, and the like. Ibn Ḥazm credits himself with the ultimate in imaginative conceits when he says in verse that he will be content in his separation from the beloved because they are together in the mind of God and in Time.³⁴

V. *The architecture of the Ṭawq*

In his organisation of the *Ṭawq*, Ibn Ḥazm shows the same enthusiasm for rational order and completeness that he was later noted for in his works on law, theology, and heresiography. He arranged the *Ṭawq* in thirty chapters which proceed in a sequence both logical and symmetrical. The overall work can be generally described as covering the essence and nature of love, the possible causes, symptoms, and accompanying phenomena, stages and outcomes, illustrating the discussion at every point with brief case studies of lovers and love affairs. Much later in his life, as he wrote his book on ethics, he provided definitions of love and the names for progressive stages of love, though it appears that he did not yet employ these terms in the *Ṭawq* with a conscientious effort at differentiation.³⁵

After the author's preface, the chapter structure begins with (1) the "Preliminary Excursus", in which he speaks of his plan for the book and theories about the nature of love, followed by (2) "The Signs of Love". Five chapters on "Falling in Love" (3-7) analyse different modalities of the onset of love. The first is the most unusual and improbable: one may fall in love through first seeing the person in a dream. Somewhat more possible is falling in love through hearing someone described in conversation, and more plausible are falling in love at first sight, falling in love after long association, and falling in love with a particular quality, or characteristic, and never thereafter being able to love anyone who was not like that first love.

Having fallen in love, the lover must communicate this to the beloved. Three means of doing that are the subjects of the next chapters: (8) "Allusion through Words"; (9) "Signalling with the Eyes"; and (10) "Correspondence". The sending of missives entails the next discussion, (11) "The Messenger". They are now both aware of their feelings for each other, but should others know? Ibn Ḥazm debates the merits of secrecy versus public expression of one's sentiments in (12) "Concealing the Secret" and (13) "Revealing the Secret".

As the affair develops, assuming the beloved one accepts the attentions of the lover, is it better if the beloved is always receptive to the wishes of the lover, or does love thrive better with some opposition, real or feigned, on the part of the beloved? The symmetry of chapters continues thus with (14) "Compliance" and (15) "Opposition", from the beloved. Likewise, what happens to the affair when it finds resistance or help from others—the subjects of (16) "The Reproacher" and (17) "The Helpful Brother"?

His precise symmetry is just slightly spoiled by the necessity next to fill out this list of persons hovering in the background with two more types, not opposites as were the three pairs of topics just discussed, but similars: (18) "The Spy"; and (19) "The Slanderer".

Will the lover finally achieve his desire and be united with the beloved, and what wisdom on the desirability of that do we find? (20) "Of Union" deals not with sexual union in particular; the burden of the meaning of *wiṣāl* in this chapter is on the comprehensive sense of the lovers' coming together and being together—their union, communion or reunion after an absence or in the face of obstacles to their meeting. Ibn Ḥazm makes clear in the last chapter that one should allow oneself sexual union only when it is lawful. The delightful incidents of union described in this chapter seem innocent of harm or actual law-breaking, with the doubtful exception of the incident where a friend of Ibn Ḥazm's laughingly recalls an occasion of delicious union unforgettable to him. When a cloudburst interrupted a family excursion in the countryside, due to a shortage of raincoats for the group he was ordered by an uncle to shelter under his raincoat a slave girl from one of their houses whom he was quite mad about but to whom he had been denied access. Ibn Ḥazm's friend left him—and us—to guess exactly what went on there in their small cocoon of privacy during the rainshower.³⁶

The opposite of union is (21) "Breaking Off", the first and most exquisite variety of which is the breaking off occasioned by the presence of a spy. The beloved draws away from the lover and continues speaking, addresses her words to another person, but she laces her words with subtle allusions intended for the beloved. The lover also draws away, though more dominated by his natural instincts; "he appears even while drawing away to be advancing, speaking though ostensibly silent, his eyes turned in one direction and his heart in another".

Other causes of breaking off are progressively less delightful and more serious, usually initiated by the beloved. She or he may test the lover's patience by feigning to shun him, by reproaching him with a fault, or making a false accusation. Spies or slanderers may come into the picture. When these things occur early in a relationship, or are not of a serious nature, the reconciliation can bring greater ecstasy than love's first raptures. He sketches the progress of the lover's artful diplomacy, trying to soften the heart of the beloved with abject humility, apologies and excuses, while the beloved slowly relents.

Serious complaints, on the other hand, "are a most unhealthy symptom, presaging evil to follow ... the forerunner of severance". Ibn Ḥazm treats separately the case where the lover takes the initiative in breaking off because he has seen the beloved begin to treat him harshly, seeming to fancy another. In verse, Ibn Ḥazm likens him to the Muslim in mortal fear for his life who is permitted *taqiyya*, pretended apostasy, or hiding his beliefs. In the same way, the lover may pretend no longer to love, while he burns within.

The subject of "Fidelity" (22) arrives at the midpoint of the book and is a hinge-point in the logic of the structure of the *Ṭawq* and in its psychology and ethics. To carry the metaphor a little further, the virtue of fidelity is the linchpin of a love relationship if that is to endure. This virtue was a favourite with Ibn Ḥazm. He integrates his concern for it into the discussion often. However, love is beset by many hazards, and the last six chapters on the phenomena of love are all sad reminders of that. The opposite of fidelity is "Betrayal" (23), and even to true lovers "Separation" (24) almost inevitably comes at some time, whether through breaking off or other circumstances which take them away from each other. The lover who is barred from union must face the situation philosophically, the subject of the chapter on "Contentment" (25). Those who cannot may be victims of "Wasting Away" (26) from the effects of melancholy. Every love, however, is without exception cut off by death or by "Forgetting" (27), though forgetting by the lover or the beloved may be either perfidious or excusable. It is the ethics that surround the practice of fidelity that determine when forgetting is excusable or inexcusable. Ibn Ḥazm analyses eight types of situation, four causes arising from the lover and four from the beloved.

"Death" (28) seems a logical final stage in the life history of love. However, Ibn Ḥazm is not thinking here of death that may sever any love relationship. He had dealt with that in the chapter on "Separation". This is death that may be brought on by extreme agitation and unfulfilled longing for the beloved, love-death. Though he hinted in his Preliminary Excursus that the ways of the bedouin lovers who were slain by love were alien to him and his contemporaries, he in fact tells of many such cases from among his own acquaintances, one of the saddest of which was the case of his younger brother Abū Bakr and his wife 'Ātika, married to him when he was fourteen. They were very much in love but during their eight years together often flew into rages at one another. Her grief at the loss of his perfect affection caused her to waste away with passion for him. When he died in the plague at Córdoba at twenty-two, she lost any desire to live and died on the first anniversary of his death.

He does not end the book on this disturbing note. Two very much longer chapters follow. These closing chapters, "The Vileness of Sinning" (29) and the "Virtue of Continence" (30), take up about twenty per cent of the book, each about three and a half times the average length of other chapters, an indication of the weight he gives to his ethical, moral or religious concerns.

These chapters cannot be considered an exculpatory exercise, a taking back with one hand of what he might have given with the other, washing the hands of an imagined taint acquired by dealing in the subject of love. They are not a disclaimer tacked on to improve its reception; they were from the beginning in the plan of his work as he sketched it in the Preliminary Excursus. There is indeed no need for a disclaimer; the moral tone and attitude of the whole is consistent.

VI. *Ibn Ḥazm's attitude toward women in the Ṭawq*

After boyhood, Ibn Ḥazm spent most of his time in male company as would be expected in medieval Muslim society and most others. Naturally, therefore, the larger number of his stories are collected from male informants and are about men who fell in love. However, in this great variety of accounts, women appear not only as the beloved, the pursued one, but often as equal participants or the heroine smitten with love. In the latter case, of course, as females they in some instances did not have the means to bring the affair to happy conclusion and suffered deeply from the malady of love. However, it should be said this was not, and is not, exclusively a fate of females.

He sketches the female subjects/heroinas as three-dimensional, believable persons, treated equally with men in the degree of attention he pays to their lives and feelings. He devoted much attention to understanding the special characteristics, psychology and interests of women, and the many roles they played. He seems just in his praise for the positive characteristics of women as he saw them in his time, and their special gifts and abilities, yet he is frank, but not harsh, in his (rare) criticism of their tendencies to certain weaknesses or vices.

Ibn Ḥazm is unusual among medieval Muslim scholars in that he rejects the opinion commonly held among them that men are better able than women to restrain their passions. He believes that men and women are equally vulnerable to an illicit love, given sufficient time and opportunity and seductive influence. If there are no obstacles present, and the person of the opposite sex is attractive, persuasive, and persistent in offering his or her love, they must ultimately tumble into Satan's net. No man or woman, however apparently self-disciplined, is immune, because the Creator so constituted men and women. All any well-intentioned Muslim can do is to try sincerely to avoid such situations and seek Allah's protection at all times.

On the positive side, he thinks it not remote from all possibility, as he put it, that virtue, or righteousness *can* be found in both men and women. In defining virtue or righteousness (*al-ṣalāḥ*) in the case of each sex, though, a modern reader's first impression might be that he had a lower estimation of the moral fibre of women than that of men. "A righteous woman", he says, "is one who when restrained restrains herself, and when occasions of tempta-

tion are cut off, controls herself. ... The righteous man is one who does not associate with libertines, expose himself to sights which would arouse his passions, or raise his eyes to gaze at wonderfully proportioned figures".³⁷ The difference in the two definitions, however, seems rather to reflect the difference in the life circumstances of the two sexes in his time, the relative seclusion of the woman and the necessarily public life of the man.

His definition of evil conduct in both genders reflects this too: The protected situation of a woman makes it more difficult for her to be wicked; she must set about it quite intentionally. The *fāsida*, the corrupt woman, is one who goes against those constraints and protections from temptations, using every sort of trick to elude them and achieve her aim. Sin is closer to hand for the male; he need only abandon himself to it. A morally depraved or sinful man, *fāsiq* (he uses a stronger word than that used to describe the woman), is one who associates with bad characters, lets his eye roam, staring at pretty faces, seeks out spectacles harmful to him, and likes "deadly privacies", presumably being alone with a "strange woman", one neither his spouse or handmaiden nor a close relative.³⁸

As individuals, his women characters of whatever social rank, and slave or free, all seem interesting to him and their stories worthy of telling. Though outnumbered as informants by his male acquaintances, the many females—perhaps an unusual number—that he knew well, or knew about, in his circle of domestic and social contacts provided him with a large store of valuable wisdom and narrative material, some of which he could have gathered nowhere else. A typical source might be indicated with the remark "a woman in whom I have confidence once told me that she had seen ..."³⁹

VII. *The gender of the beloved*

It is difficult in some passages to know whether he refers to a male or a female beloved due to the language used there, either inclusive or ambiguous. Complicating the choice of interpretation is the knowledge that some poets referred to the female beloved with a masculine pronoun. Translators have often taken ambiguous or masculine gender referents in Ibn Ḥazm for females and so rendered them in the European language. In doing so they may have been compelled to make an arbitrary choice where there was no clue in the context. The translator often simply guessed that the referent was a woman or young maiden, or he preferred to think that, or he sensed that most modern Western readers would prefer to think so. Readers who use translations of the *Ṭawq* should keep this in mind, and use the Arabic text with it if possible, to see what actually lies behind the choices of gender.

Ibn Ḥazm, in dealing with cases of love, makes no essential difference between instances of passionate attachment—man for man (or youth), boy for girl, man for woman (or maiden), or vice versa. (Homoerotic attachments

between women are not a subject of discussion.) As long as a story reveals some aspect of the nature of love and the psychology of lovers, it is most valuable grist for his mill. Whether the behaviour of the lover or the lovers has his approval, sympathy, pity or condemnation is quite another thing.

His sympathy is apparent for a lover's agony of mind and spirit, as is his pity for the disgrace among friends that may ensue from his loss of self-control, good judgment and dignity. Among Ibn Ḥazm's anecdotes on these cases, most of them more or less contemporary, disgrace for this kind of abdication of rational behaviour, good taste, and perhaps Islamic moral codes, seems more often attached to incidents of homosexual passion, particularly the love of a man for a youth, than to male-female loves. With the relative segregation of the sexes in al-Andalus, where men and youths passed the larger part of their time together and away from the society of women, such events were not rare judging from the ubiquity of references to them in poetry, literature and legal and moral treatises. At the same time, since men spent their days in the rather public environment of the mosques and commercial quarters, such affairs were hard to hide from the eyes of one's colleagues. The psychology of disgrace and shame are associated with public exposure of immoderate feelings and irrational, if not scandalous, conduct.

The approved relationship of love between two men is that of "love in Allah" mentioned in a saying of the Prophet, to which Ibn Ḥazm makes reference in his final chapter (31) on continence or chastity. This kind of love is also dealt with at least briefly in other works on love theory as well as in handbooks for Sufis. Two men who love each other in God, and meet together and part from each other in that spirit, belong to one of the seven categories of persons whom God will shelter in His own shadow on the Day of Reckoning.⁴⁰ Intense friendships or chaste love affairs between mature men or peers provide the stuff of many of Ibn Ḥazm's anecdotes on phenomena of love, and among these he draws lessons—discreetly and gracefully—from several of his own intense or deep relationships. Where the relationship of the lovers goes beyond *al-ḥubb fi 'l-Llāh* to obsession with the beloved, and the chaste kiss and decent embrace are not enough, Ibn Ḥazm's condemnation is that of Islamic Law. The sexual connection of two males, even indecent kissing or embracing, had been subject at times to severe punishment under the *Shari'a* as interpreted by various authorities, extending even to death and even for the more passive partner. Conviction for fornication or adultery, of course, had historically been punished with anything from flogging and banishment to stoning, depending on the sex and the marital status of the guilty parties and differing opinion among jurists. Ibn Ḥazm goes into bloody detail about historical decisions in these matters in a manner which leads one to suspect that sexual transgressions were not systematically or regularly prosecuted in 5th/11th century al-Andalus and that he is stressing the severity of *Shari'a* penalties which had been meted

out in particular cases in the past as an indication of how grave an offence they are to God. And the reverse also: he explains why these acts are such an offence to God or harmful to society and therefore merit punishment. He himself would not condone more than ten lashes for sodomites, but is bound to acknowledge the *ḥadd* punishment of stoning for those convicted of fornication after honourable wedlock, because, as he says, all the Muslim community except a few *Khārijis* do so.⁴¹

VIII. "Courtly" elements in the Ṭawq

Western scholars, among them both Arabists and Romanists, have over many years suggested that certain parts of the Arab and Islamic tradition on love may have influenced the rise of the troubadour lyric and the development of the literary and social phenomenon called courtly love, which first appeared in the late 11th century in Languedoc.⁴² They have looked for influences and parallels because of the sudden appearance in those contexts of concepts and themes of love that had no discernible precedent in that social and intellectual milieu and that ran counter to church teaching and previous social norms.

As early as the mid-16th century of our era, an Italian scholar, Giammaria Barbieri, began such speculation with his theory of Hispano-Arab influence on the genesis of the rhymed forms of the troubadour lyrics, an idea since discredited. At intervals since then scholars have examined several possible channels or points of influence of an intellectual, cultural or artistic nature, some broadly conceived and inclusive and some focused more narrowly.⁴³ The themes and concepts of love in Arabic poetry and the body of ideas found in treatises on love were two of those potential sources. The treatises on the theory of love, of which the *Ṭawq* is in many ways the most important, often represent an alliance of these two sources, since they frequently quote verse. The genesis of Arabic theory of love was in fact heavily indebted to the fund of themes and ideas preserved in the poetic tradition.⁴⁴

Those who have proposed possible Arabic influence have pointed out that the cardinal features of courtly love have many striking parallels in Arabic literature. A number of these appear in Ibn Ḥazm's book. One can adopt the view that a love much like the courtly love of late medieval Europe is potentially a universal phenomenon, polygenetic⁴⁵—even though some aspects of it seemed to arise out of nowhere—and that it appeared independently in Provence, as it had in the Arab world, and perhaps other places, without any need of "influences". However, in principle this still would not rule out a contributory role for Arab influences joined to local factors. There remains a large body of evidence strongly suggestive of Arab influence at a number of points, though some supposed connections have proven wrong, and not all scholars familiar with the evidence accept that anything much is proven.

In view of the long history of cultural contacts and sharing, including even marriage alliances in several instances between Christian and Muslim rulers, and patronage of Arab Muslim scholars, Arabised Jewish scholars and musicians by Christian rulers, it would seem quite incredible, in truth, if no ideas about love were discussed in these circumstances, when the influences in other areas of the arts, language, learning and material culture are well documented. However, the attitude of sceptics is embodied in the maxim of the medieval scholastics, *De possibili ad esse nulla illatio* ("One may not infer that something exists from the mere possibility of its existence"), quoted by a modern scholar during a discussion where he demanded historical proof that troubadours had seen or heard and understood actual texts of particular Arabic love poems or songs. On that occasion he also challenged a distinguished colleague, who spoke of a reservoir of ideas, signs, symbols and conventions inherited in common from Antiquity by the Latin West, Byzantium, and Islam, to trace in each case the development of a given element of this heritage and how specifically it was transmitted through the different parts of their related worlds. (To this his colleague objected that principles of methodology demanded that one investigate first the possibility of certain things which the two civilisations had inherited in common. If that hypothesis were rejected, only then should one pursue individual details or hunt analogies.)⁴⁶

Our sceptic, however, conceded an advantage in a comparison revealing the similarities and differences between the two societies and their "courtly" literatures as an exercise leading to a clearer understanding of both. In that spirit, at least, we can speak of some—this short list is not exhaustive—of the themes and ideas in the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* which were also seen in the poetry and lore of courtly love:

(1) Love had a remarkable power to reform the lover, to make him more generous, brave, noble, elegant and well-spoken, and amend faults of character or habit.⁴⁷

(2) True love brings an insatiable desire and an exquisite anguish.⁴⁸

(3) The concept of love as a malady leading to the loss of appetite, wasting, pallor, sleeplessness, melancholy, emotional extremes, obsession, and possibly madness—all leading even to death—is fundamental, as is evident from his chapters on wasting away and on death, as well as other passages.

(4) Secrecy is essential, and jealousy helps to fan the fires of love. Ibn Ḥazm spoke more clearly about the importance of jealousy and its nature in his *Kitāb al-akhlāq wa 'l-siyar* ("Book of Ethics, or Morals and Conduct").⁴⁹

(5) The role of the spy, the slanderer and the trusted confidant or messenger have their chapters in the *Ṭawq*, as well as their fabled place in the lore of courtly love.

(6) The lover was humble and submissive before his beloved; she was object of a kind of worship: "I have trodden the carpets of caliphs and witnesses

the assemblies of kings and I never saw a timid respect that would equal that of a lover toward his beloved".⁵⁰ This is irrespective of her social condition; she may be a slave-girl.

(7) Often in Arabic poetry the beloved, even though a woman, is referred to with words of the masculine gender, for decency's sake, and some poets addressed her as "my lord", *sayyidi*, or "my master", *mawlāyā*. The troubadours also adopted the habit of addressing the lady as *midons*, "my lord", rather than *madonna*, "my lady".

(8) One might love a lady of higher rank in Ibn Ḥazm's day. He gives an example of love at first sight; an exalted lady glimpses the son of clerk from her window and she initiates an intense correspondence. While dealing with the problem of slanderers, however, he alludes to the vast number of cases in which the handsome youth of lower rank is poisoned or otherwise undone by his powerful woman lover after a slanderer lyingly suggests to her that he is divided in his affections. In those circles in Europe which accepted the conventions of courtly love, a knight or troubadour often courted a lady of higher rank. (However, not all noble or royal husbands tolerated this kind of game, and a few courtly lovers paid dearly.)

In the *Ṭawq* there is an implied moral and aesthetic nobility conferred on the virtuous lover as well as on the person adored if she conducts herself well. Behind the lack of permanent barriers of birth and class lies the principle of the equality of all believers before Allah, however many exceptions might arise in practice, stemming from power, wealth or pride of blood and culture. There are, however, some parallels in the Arab tradition to troubadour-like devotion to noble ladies. The pre-Islamic poet might boast of the high status and protected existence of his love,⁵¹ and in Ibn Ḥazm's own time high-born women seem to have enjoyed a degree of social freedom and the attentions of poets.⁵²

IX. A final impression

If there is a single unstated conclusion that Ibn Ḥazm's readers could draw from his comprehensive discussion about the theory and phenomena of love and the great variety of his illustrative case histories about the delights and trials of passion, it is that the place of human loves in life is a very dynamic but ambivalent one, entwined in the very roots of existence, and bringing the potentiality for the ultimate in earthly bliss or deepest disappointment and grief. From childhood until great age, affairs of the heart, and the moral choices bound up in them, may at any time confront a man or woman. His personal anecdotes not only reveal himself and his society, but bring home to one a sense that we humans are always "walking on the edge", so to speak, in emotional and moral terms, a consciousness the average person tends to suppress for his or her peace of mind—and the importance therefore

for the Muslim of observing habits of devotion and the rules of social intercourse which were designed to channel the emotions and natural appetites in directions harmonious for oneself and one's neighbour.

No precautions are perfect, even in Muslim societies more rigorous than 5th/11th century al-Andalus in their seclusion of women. Ironically, it was a social situation considered quite proper in his circle that once put Ibn Ḥazm in danger of committing some transgression of the bounds. The young woman had been brought up with him and therefore was allowed to go unveiled in his presence during his stay with her older relative, a lady famed for her righteousness, charity, and prudence. Since they had last seen each other, the girl's inherited good looks had bloomed into a womanly beauty that dazzled Ibn Ḥazm. He devotes nearly a page to a lyric description of her as she appeared on the unforgettable evening that they met, confessing that she so ravished his heart and obsessed his mind that he never allowed himself to return to that house.⁵³ This passage, one of Ibn Ḥazm's finest, encapsulates both his unflinching honesty and the spiritual, psychological and artistic genius that marks the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* as a masterpiece.

¹ A. R. Nykl (trans.), *A Book Containing the Risāla Known as the Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers*, Paris, 1931, pp. li-lij. For the explanation of the Muslim ruler's widely used nickname Sanchuelo/Sanchol see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, II, 293-94. In his article "Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi 'Āmir", *Encyclopaedia Of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, he says the Arabic was "Shandjwilo". In the *Histoire* it is "Shandjul".

² Van Arendonk accepted 418/1027 as the approximate time of the composition of both the *Ṭawq* and his other belletristic work, the *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*. Nykl (*op. cit.*, lvii) puts the date of composition in 412-13/1022. García Gómez accepts Nykl's dating (see *El Collar de la Paloma*, Madrid, 1952, p. 25). At both dates he was apparently in Játiva.

³ For a comprehensive and careful summary discussion of Ibn Ḥazm's life and scholarship see Roger Arnaldez, article "Ibn Ḥazm", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.).

⁴ The practice of making metaphorical reference to jewellery—necklaces were a favourite item—in the titling of Arabic books of poetry or *adab* literature was cleverly joined by Ibn Ḥazm to a second image appropriate to love, the dove. In the erotic prelude of the Arabian *qasida*, the evocation of the dove cooing sweetly to its mate or mournfully calling for its return suggests the lover-poet's own emotion. Ibn Ḥazm combined both the dove and the necklace images by alluding to a variety of sand-coloured dove found in the Near East and Mediterranean lands, the ring-necked dove, or ring-dove, which is marked with a narrow collar of brown feathers resembling a *ṭawq*, an ornamental ring for the neck.

⁵ Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Le Collier du Pigeon ou de l'Amour et des Amants*, Arabic text with French translation, introduction, notes and index by Léon Bercher, Algiers, 1949, pp. 126-28; Ibn Ḥazm, *The Ring of the Dove*, A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love, trans. Arthur J. Arberry, London, 1953, p. 101.

⁶ Bercher's ed., pp. 4-6; Arberry's trans., p. 17.

⁷ Bercher's ed., p. 402. Arberry's trans., p. 281.

⁸ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy, et al., Leiden, 1855-61, II, 109-21.

⁹ Leiden, Warneriana 461.

¹⁰ The defective text of the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* has been made usable and accessible through the efforts of three different editors of the text (D.K. Petrof, 1914; Léon Bercher, 1949; Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣairafī, 1950) and at least seven translators. Their work was supplemented by suggestions offered in print and privately from time to time by other scholars seeking to find the

solutions to problems in the text. See the bibliography for the translators and important published articles suggesting amended readings of the manuscript.

¹¹ Emilio García Gómez identifies Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Shuhayd as leaders of a new Andalusī school of literature with these characteristics. See his *Poesía árabeandaluza*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 60-65 and the introduction to his Spanish translation of the *Tawq*, *El Collar de la Paloma*, pp. 6-9. Charles Pellat, however, thinks it an exaggeration to say that they led a tendency to a specifically Andalusī poetry, since in his view neither were really innovators. See "Ibn Shuhayd", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.). However, Pellat speaks of their poetry. This cannot be said of Ibn Ḥazm as author on love theory or a religious scholar. Perhaps, as we shall see, Ibn Ḥazm is even somewhat of an innovator in poetry.

¹² Abū 'l-Tayyib Ishāq b. Yahyā al-Waṣṣhā', *Kitāb al-muwashshā*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1385/1965; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abi Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Zahrah* (The Book of the Flower), The First Half, ed. A. R. Nykl in collaboration with Ibrāhīm Tūqān, Chicago, 1932. Lois Giffen is currently working on an edition, translation and study of the *ṭīlāl al-qulūb* of al-Kharā'īti.

¹³ Emilio García Gómez, "Un precedente y una consecuencia del 'Collar de la Paloma'", *Al-Andalus*, 16, 1951, pp. 309-23.

¹⁴ Bercher's ed., p. 6; Arberry's trans., p. 18.

¹⁵ For analysis of the development of theory of love as a branch of literature see Lois A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*, New York, 1971, London, 1972. Joseph N. Bell, *Later Hanbalite Theory of Love*, Albany, 1979, studies in detail the development of religiously-conditioned thought on love in Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Qayyim, and Mar'ī b. Yūsuf. A thorough study of the first of these men is Stefan Leder's *Ibn al-Gauzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, Beirut, 1984.

¹⁶ See Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*, pp. 53-96.

¹⁷ García Gómez, "Un precedente y una consecuencia", p. 312.

¹⁸ *Tawq*, Bercher's ed., pp. 282-90; Arberry's trans., pp. 208-14.

¹⁹ Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāri' al-'uṣhshāq*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1378/1958, 2 vols.; 'Alī 'l-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥallī, *Al-Wāḍiḥ al-mubīn fi man ustushhida min al-muḥibbīn*, ed. O. Spies. Vol. 1 [Vol. 2 never published], Stuttgart, 1936.

²⁰ Al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāri'* al-'uṣhshāq, 1:13-14; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, Cairo, 1349/1931, V, 262. Not everyone accepted that this was a sound tradition, though by the 6th/12th century it could be found with ten different chains of transmitters and slight variations in the text. The Hanbalite authors Ibn al-Jawzī (*Dhamm al-hawā*, The Condemnation of Passion, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1381/1962, pp. 326-29 and Ibn Qayyim (*Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, The Garden of Lovers, ed. Aḥmad 'Ubayd, Cairo, 1385/1956, pp. 180-82) argued that it was a forgery. See the chapter "Martyrs of Love", in Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*, pp. 99-115, and Table II, p. 149, diagramming the *isnāds*.

Ignaz Goldziher in *Die Zāhiriten*, Hildesheim, 1967 (reprint of the edition of Leipzig, 1884), pp. 29-30, had noted both that Muḥammad b. Dāwūd's father, founder of the Zāhiri school of law, is associated with the spread of a tradition on martyrs of love and that he was not highly regarded as a traditionist. However, of the ten *isnāds* for this saying that Ibn al-Jawzī presents (see Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*, Table II, p. 149), only one contains Dāwūd's name, so there were others, also, who had an interest in the spread of the idea that chaste victims of love-death were guaranteed a place in paradise.

²¹ *Tawq*, p. 14. My translation.

²² Arberry's translation gives the impression Ibn Dāwūd espoused this view:

I do not share the view advanced by Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd—God have mercy on his soul!—who followed certain philosophers in declaring that spirits are segmented spheres; rather do I suppose an affinity of their vital forces in the supernal world which is their everlasting home, and a close approximation in the manner of their constitution. (Arberry's trans., p. 23.)

Nykl's English rendition carries a similar implication: "Basing himself on (the views of) some philosophers ..." (Nykl, p. 7). Ibn Ḥazm's words "*Lā 'alā mā ḥakāhu Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ... 'an ba'd ahl al-falsafa anna 'l-arwāḥ ukar maqṣūma. ...*" seem only to mean that the author of the *Zahra* passed on the information. The German and French translations of this passage

take this direction. (Max Weisweiler, *Halsband der Taube, über die Liebe und die Liebenden*, Leiden, 1944, p. 19; Bercher, p. 15.) However translated, Ibn Ḥazm incorrectly conveys the impression that Ibn Dāwūd gave this as *the* theory to explain why a person falls in love with a particular individual.

²³ *Zahra*, p. 15. Compare with the *Symposium*. The Greek and English texts are in W. M. Lamb (trans.), *Plato: Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias*, Loeb Classical Library, No.166, Cambridge (Mass.), reprinted 1961, pp. 133-45.

²⁴ Arberry's trans., p. 223. *Tawq*, p. 158.

²⁵ *Tawq*, p. 162. My paraphrase and translations of quotes. Cf. Arberry's trans., p. 125.

²⁶ *Tawq*, pp. 322-25. Arberry's trans., p. 234.

²⁷ *Rawḍa*, pp. 73-75, 86, 117, 130-31, 143, 173, 289-90. It is not clear why Ibn al-Qayyim thought that Ibn Ḥazm allowed looking at "strange" women, and this question has wide ramifications for the content of books on love theory. See Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*, pp. 127-32. ²⁸ Arberry's opinion (Arberry's trans., introduction, p. 13), a conclusion based apparently upon the copyist's colophon in the manuscript. Neither Arberry nor Weisweiler published the colophon in their translations. It says; "Here ends the treatise known as the *Dove's Neck-ring* by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥazm, may God be pleased with him, after [lacuna] most of its poems and leaving the best of them, so as to improve it, and show off its good points, and reduce its bulk, and aid in finding out the strange (or uncommon) ideas in its expressions." Nykl (p. 221 and note) supposes a missing word *ikhtisār*, "abridging", at the lacuna. Bercher (p. 409, n. 164) suggests the same.

²⁹ *American Heritage Dictionary*, 2nd college ed., 1985, s. v. "prosaic".

³⁰ Compare for example the selections from Ibn Shuhayd, Ibn Ḥazm, and Ibn Zaydūn as they appear next to each other in James Monroe's *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley, 1974, pp. 160-76.

³¹ Sometime during the 'Āmirid dictatorship Ibn Ḥazm converted to the Shāfi'i school—which does not pin it down precisely—and before 1027 he adopted the Zāhiri school, according to Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenḥázam de Córdoba y su "Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas"*, Madrid, 1984 (reprint of the edition of Madrid, 1927), I, 130, 136.

³² On Ibn Ḥazm's convictions about language and truth, his application of Zāhiri principles, and how they determined his most fundamental views, see R. Arnaldez, article "Ibn Ḥazm", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.).

³³ *Tawq*, p. 260. My translation. Cf. Arberry's trans., p. 194.

This passage is cited by Arnaldez as an example of Ibn Ḥazm's abilities as a psychologist and moralist, though he translates the passage differently than I have here. I do not agree with his rendition of *izhār gharadahu* as "externalising the passion which grips them", suggesting rather "to show off (or to display) to their own advantage" as being the more likely sense and offering an Arabic parallelism in the sentence. Arnaldez himself says elsewhere in his article that Ibn Ḥazm uses the word *izhār* to mean an insincere display or expression. He understands *tab'ihi* as "his nature", which I make "his [or their] natural aptitude, or talent" for we are talking about poets, who are customarily said to display either talent (*tab'*) or technical skill (*ṣan'a*). See Arnaldez, "Ibn Ḥazm", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.).

³⁴ *Tawq*, p. 260. Arberry's trans., p. 194.

³⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-akhḫāq wa 'l-siyar*, ed. and trans. Nada Tomiche, Collection UNESCO d'œuvres représentatives, Série arabe, Beirut, 1961, paragraphs 155-58. A number of other matters covered in this book relate to love as will be seen by surveying the translator's helpful index of subjects, pp. 145-63.

³⁶ Bercher's ed., p. 168. The problem is the word "*al-tamakkun*" and its vagueness in Arabic. Arberry seems to infer the maximum: "enjoying full possession", picking up on the notion of

"mastery", and "possession", both inherent in the word (Arberry's trans., p. 129). Weisweiler (pp. 107-08) captures more of the ambiguity of the Arabic original in the semantic direction of "capability" or "possibility"—"welche Möglichkeiten sich mir ... boten." The French version also keeps some ambiguity: "la joie de cette possession", factoring in the notion of joy from the context of the story (Bercher's ed., pp. 168-69).

³⁷ My translation. Bercher's ed., p. 322. Cf. Arberry's trans., p. 233.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Such a close relative would have to belong to one of the categories of relationship which would make her sacrosanct, because her degree of relationship would be an impediment to marriage, e.g. his mother and other ascendants, sister, daughter, and their descendants, his aunt, or the sister or aunt of his present wife or concubine, or "milk relatives" acquired by being fed by a wet-nurse. See G.-H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris, 1966, pp. 79-80.

A well-known canonical tradition of the Prophet, found in several forms, states that whenever a man is alone with a woman Satan is a third person present. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ḍamm*, 147-51.

³⁹ *Ṭawq*, p. 206. Arberry's trans., p. 155.

⁴⁰ *Ṭawq*, p. 380. Arberry's trans., p. 267.

⁴¹ *Ṭawq*, pp. 358, 366. Arberry's trans., pp. 254, 258.

⁴² For a recent summary of the theories of Arabic or Hispano-Arabic influence, see Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love*, Manchester, 1977, pp. 62-75. The volume of scholarly publications on the troubadours and courtly love has with time become so massive and so divided over many points that even specialists may lose sight of the whole picture. Boase offers a helpful and detailed survey of four centuries of research and debate in Europe and America, comprising a chronological survey of the scholarship and a critical analysis of the various theories for the origin and meaning of courtly love and the troubadour lyric. He includes a selected bibliography of other bibliographies, scholarly studies, editions, and translations.

⁴³ See Boase, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63. Briefly, the channels of possible influence proposed at one time or another have been: European assimilation of the scholarship and culture of the Islamic world, the institution and ideal of chivalry among the Arabs, Arab music and instruments, Arabic poetic forms, possible Arabic etymologies for the Provençal verb *trobar*, "to compose poetry" and the noun *troubadour*, poetic themes found in Hispano-Arabic love poetry, concepts of love in Arabic poetry, and finally works on the theory of love such as Ibn Dāwūd's or Ibn Ḥazm's, and the philosophical treatise of Ibn Sīnā entitled *Risāla fī 'l-ʿishq*.

⁴⁴ See Lois A. Giffen, "Love Poetry and Love Theory in Medieval Arabic Literature", in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden, 1973, pp. 107-24. Ibn Ḥazm was just mentioned twice in this paper because he used his own poetry whereas the focus was on earlier poetic tradition as an important fount for Arabic love theory in the mainstream of that literature. Though the *Ṭawq* was a unique and atypical case within that stream, it might have been desirable to say a little more about it.

⁴⁵ See Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric*, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1965, p. ix.

⁴⁶ See Samuel M. Stern, "Literary Connections between the Islamic World and Western Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Did They Exist?" in *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern*, selected and edited by L. P. Harvey, Oxford, 1974, pp. 204-30. During a discussion following the delivery of this paper, Stern cited the axiom of the schoolmen (pp. 225-26) and it was Gustave von Grunebaum who advocated more attention to the common heritage of Antiquity as an explanation for certain features of courtly love in the Arab world and Europe (pp. 228-30).

⁴⁷ *Ṭawq*, p. 32. Arberry's trans., pp. 34-35.

⁴⁸ *Ṭawq*, pp. 28, 160, or Arberry's trans., pp. 31, 223, to cite but two examples.

⁴⁹ Secrecy: *Ṭawq*, pp. 90-98; Arberry's trans., pp. 76 *et seq.* Jealousy, dealt with as stimulated by coquetry: *Ṭawq*, pp. 178-80; Arberry's trans., pp. 136-38, and more clearly in Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-akhḫāq wa 'l-sīyar*, paragraphs 171-73.

⁵⁰ *Ṭawq*, p. 182. Cf. Arberry's trans., p. 139.

⁵¹ The portrait of the lady in the erotic prelude (*nasīb*) of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* is examined for courtly attitudes by Jean-Claude Vadet in *L'Esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris, 1968, pp. 43-48.

⁵² Henri Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1937, pp. 397-431.

⁵³ *Ṭawq*, p. 328. Arberry's trans., pp. 236-37.

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LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE BETWEEN ARABIC AND THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

F. CORRIENTE

It has been common knowledge for centuries that, as a consequence of the Muslim presence in Western Europe, Arabic has exerted a degree of influence upon Hispanic Romance languages. This phenomenon, undeniably reflected by even the earliest Castilian authors, has been studied, or at least commented upon, by every scholar dealing with the linguistic history of the Iberian Peninsula.

As for the converse phenomenon, i. e., the impact of Romance on the colloquial Arabic used by all segments of the population in al-Andalus regardless of their race, creed or social status, it was already clearly posited by Simonet at the end of the last century,¹ although, for obvious reasons, detailed accounts of relevant phonemic, morphological, syntactic and lexical interferences have not been available until more recent times.

Consideration of the rather impressive bibliographical array of works consecrated to this particular field, amounting to literally hundreds of monographs, books and papers,² some of them excellent, might easily lead one to believe that the subject is almost or even completely exhausted, with only minor additions and adjustments now possible. Nevertheless, and in spite of some venerable trend-setting milestones,³ the plain fact is that the present state of knowledge in this area is far from offering a definitive picture. From the aforementioned and other very serious pieces of work, we can indeed obtain precious information about the impact of Romance upon the Andalusí Arabic (henceforth abbreviated to AA) lexicon and fairly accurate ideas about the approximate size of the corpus of Arabic loanwords in Castilian, Catalan, Galician and Portuguese, as well as generally correct etyma for them in a very high proportion of cases, and some valuable insights into the periodisation and distribution of these items according to semantic, diachronic, diatopical and related criteria.

This, then, is what we have, and it is no small thing. But the list of what such studies do not generally offer is also quite long. To begin with, they rest as a rule, with very limited exceptions, on the mistaken assumption that borrowing into Romance took place directly from Classical Arabic (henceforth abbreviated to CA) and not necessarily through AA—this often causing inaccurate etymologising and at times far-fetched attributions.

Needless to say, Arabic is generally treated throughout such studies as a highly standardised language, so that their source of comparison and information turns out, in most cases, to be a Western dictionary of CA, like

Kazimirski's or Lane's. We cannot blame people who quite often are not Arabists for resorting to these otherwise extremely useful references, but, on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that there are nowadays better means of determining the chances of a certain lexical item having actually circulated in Neoarabic, or, more specifically, AA, and also of tracing dialectal features in the Arabic loanwords of Romance. We must, for example, forgive Dozy and Engelmann (1869), devoid as they were at the time of sufficient information about the true extent of overlapping between CA and AA lexica, for having fallen into the "Classical" trap when they derived Castilian *almoceda* ("irrigation turn") from rare CA */musdā/*, instead of its correct etymon */almuqsīta/* ("fair share of water"); but there is no justification in our own days for the wrong etyma, still in vogue, of words like Castilian *almodrote* ("garlic sauce"), *alifara* ("tid-bit") and *aladroque* ("anchovy"),⁴ to mention just a few examples.

A second common shortcoming in the aforementioned studies is their general disregard for the ancestry of *prima facie* Arabic words, which amounts to telling only half-truths. Thus, when Coromines, for example, says that Castilian *jabal(c)ón* ("timbers of a gable roof") derives from Arabic */jamalūn/*, he is of course right, but we are left with the false impression that this word is genuine stock in the latter language, while the interesting fact is that the item was borrowed from Aramaic */gamlōn/*, a diminutive of the name of the camel whose hump seems to have generated this metonymy—as supported also by Akkadian *gamlu(m)* ("angular piece of wood; boomerang"). It is understandable that people whose main concern is Romance philology or, at most, Western Indo-European linguistics, should be unable to delve at ease into such Semitic tongues as Aramaic, Hebrew, Ethiopic or Akkadian, still more Persian, Coptic or Berber, but this circumstance should infuse all of us with a sense of the limitation of our individual capabilities and prompt us to undertake teamwork in the whole complex, rich linguistic and cultural background of Arabic and its adstratal and substratal constituents, if we are ever to obtain comprehensive and trustworthy information about Western words of Eastern descent.

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that the research hitherto carried out in this realm contains some wrong attributions to non-existent Arabic etyma (e.g., Castilian *acicate* ("spur" < **/sikkāt/*), *moraga* ("roasted sausage, sardines or olives" < */muḥraqa/*), *zumaya* ("a kind of owl" < **/sumayyi'/*), etc.,⁵ while in other instances the mark has been missed by default through failure to detect the Arabic etyma of words such as Castilian *acebuche* ("wild olive-tree"), *ademán* ("gesture"), *talante* ("countenance") and *zahón* ("chaps").⁶ Sometimes there are even ghost-words, like Castilian *zatara* ("river craft"), found in all dictionaries as the modern spelling of medieval *ṣatara*, misread for *catara*.⁷

Loanwords, however, are just one area, and by no means the trickiest one, of studies on linguistic interference between Arabic and Romance; this phenomenon also, clearly, embraces grammatical aspects (phonemic, morphological and syntactic) and idiomatic aspects (idioms and proverbs).

No respectable scholar now gives serious thought to the possibility of Arabic phonemic interference in Romance, as used to be the case in the past,⁸ and almost the same applies to morphological interference: it must be agreed that Castilian did borrow from Arabic its relative adjective or *nisba* suffix,⁹ but other hypotheses of this kind must be rejected through lack of cogent evidence, as in the case of the supposed Arabic origin of Castilian causative verbs with a prefixed {*a-*}, built as it is upon resemblance to the same prefix in CA causative verbs.¹⁰

Matters are even more complex in the realms of syntax, semantics and idioms, where some proponents of omnipresent would-be calques seem to have forgotten entirely that the burden of proof rests on their shoulders.

We must accept, in view of reasonably solid proofs, that a sizable number of Arabic proverbs have been more or less literally translated into Romance,¹¹ but, on the other hand, most of the hypothetical calques proposed in the realms of syntax, semantics and idioms are to be rejected, no matter how commonly and naively believed on account of the prestige in other areas of their alleged discoverers, who at times seem to have forsaken the basic requirements of method and just rushed wildly after originality and exoticism.

In the realm of purported syntactic influences, for instance, it has been said, and appears to be believed without much objection, that expressions such as Castilian *burla burlando*, *calla callando*, etc. are calques of Semitic paronomasia, and that the use of 2nd singular or 3rd plural persons of the verb in impersonal idioms (e.g., *hablas y no te escuchan*: "one speaks and is not listened to") might be another such calque. But in the first case the idiomatic transfer is impossible, since Neoarabic does not use anything similar, or even possess a gerund; while, as for the second, it is hardly necessary to point out the universality of such idioms, paralleled as they are in English, Russian, etc.

As for would-be semantic calques that never were, let us mention just two examples: Castilian *infante* ("son of a king", from Latin *infans*: "not talking"), according to such viewpoints, acquired its special meaning as a calque of Arabic */walad/*, and *hidalgo* (Portuguese and Old Castilian *fidalgo*: "nobleman") is a "Semitic grafting", translating */banū 'l-akḥmās/* ("holders of certain public lands"). Both hypotheses—generally accepted and now among the backbones of a theory emphasising the Semitic ingredients in Hispanic society—are false, as */walad/* never meant "son of a king" specifically, and */banū 'l-akḥmās/*, an extremely rare expression exhumated by Dozy

and applied to certain peasants, has nothing in common, semantically and historically, with the *hidalgos*, not even the metonymical use of "son", considered by many as an irrefutable semiticism; unless, of course, instead of considering this use as one of a large number of linguistic universals, likely to be found almost anywhere by isomorphism, we are ready to admit that *terrae filius* ("destitute man") in Cicero and "son of fortune" (i.e., "wealthy man") in Homer are Semitic graftings also.

Thus, the picture emerging from a careful and dispassionate scrutiny of research on linguistic interference between Arabic and Romance allows us to see, side by side with many true discoveries and deep insights, a considerable number of misapprehensions generated either by ignorance or disregard of certain data and methods, or by ideological distortion.

In connection with the latter, these studies have also had their share of nationalistic biases, in the form of exaggerations and generalisations designed to increase the weight of the Hispanic constituent in al-Andalus, or, on the other side, of equally flimsy theories eagerly seeking Semitic influences everywhere. Both biases are unworthy of any scientific respect, and inexcusable in true scholars, who should only be interested in the plain truth and must rise far above the temptation of glorifying or vilifying any human group by tampering with the facts and their interpretation. Only when such trends and fads have been rejected as a premise for any serious study of this interesting subject can we set up a catalogue of merely technical failures, inaccuracies and shortcomings in the relevant research, and try to correct them with new, unimpeachable data and strict, flawless methods. What follows is an outline of proposals for tackling the main issues under consideration.

To begin with, and in order to cope with the issue of interference by Arabic on Hispanic Romance, one cannot accept CA as a basis of comparison, as it was never and nowhere spoken as a native tongue by anybody; it was merely a literary koine artificially derived for poetical purposes by pre-Islamic *ruwāt*, or rhapsodists, from quite close, but nevertheless not exactly identical Old Arabian dialects. Instead, we ought to realise that the spoken Arabic introduced by the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 92/711 was a dialect bundle, or, to be more exact, an admixture of North Arabian dialects, not excluding imprecisely definable compromises with South Arabian in the case of Yemenis only superficially north-arabised, all of them already in a state of flux as a consequence of recent migrations and contacts with other Arabic or non-Arabic elements. Although CA too accompanied the troops, as the language of the Quran and of the poetry practised by some of them, one must suppose—and everything in the ensuing evolution leads us to believe—that the suprastratic impact of koineised Arabic upon their everyday speech was rather feeble. The extremely divergent nature of trends at this point was checked, if at all, only by feedback from sporadic contacts with other Arab settlements in North Africa or the East.

The next point we must take into account, if we are to acquire an idea about the background of Andalusi Arabic, is that the Arabs did not find a linguistic vacuum in the land that was subsequently to be called al-Andalus. The local people, who numbered some millions, while the Arabs could not be reckoned in more than thousands, spoke Proto-Romance, and it is also proven that a large segment of the invading force and future settlers were North African Berber speakers; in spite of the latter's frequent willingness to pass themselves off as Arabs, their linguistic presence was signalled by several dozen Berber loanwords in AA.¹²

This is not much in comparison with the naturally much more strongly felt impact of Romance in connection with the emergence of the local dialect bundle. Due to this influence, exerted upon a brand of Arabic that had soon entirely yielded to the more pro-analytical Neoarabic type, AA acquired new phonemes like /p/ and /č/, whilst losing phonemic distinctions in certain contours, adopted Romance morphemes such as diminutive, augmentative and other suffixes, dropped characteristic morphemic oppositions like the gender distinction in the 2nd person singular of verbs, followed certain syntactic patterns of Romance, assimilated many calques of idioms and, last but not least, adopted literally hundreds of Romance loanwords.¹³

Such was the profile of AA, and this was the type of Arabic that exerted a degree of influence upon the emerging Romance languages—not CA, which remained the sole domain of high registers, out of touch with everyday life at the levels where linguistic contacts were possible. It is almost certain that Umayyad rule had a measure of success in curbing some very divergent features, like strong *imāla*, i.e., pronouncing /a/ as /i/, by creating what we could label as standards of educated AA speech, favoured by the enthusiastic adherence of educated circles to Eastern fashions and literary trends, but this whole process stopped far short of reinstating colloquial use of pro-synthetic Old Arabic, let alone putting an end to or even altering the basic traits of the local brand of Neoarabic, which, there as everywhere, had come to stay.

This is not to deny that CA was subsequently learned very well by an important number of people of diverse social groups, as a consequence of improved educational opportunities in urban milieus; but, as a rule, we can infer that the better a person knew CA, the farther he was, by reasons of trade and social status, from the chance to get in touch with the most conspicuously bilingual lower segments of the population which served as channels of the reverse linguistic interference of Arabic upon Romance. This is why it makes little sense to make exclusive use of CA dictionaries when trying to find the etyma of Arabic loanwords in Romance: *aladroque*, *alifara*, *almazara* ("picnic area"),¹⁴ *andrajo* ("rag"),¹⁵ *haragán* ("lazy person"),¹⁶ *mazorca* ("spindle full of thread"),¹⁷ *mohino* ("fretful"),¹⁸ *zahón*, etc. cannot be properly etymologised unless we use sources only from genuine AA lexicon for that purpose.

Having thus clearly established the kind of Arabic that exerted influence upon Romance languages, it still remains to explain how the process came about. We have all heard charming stories about the peaceful and mutually enriching coexistence of people of the three religions in the Iberian Peninsula, but history and sociolinguistics do not bear them out: the Muslim invasion of Hispania and its counterpart, the Christian *reconquista*, were both, like all wars, exercises of violence unjustifiable by any moral standards, which no honest and sensitive human being can condone. When the battles ended and boundaries kept foes apart again, there was not much free circulation of people across the borders, nor any desire to learn the enemy's language or manners; however, there were, in both instances, a number among the defeated who stayed on behind the enemy lines and had to accommodate themselves to the ways of the victors, language included: Mozarabs on the one hand, and Mudejars on the other, being by force of circumstances bilingual, became the main channel for interferences between Arabic and Romance in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Mozarabic flight from al-Andalus and the steady immigration of Mozarabs, during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, to the northern Christian kingdoms in quest of a better life (which many of them attained, thanks to their superior culture and technical capabilities, deriving from their acquaintance with the higher standards of civilisation in the Muslim world at the time) account for most Arabic loanwords in Romance. As for the Mudejars, i.e., the Andalusi Muslims who lived under Christian rule after the seizure of their lands by their enemies, and who became bilingual thereafter and remained so for some time, they too seem to have contributed some Arabic loanwords to Romance, although not so many as in the case of the Mozarabs, since their social and cultural status was no longer such as to favour imitation by their neighbours.

In addition to these two main sources of mostly lexical linguistic interference by Arabic in Romance, there is also a third minor ingredient of such borrowings, either direct or through other languages (mainly French and Italian) as a result of sporadic contacts with Muslim communities spreading from India to West Africa and occurring from the Middle Ages up to the present day.

From a statistical viewpoint it is to be noted that Arabic loanwords are not equally frequent in the diverse Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, being, for obvious historical reasons, more abundant in the border areas occupied by Portuguese, Castilian and the Valencian and Balearic dialects of Catalan than in Galician and Northern Catalan. However, these two languages are not completely free of such borrowings, some of them in fact unique and exceptionally important for the study of AA, like Catalan *bassetja* ("sling")¹⁹ or Galician *laczán* ("lazy").²⁰

Research on such aspects as the geographical distribution of Arabic loan-words once integrated in the diverse languages and dialects, the periodisation or dating of their first appearances, the quantification or evaluation of their numerical importance vis-à-vis the bulk of vocabulary in a given area and epoch, semantic and sociolinguistic classification and evolution, etc., belongs to the correlate areas of study of the different Romance languages, and has proceeded, over the past years, at a reasonable pace which obviously, however, cannot outstrip progress in knowledge concerning these languages.

In conclusion, we have considerable data about linguistic interference between Arabic and Romance, but the accuracy of this is not always total, so that all should now be checked and counterchecked in the light of what we have recently learned about AA, in order to correct the aforementioned mistakes—particularly frequent in areas like syntax, idioms, identification of place names, minor or marginal dialects, etc. Joint work by scholars trained in Arabic and AA dialectology and Romanists with newer data and stricter methods can and must produce far better and more reliable reference works than the ones presently available.

¹ See F. J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid, reissued Amsterdam, 1965, chapter III.

² This is demonstrated in J. Samsó, "Los estudios sobre el dialecto andalusí, la onomástica hispano-árabe y los arabismos en las lenguas peninsulares desde 1950", *Índice Histórico Español*, 16, 1970, pp. 11-47; and J. M. Fórneas, "Elementos para una bibliografía lingüística básica sobre al-Andalus", *Actas de las Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica*, Madrid, 1978, pp. 45-107.

³ For example: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden, 1869 (reissued 1969); A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos del iberorrománico y el siciliano*, Madrid, 1932; J. Coromines, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berna, 1954 (reissued, with the collaboration of J. A. Pascual, under the title *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*, Madrid, 1980-) and *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana*, Barcelona, 1983-; and D. Griffin, "Los mozarabismos del 'Vocabulista' atribuido a Ramón Martí", *Al-Andalus*, 23, 1958, pp. 251-337; 24, 1959, pp. 333-80; 25, 1960, pp. 93-169 (reissued Madrid, 1961).

⁴ From */almaṭrúq/* ("pounded"), */alihála/* ("remittance of money or gifts") and */alḥatrúq/* ("big-mouthed") respectively: see F. Corriente, "Apostillas de lexicografía hispanoárabe", *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica*, Madrid, 1985.

⁵ See Corriente, "Apostillas de lexicografía hispanoárabe" for criticism of such and similar instances, and for alternative proposals. In the first and third examples the suggested etyma are morphologically impossible or highly unlikely, in the second there are sufficiently solid grounds to prefer an etymon of Iberian stock.

⁶ From Western Arabic */zabbūj/* < Old Arabic */zaʿbaj/*, AA */ḍimán/*, */lálʾa/* plus the Romance suffix {-ante} and */sáq/* ("leg"), plus the Romance augmentative suffix {-ón}.

⁷ Cf. *katára* ("pontón") in Alcalá, i. e., */khattára/*: see F. Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid, 1988, p. 59; and disregard F. Corriente, "Apostillas de lexicografía hispanoárabe", pp. 155-56, where I too failed to detect this misspelling and sinned in good company.

⁸ See R. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 8th ed., Madrid, 1980, pp. 147-48.

⁹ Restricted to substantives related to Islam, Arabs and the East, like *marroquí*, *alfonsí*, etc.

¹⁰ See Eva Salomonski, *Funciones formativas del prefijo 'a-' estudiadas en el castellano antiguo*, Zurich, 1944. This is a typical example of a hypothesis of interference of Arabic in

Romance totally vitiated from its very basis by assuming identity between AA and CA: Neo-arabic as a whole, and since its earliest beginnings, had abandoned that morpheme almost completely, and it could not therefore have had any influence upon Romance.

¹¹ On this see E. García Gómez, "Una prueba de que el refranero árabe fue incorporado en traducción al español", *Al-Andalus*, 42, 1977, pp. 375-90.

¹² On this score, see F. Corriente, "Nuevos berberismos del hispanoárabe", *Awraq*, 4, 1981, pp. 27-30.

¹³ Data supporting these assertions can be found in the appropriate sections of F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, Madrid, 1977 and *Gramática, métrica y texto del Cancionero hispanoárabe de Aban Quzmán*, Madrid, 1980; in F. Corriente, "Los fonemas /p/, /č/ y /g/ en árabe hispánico", *Vox Romanica*, 37, 1978, pp. 214-18 and "Algunos sufijos derivativos romances en mozárabe hispanoárabe y en los arabismos hispánicos", *Aula Orientalis*, 1, 1983, pp. 55-60; and in other monographs listed in the bibliography. Additional data will be available in my forthcoming book on this same subject, *El haz dialectal árabe andalusí y su interacción con las lenguas de la Península Ibérica*.

¹⁴ < /almuṣāra/, a local derivation from {syr}.

¹⁵ < /ḥaṭrāč/, locally derived from {htr} plus a Romance despective suffix.

¹⁶ < */kharqān/ ("clumsy") from *khraq*, but unknown to CA.

¹⁷ From Arabic /māsūra/ ("reel") of Persian descent plus the Romance adjectival suffix {-iko/a}.

¹⁸ From AA /muḥīn/ ("reviled") vs. CA /mahīn/.

¹⁹ A hapax < */masājja/, otherwise unattested and probably slangy derivation from {shijj}: see F. Corriente, "Precisiones etimológicas a 'bassetja' y 'baldrica'", *Anuario de Filología* (Barcelona), 8, 1982, pp. 105-09.

²⁰ Metathesis of /kaslān/ or < */agzān/ with article agglutination.

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FURTHER LISTINGS AND CATEGORISATIONS OF ARABIC WORDS IN IBERO-ROMANCE LANGUAGES

DIETER MESSNER

The influence of the Arabic superstrate on the languages spoken on the Iberian Peninsula has given Castilian, Portuguese and Catalan a special position among the Romance languages, a position reflected in the very large number of studies which have apparently now illuminated every aspect of the subject.¹

The Iberian Peninsula not only received Arabic influences, but also mediated them to other languages like French. Indeed the accidental conservation of written material has, curiously, led to some Arabic words (like *tambour*, Arabic *ṭanbūr*) actually appearing earlier in French than in, for example, Castilian. But not all arabisms in the Peninsula can be explained in terms of narrow contacts between Arabic- and Romance-speaking populations; some words rather came from the Italian dialects spoken in the republics maintaining commercial contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean,² or from Sicily, which was dominated by the Arabs for 200 years. One should not, moreover, underestimate the function of late Latin as a mediator of Arabic words throughout Europe (*alcohol*, Arabic *al-kuḥl*, in its modern meaning, is an example of this, and the system of Arabic numerals³ seems to have been introduced via Italy).

These different channels of linguistic "deployment" mean that the original source of some words is difficult to identify precisely. It is quite certain, nevertheless, that the linguistic influence of Arabic was greatest in the Iberian Peninsula; this is clearly evidenced, for example, by a map listing Arabic-based river names, and also by the relation between Arabic and non-Arabic toponyms in certain districts of Spain (some 20% of toponyms per thousand square kilometres, not only in the Balearics but also in such places as Valencia, Málaga and Alicante, are Arabic, whereas such toponyms do not exceed 2% in northern parts like Navarre, León, etc.).⁴ The most common are: *Alcántara* ("bridge"), Arabic *al-qanṭara*; *Albufera* ("lagoon"), Arabic *al-buḥayra*; *Almada* ("mine"), Arabic *al-ma'din*; and *(Al)medina* ("town"), Arabic *madīna*.

While the geolinguistic diffusion of Arabic toponyms depended on the level of arabisation, which was not everywhere present to the same extent, common words—mostly beginning with the Arabic article—were spread through other channels (e. g., through Mozarabs emigrating to the northern territories, who mediated words connected with municipal administration:

barrio ("district"), Arabic *barrī*; *aldea* ("village", Arabic *al-ḍayʿa*). As such the absence of the Arabic article in the majority of Catalan arabisms—the agglutinated article is present in, for instance, 60% of Castilian arabisms today (74% in the Middle Ages), but in only 32% for Catalan—might lead us to conclude, erroneously, that Catalan did not follow the same evolution as Castilian or Portuguese.⁵ But in fact two parallel forms often existed in medieval Catalan, one with the Arabic article and one without it, the latter being mostly in use today.⁶ In this Catalan follows the pattern of the Italian language: arabisms in the Italian dialects appear without article, and very often this "Italian" form spread to other European languages, as in the case of *zucchero* ("sugar"), Arabic *sukkar*, which gives German *Zucker*, French *sucre* and English *sugar* (compare Castilian *azúcar* and Portuguese *açúcar*).

Many Arabic words have, it must be said, fallen victim to cultural changes occurring over the past thousand years: horse-riding, reflected in, for example, *jaez* ("harness"), Arabic *jahāz*, and *albarda* ("pack-saddle"), Arabic *al-barḍaʿa*, has disappeared as the most common medium of displacement and transport, while modern weapons have replaced the ancient *adarga* ("shield"), Arabic *al-daraqa*, and *alfanje* ("scimitar"), Arabic *al-khanjar*.⁷ The extent to which arabisms have been given up differs from one language to another: Portuguese preserves *alfaiate* ("tailor"), Arabic *al-khayyāt*, but Castilian has replaced old *alfayate* with the gallicism *sastre*; Portuguese has *alicerce* ("foundations"), but the corresponding Castilian *alíza*, Arabic *al-asās*, failed to hold its own against *cimiento*. Very often there was competition between Romance and Arabic synonyms. Different evolutions lead Castilian *aduana*, Arabic *al-dīwāna*, and Portuguese *alfândega*, Arabic *al-funduqa*, to the same meaning "customs"; both words previously existed in the two languages. Moreover, modern frequency dictionaries will show us that quite a number of arabisms are no longer in use in standard registers.⁸

On the other hand, we also find semantic fields appearing quite frequently (the Christian peoples not infrequently adopted Arabic institutions, as is reflected in *alcalde* ("mayor"), Arabic *al-qāḍī*). Estimates have been made of the number of arabisms in Romance languages, the majority of them largely unreliable.⁹ The most important etymological dictionary of Castilian contains about 1,200,¹⁰ but quite a number of these are supported by documentary evidence only from the end of the 16th century, when the Moriscos were forbidden, by Christian rulers and legislation, to practise their traditional way of life.

It is traditional to arrange Arabic words according to semantic field, and studies of Portuguese,¹¹ Castilian¹² and Catalan¹³ vocabulary adopt the same procedure—beginning with the terminology of war, as though this had been the most important activity in the context of the Arabs' domination of the Peninsula.

The following examples are Castilian (often, in fact, Portuguese and Catalan forms do not differ): *alcazaba*, Arabic *al-qaṣaba*, together with *alcázar*, Arabic *al-qaṣr*, denominate a fortress, which is provided with *atalaya* ("tower"), Arabic *al-ṭalāʿi*, and *barbacana* ("breastwork"), Arabic *bāb al-baqara*. Many other words are, today, employed only in historical contexts, but some exceptions have entered everyday Spanish: *alférez* ("cadet"), Arabic *al-fāris* (formerly "standard-bearer"), *jinete* ("horseman"), Arabic *zanātī* (formerly "mounted soldier") and *ronda* ("patrol"), Arabic *rubt* (existing as a loanword in French *ronde*, erroneously derived from Latin *rotundus*; and also in Italian *ronda* and German *Runde*).

The Arabs were, as is well known, skilful and hard-working farmers, even in regions where cultivation depended on a complex irrigation system (as such the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610 was highly detrimental to the Peninsular economy). Quite a number of Arabic words are still in use today: *acequia* ("feeder"), Arabic *al-sāqiya*; *aljibe* ("cistern"), Arabic *al-jubb*; *arcaduz* ("bucket"), Arabic *al-qādūs*; *noria* ("draw-well"), Arabic *al-nāʿūra*, etc. The fields produced plants not known before the Arab invasion of the Peninsula: *alcachofa* ("artichoke"), Arabic *al-kharshūfa*; *zanahoria* ("carrot"), Arabic *isfannāriya* (German *Mohrrübe*, "rape of the Moors", also indicates the origin); *azafran* ("saffron"), Arabic *al-zaʿfarān* (most European languages borrowed from Italian *zafferano*, cf. French and German *safran*); *algodón* ("cotton"), Arabic *al-qūṭn*.

Arabic industry is likewise reflected in Ibero-Romance words, with various craftsmen maintaining the Arabic name of their profession, and of the manufactured products arising from them: *alfarero* ("potter"), Arabic *al-fakḥkhār*; *taza* ("cup"), Arabic *ṭassa* (cf. French and German *tasse*); *jarra* ("jug"), Arabic *jārra*. The verb *recamar*, Arabic *raqama*, signifies a special form of embroidery held in high regard throughout the Peninsula, while *damasco* ("damask") is a textile originally produced in the city of that name (i. e., Damascus).

To this business (*tarea*, Arabic *ṭariḥa*), and to the trade carried on with the resulting products, we owe many other words concerning, for example, measurements—*quintal* ("quintal"), Arabic *qinṭār*; *tara* ("tare"), Arabic *ṭarḥa*; *quilate* ("carat"), Arabic *qīrāt*—or commerce—*almacén* ("ware-store"), Arabic *al-makḥzan*, cf. Italian *magazzino*; *almoneda* ("public sale"), Arabic *al-munādā*—or the exercise of justice—*alcalde* ("mayor", formerly "judge").

Arabic architecture became renowned, and some words accordingly continue in modern Spanish, such as: *albañil* ("bricklayer"), Arabic *al-bannāʾ*; *azulejo* ("tile"), Arabic *al-zulayj*; *albañal* ("drain"), Arabic *al-ballāʿa*. The interiors of houses were decorated with *alfombra* ("carpet"), Arabic *al-khumra*, and *almohada* ("cushion"), Arabic *al-mukḥadda*. Arabs took pleasure in playing chess (*ajedrez*, Arabic *al-ṣhiṭranj*) or games of chance (*azar*, Arabic *al-zahr*, cf. French *hasard*). Some Arabic names of sweetmeats are still in use, e.g., *alcorza* ("sugar-icing"), Arabic *al-qurṣa*.

The well-known *syrup* is also of Arabic origin; the Arabic form *sharāb* continues in Spain as *jarabe*, whilst late Latin spread the book-word throughout the world (German *Sirup*, French *sirop*). Medicine was practised on a high level, some technical terms being still current today, such as *álcali* ("alkali"), Arabic *al-qalī*; *alambique* ("distilling flask"), Arabic *al-anbiq*, and *alquímia* ("alchemy"), Arabic *al-kīmiya*, which suffered deterioration of its meaning.

The scientific level of the Arabs can be exemplified in a great number of disciplines, but we will confine the present study to astronomy. Found not only in Ibero-Romance but in many other languages are *nadir*, Arabic *naẓīr*, *zenith*, Arabic *samt* (*al-ra's*) and many other denominations concerning stars.

It is impossible to enumerate all the Arabic items—some 800—which are still in use in the Peninsula (and elsewhere in Europe); selection would, in any case, risk being merely arbitrary. The examples noted above will, however, serve to illustrate that multiplicity and help confirm that the linguistic heritage of the Arabs might well be placed on a par with the architecture of the Peninsula.

¹ For bibliographical information see Günther Holtus, Michael Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexicon der romanistischen Linguistik*, Vol. V 2, Tübingen, 1991, and Vol. VI, Tübingen, 1992.

² Cf. Giovan-Battista Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, Brescia, 1972.

³ J. Barrados de Carvalho, "Sur l'introduction des chiffres arabes au Portugal", *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises*, 20, 1958, pp. 110-51.

⁴ Hermann Lautensach, *Iberische Halbinsel, thematischer Atlas*, Munich, 1964, p. 172, Map 18.

⁵ Jordi Bruguera, *Història del Lèxic Català*, Barcelona, 1985, p. 57.

⁶ J. M. Solà-Solé, "El artículo 'al-' en los arabismos del iberorománico", *Romance Philology*, 21, 1968, pp. 275-85.

⁷ John Kevin Walsh, *The Loss of Arabisms in the Spanish Lexicon*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1967.

⁸ For further examples, see Wilhelm Pötters, *Unterschiede im Wortschatz der iberoromanischen Sprachen*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cologne, 1970.

⁹ Cf. Kurt Baldinger, *La formación de los dominios lingüísticos en la Península Ibérica*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1971.

¹⁰ Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berna, 1954, IV, 1207-13.

¹¹ Serafim da Silva Neto, *História da língua portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1970, pp. 333-45. See also M. J. Moura Santos, "Importação lexical e estruturação semântica, os arabismos na língua portuguesa", *Biblos*, 56, 1980, pp. 573-96.

¹² Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, 8th ed., Madrid, 1980.

¹³ Bruguera, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61.

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ARAB INFLUENCES ON EUROPEAN LOVE-POETRY

ROGER BOASE

There is still a reluctance on the part of many medievalists to recognise that Arab culture had an impact on medieval Europe which went far beyond the acquisition of certain luxury goods. Of course Europe's indebtedness to the Arabs as mediators in the transmission of Greek philosophy, medicine and mathematics is readily admitted, because such an admission does not undermine the conventional myth of European cultural identity, Graeco-Roman in its intellectual and artistic origins and imbued with Christian ethics. The transmission is presented as if it were a "a transaction similar to the purchase of some object in a store".¹ It is thus assumed that Arabs played a purely passive role in this process. The courtly love tradition would seem to be something quintessentially European because it is associated with the rules of polite society and Christian chivalric ideals—and is at the very root of the modern concept of romantic love. For this reason many people would consider it preposterous to claim that it might have developed as a result of cultural links with the Arab world. A hundred years ago no scholar would have dared to make such a claim. In fact, after the colonial era, which from the Arab point of view can be dated from Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798-1801), discussion of Europe's cultural debt to the Arabs became virtually taboo until the 1930s, when, outside Spain, research was done by Lawrence Ecker, Henri Pérès, Emile Dermenghem, Evariste Lévi-Provençal and A. R. Nykl. Even in Spain, where pioneering work was done by Julián Ribera y Tarragó, Miguel Asín Palacios, Emilio García Gómez, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Américo Castro and others, there were those, like Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who attributed most of Spain's defects, in particular her "cultural belatedness",² to the baneful de-Europeanising influence of Islam.

Denis de Rougemont, who is more famous for his rather eccentric theory that Courtly Love was the product of a heretical Cathar environment, declared in 1956, in the revised edition of *Passion and Society*, that it was no longer necessary to establish "Andalusian influence" on the troubadours, because to him it was self-evident:

And I could fill pages with passages from Arabs and Provençals about which our great specialists of "the abyss which separates" would possibly fail to guess whether they were penned north or south of the Pyrenees. The matter is settled.³

But, unfortunately, the matter is far from settled, and the relationship between Arabic and Provençal poetry is more complicated than de Rougemont

would have us believe. The two specialists of the abyss whom he had in mind (and whom he mentions in the same paragraph) were the 19th-century scholars Ernest Renan and Reinhardt Dozy. Modern scholars, it would seem, still find it difficult to shrug off the negative judgements pronounced by these two orientalist.

After conceding that Castilian and Portuguese are not the only Romance languages which contain many Arabic loan words, Renan writes:

With regard to literary and moral influences, these have been greatly exaggerated; neither Provençal poetry, nor chivalry, owe anything to the Muslims. An abyss separates the form and the spirit of Romance poetry from the form and the spirit of Arabic poetry; there is no evidence that Christian poets knew of the existence of Arabic poetry, and one may assert that, even had they known about it, they would not have been able to understand its language and its spirit.⁴

Dozy's view on this matter was even more uncompromising:

As regards the possibility of a direct influence of Arabic poetry on Provençal poetry, or on Romance poetry in general, it has not been established and it will not be established. We consider this question to be an entirely idle one; we would like never to see it discussed again, although we are convinced that it will be for a long time yet. Every man has his own hobby horse!⁵

Dozy's telling words "on ne l'a prouvée et on ne la prouvera pas" clearly betray his lack of critical impartiality. One would not expect such bias from one of the leading historians of Muslim Spain. The tone of these words reminds me of Alfred Jeanroy's reaction to Julián Ribera's proposal (made in 1928) that the word *trobar* might derive from the Arabic verb *ṭaraba*, "to sing, to play music; to be moved by joy or grief; to fill with delight": "The Arabic etymologies ascribed by Ribera to the words *troubadour* ... will certainly convince nobody".⁶

Samuel Stern quoted with approval the lines by Dozy which I have just cited, in a paper delivered in Spoleto in 1964. His own conclusion was very similar:

That the troubadours could not have been in direct contact with Arabic poetry is a direct consequence of the indisputable fact that they did not know, and could not have known, enough to understand it ... To my way of thinking, and the opinion is worth no more than that of anyone else, there is reason to doubt whether even a single element of the poetry of the troubadours is due to the influence of Arabic poetry.⁷

How can we be so sure that the troubadours had no knowledge of Arabic? And how can we be so sure that they could not have obtained a rough translation of the words of a song if they found the music and the rhythm and the rhymes pleasing to the ear? Although Stern does not deny that there are "similarities between the troubadour concept of love and certain ideas expressed in Arabic literature", he suggests that "these similarities will have to be explained as parallel developments not linked to any genetic relationship".⁸

When, in 1976, I confided to an American academic whom I met at a conference that I was doing some research on what scholars had said about *amour courtois* and that I was inclined to favour the Arab theory of origins, he was very dismissive: "I thought that theory had been finally disproved by Samuel Stern." Fortunately, I was not deterred: having completed a chronological survey of what I called Courtly Love scholarship, I had learnt that in literary and cultural history there are no fixed absolutes; theories change with the mood of the times and the scholar who makes the greatest claims to impartiality is often the most prejudiced. Incidentally, this does not mean that I consider the whole enterprise to be doomed from the start. María Rosa Menocal is surely being excessively modest when she implies that her alternative vision of the mixed ancestry of European culture is merely a myth with which to modify prevailing myths.⁹

On the basis of my own findings and my assessment of the evidence, I still believe that Courtly Love may be defined as "a comprehensive cultural phenomenon ... which arose in an aristocratic Christian environment exposed to Hispano-Arabic influences".¹⁰ Although the troubadours themselves used other expressions such as *fin'amors*, *bon'amors* and *verai'amors* (and similar terms are found in other Romance languages), Courtly Love is a convenient description of a conception of love which informed a tradition of European literature from the 12th century until the Renaissance, so that, by extension, the term is applicable to this literature.¹¹ Whether it is treated seriously or satirically, this literary or poetic convention, which was propagated in Europe by the Provençal troubadours, is evident in the works of most of the major medieval poets and writers of fiction, including Bernart de Ventadorn, Guillaume de Lorris, Chrétien de Troyes, Heinrich von Morungen, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strassburg, Cavalcanti, Dante, Petrarch, Ausias March, Chaucer, John Gower, Malory, Marie de France, Charles d'Orléans, Santillana, Diego de San Pedro and Fernando de Rojas. It is also of central importance in some Renaissance writers, such as Gil Vicente and Garcilaso.

The essential features of this conception of love are the beloved's sovereignty, the lover's fidelity and submission, secrecy, the interdependence of love and poetry, and the ennobling, yet potentially destructive power of love. The beloved was invested with the sovereignty of a feudal overlord or the perfection of a goddess. The lover humbly pledged to serve her, as if he were a vassal or a slave, demanding no more than a sign of recognition for deeds performed on her behalf. Since a public display of emotion might jeopardise the lady's honour, particularly if she were married, discretion was a fundamental precept and a condition of any sexual favour which she might confer. This explains why it was customary for the poet to conceal his beloved's identity by giving her a fictitious name or *senhal*. By endeavouring to make himself worthy of his beloved, the lover acquired a number of moral, courtly

and chivalrous qualities. If she were too easily accessible, love would cease to be arduous and ennobling; yet if, on the other hand, she epitomised the archetypal *belle dame sans mercy*, the traditional symptoms of love—insomnia, emaciation, trembling, fainting and pallor—could deteriorate into a species of melancholia, leading ultimately to death. Founded, as it was, on the precarious coexistence of erotic desire and spiritual aspiration, this conception of love was inherently paradoxical. It was, to quote F. X. Newman, “a love at once illicit and morally elevating, passionate and self-disciplined, humiliating and exalting, human and transcendent”.¹²

With the exception of the analogy of feudalism, all the main features which I have just mentioned are founded in the Arab poetic tradition of chaste love, *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī*, which can be traced back to the 1st/7th century poetry of the Banū ʿUdhra (“the Sons of Chastity”), a tribe renowned as martyrs of unrequited love, and to Jamīl b. Maʿmar al-ʿUdhri (d. 82/701)—a poet better known as Jamīl Buthayna on account of his love for Buthayna—in particular. This tradition was discussed and more clearly formulated in many treatises, the most famous being *Kitāb al-zahra* (“The Book of the Flower”)¹³ by Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-ʿIṣfahānī (255/868–297/910), composed in Baghdad in the late 2nd/9th century, and *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (“The Dove’s Neck-Ring”)¹⁴ by Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥazm (Ibn Ḥazm) (383/993–456/1064), composed in Córdoba ca. 412/1022. From Muslim Spain we may infer that this paradoxical tradition of profane spiritualised love was imported into southern France by musicians, singing-girls, captives and slaves. Another channel of communication between east and west was, of course, the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. But it not only needs to be demonstrated that Arabic poetry and/or treatises on love were accessible to the Provençal troubadours; it is also necessary to prove that the undoubted parallels which exist between these two conceptions of love cannot be explained by coincidence or polygenesis, and to do this one should be able to produce literary evidence of a cultural exchange or transmission. The serious objections which have been raised have never been countered in a systematic way.

Peter Dronke, one of the participants in the discussion following Stern’s paper at Spoleto, believes that the parallels between Provençal and Arabic love-poetry are coincidental. This is the assumption underlying his *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*.¹⁵ In this impressive work, which begins with the oldest of all collections of love-songs, composed in Egypt in the second millennium B.C., and includes examples of Icelandic, Byzantine, Georgian, Arabic and Mozarabic poetry, it is proposed that *amour courtois*, here apparently used as a synonym for the experience or sensibility which gave rise to the European love-lyric, is universally possible and might occur “at any time or place” (p. ix). There are three fundamental objections to this approach: first of all, it belittles the novelty of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours, both in style and content, and the extraordinary impact which

this poetry had on European literature and social mores; secondly, it leaves the main literary tradition of the Middle Ages without a name: *amour courtois* is, after all, a critical concept, defining not simply an individual experience, but the content of a literary genre and a general cultural phenomenon; thirdly, before the 12th century, only Arabic poetry, or poetry influenced by the Arabic lyrical tradition, contains all of the essential features of Courtly Love which I listed earlier. Of course it is an exaggeration to claim, as Curtius did, that "the passion and the sorrow of love were an emotional discovery of the French troubadours and their successors",¹⁶ or that, by comparison with this revolution, the Renaissance was, in the words of C. S. Lewis, "a mere ripple on the surface of literature".¹⁷ However the manner in which the troubadours wrote about love, as well as their decision to do so in the vernacular, was revolutionary. As Mario Equicola wrote in the late 15th century, "the way in which they described their love was new, quite different from that of the ancient Latin authors; these wrote openly, without respect, without reverence, without fear of dishonouring their ladies".¹⁸ Alan M. Boase made this point very well in the preface to the first volume of his anthology of French poetry:

In general, the Greeks and Romans, not unlike the Chinese, regarded love as a sickness, as soon as it overstepped the bounds of that sensual pleasure which was regarded as its natural expression. This attitude is still more inimical to passion than the almost pathological reprobation of sex which was that of patristic Christianity.¹⁹

He also wrote:

It is hardly in doubt ... that the Arab forerunners of these poets [i.e., the troubadours] are to be found in ninth-century Andalusia and in the great Ibn Hazm of *The Dove's Necklace*—who incidentally knew his Plato at a time when the philosopher was a mere name to the Christian West.²⁰

Whilst I would agree with Dronke that the European love-lyric is a garden in which the roots can seldom be disentangled and that "it is far more important to watch the growth of the flowers",²¹ we cannot fully appreciate the flowers unless we make comparisons, and, to my knowledge, no scholar has hitherto made a satisfactory comparative study of European and Arabic love-poetry. I have already alluded to some of the reasons why such a study has not been undertaken. The first priority is to develop a suitable methodological framework, bearing in mind the theoretical work which has been done on cultural transmission, in particular by Norman Daniel.²² In a study of this kind there could be five sections: the first dealing with the evidence of cultural links between Christian Europe and Arab-Islamic civilisation and possible avenues of transmission (i. e. Muslim Spain and Sicily); the second on musical theory and practice; the third on the question of formal and stylistic elements; the fourth on general themes and specific motifs; the fifth on the influence of philosophical ideas or theories, such as Platonism, Sufism or the

medical description of love-melancholy. I am convinced that if this research were done properly, it would no longer be possible for a scholar like L. T. Topsfield to write a book entitled *Troubadours and Love* containing only one brief reference to Ibn Ḥazm and four cautious one-line references to hypothetical unnamed Hispano-Arabic sources.²³

In the space of this paper I can do no more than offer some material for sections one and four: I shall mention a few facts about potential avenues of transmission and illustrate, by means of quotations, certain parallel themes in Arabic and European love-poetry. Some of these parallels are of a general nature; others are very specific and seem to demonstrate that certain passages of Ibn Ḥazm's *Tawq al-ḥamāma* were familiar to poets in France and Spain. First, I shall speak about the changing balance of power at the end of the 11th century; secondly, I shall discuss diplomatic and marital links between Navarre and the Caliphate of Córdoba; thirdly, I shall emphasise the role played by Arab ambassador-poets; fourthly, I shall mention relations between Castile and the Kingdom of Seville; and finally I shall consider the significance of the capture of the Aragonese stronghold of Barbastro and the influence of Arab singing-girls on the courts of southern France.

In the Iberian Peninsula, from at least the 10th century onwards, there had been many points of contact between Arabs and Christians: war, trade, diplomacy, intermarriage and migration. However, as a result of important political and economic changes, new channels of communication between Christian Europe and the *dār al-Islām* opened up in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. Here are some of the key dates: 457/1064, the sack of Barbastro by French knights; 478/1085, the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI; 484/1091, the defeat of the poet-king al-Mu'tamid of Seville by the pious Berber Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, marking the end of the period of the *mulūk al-tawā'if*, or Party Kings, and the beginning of the Almoravid era; 484/1091, the completion of the Norman conquest of Sicily; 1096-99, the First Crusade; 1112, the unification of Provence and Catalonia under Ramon Berenguer IV; 512/1118, the conquest of Saragossa by Alfonso I of Aragon. From one end of the Mediterranean to the other Christendom was expanding: in Palestine, Syria, Sicily and Spain. The independent petty kingdoms of al-Andalus were so weakened by internal conflicts that, in desperation, they appealed to the Berber Almoravids of Morocco to intervene; then, realising too late that Ibn Tāshfin had other ambitions, they turned in vain to the Christians for assistance. Whereas in the 4th/10th century the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain had lived in the shadow of the Caliphate of Córdoba, now the situation was reversed: the Muslim states sought to secure their survival by offering tribute to the Christian kings. With this shift in the balance of power, there was more willingness (as well as more opportunity) to imitate aspects of Arab culture which previously were perceived as debilitating and effeminate. It is understandable that southern France should have been more receptive to

the refinements of Arab culture than Castile, which had to remain in a constant state of military alert.²⁴ The European sense of cultural inferiority, especially with regard to matters of love and marriage, is evident in Juan Manuel's story about Saladin's advice to the Count of Provence in *El Conde Lucanor*.²⁵

It is surprising to find that, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, a special relationship was formed between the Kingdom of Navarre and the Caliphate of Córdoba. The *amīr* 'Abd al-Rahmān II (r. 206/822-238/852), who defeated King Enneco and his Banū Qasī allies in 228/843, owned a Navarrese singing-girl named Qalam; she had been trained in Medina to sing, to dance and to memorise verses and was skilled in the art of calligraphy.²⁶ This caliph, who sought to make his court the rival of Baghdad under Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, was so infatuated by his love for Ṭarūb, mother of his son 'Abd Allāh, that he was ready to submit to all her caprices, even though she once tried to poison him.²⁷ His father al-Ḥakam I, who was a better poet, wrote several poems in which he describes himself as a slave or prisoner of love. "Submission," he wrote, "is beautiful in a freeborn man (*hurr*) when he is a slave (*mamlūk*) of love".²⁸ The cruel 'Abd Allāh (r. 275/888-300/912), also a poet, married Onneca or Iñiga, a Navarrese princess, whose father, Fortun Garcés of Pamplona (r. ca. 882-905), had spent two decades as a hostage in Córdoba. Onneca's son, Muḥammad, married a Christian girl named María between 275/888 and 277/890, and she was the mother of the enlightened sovereign 'Abd al-Rahmān III (r. 300/929-350/961).²⁹ This explains why, when Sancho Garcés I (r. 905-925) died in 925, Toda or Theuda, the Queen-Regent of Navarre, placed her territory under the protection of 'Abd al-Rahmān III.³⁰ Following the tradition of his forebears, his son, al-Ḥakam II (r. 350/961-366/976), whose library is recorded as containing four hundred thousand volumes, also married a Navarrese girl. Her name was Aurora, or Ṣubḥ, the mother of Hishām II, and, according to Ibn Ḥazm, he loved her blindly.³¹ Ibn Ḥazm comments on this preference for pale blonde-haired girls among the caliphs of Córdoba, especially since the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, as a consequence of which many of the caliphs had fair hair and blue eyes. During this period there were also close ties between León and Córdoba. Sancho I "the Fat" was restored to the throne of León in 353/964 by the forces of al-Ḥakam II, after receiving a slimming treatment from the Caliph's doctor. It was then the turn of the usurper Ordoño IV to prostrate himself before the Caliph and appeal for help.³² Another king of Navarre, Sancho Garcés II (r. 971-994), offered his daughter in marriage to the self-appointed ruler al-Manṣūr (r. ca. 370/980-392/1002) and she subsequently became a fervent convert to Islam. In 383/993 Vermudo II of León (r. 982-999) sent his daughter Teresa to al-Manṣūr, who received her as a slave. He later released her in order to marry her, but she remained a Christian and retired to a monastery in León after her husband's death in 392/1002.³³

It should be understood that these diplomatic and marital links with Christian states were arranged through the mediation of ambassadors, the majority of whom were poets, and one must assume that they had some knowledge of Romance languages. An early example of such a poet-diplomat was Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam, known as al-*Ghazāl* ("the gazelle") because of his vigour and good looks (ca. 156/772-249/864). He owed his success as a diplomat to his skill in winning the favour of women. For example, in about 207/822, on a mission to Normandy, he improvised some verses for the Norman Queen Theuda:

My heart, thou hast undergone a painful love,
and struggled with it, the fiercest of all lions.
I fell in love with a Norman lady fair,
she keeps the sun of beauty from ever setting.

In this case these and the remaining lines were explained to the queen by an interpreter. Nykl, from whom I quote, also cites a poem of his and compares it to an early song of Guilhem IX (William IX of Aquitaine, regarded as the first troubadour).³⁴ Although this incident occurred more than two and a half centuries earlier than the troubadour period, this is how Arabic poetry could have been later communicated. A person more likely to have had some influence on the early troubadours was the poet and ambassador Ibn 'Ammār, in the service of al-Mu'tamid. In 471/1078, after persuading Alfonso VI of Castile to withdraw his forces by defeating him at a game of chess, Ibn 'Ammār urged his master to embark upon the conquest of Murcia. He pledged to give 10,000 dinars to Ramon Berenguer II of Barcelona, if the Count would collaborate in this enterprise.³⁵ Hostages were exchanged to guarantee the agreement: the Count's nephew was sent to Córdoba, while al-Mu'tamid's son, al-Rashīd, who was a poet like his father and an excellent lute-player,³⁶ was sent to the Count. When the payment was not forthcoming by the date fixed, Ibn 'Ammār and al-Rashīd were both detained by the Count. Al-Rashīd was not released until Ramon received 30,000 dinars, some of it in debased coin. It is quite possible that the courtiers of Ramon Berenguer II had the opportunity to study the poetry of these two Arab poets. Here is a sample of Ibn 'Ammār's poetry, in which the nature of love is defined:

That which confers upon love a high rank [*jāh*]
—let them understand it well—is its shameful humility,
and its delights—if you seek the pleasant taste—consist
of burning torments.

Do not seek power [*'izz*] in love [*ḥubb*], since only the slaves of love's law are free men.³⁷

It was not uncommon during this period for Christians and Muslims to be allies. The *Cantar de Mio Cid* is inspired by events in the life of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, an ally of al-Mu'tamid, who became for a short time the virtually independent ruler of Valencia (r. 487/1094-493/1099). The Cid's Mus-

lim friend, Abengalbón, is depicted as a far nobler man than the evil heirs of Carrión who inhabit Alfonso VI's court. Alfonso himself had spent some of his youth in exile at the Muslim court of Toledo, and when his fifth wife failed to produce a male heir, he took al-Mu'tamid's daughter-in-law, Sayyida, as his wife or mistress, and she took the name María or Isabel.³⁸ This was in the year 484/1091 or 485/1092. She died in childbirth a few years later, and her son Sancho would have succeeded his father if he had not been killed in the Battle of Uclés in 501/1108. In view of the fact that it is forbidden in Islam for a Muslim girl to marry a Christian, this event reflects the tragic downfall of the Sevillian kingdom. A romantic account of how this Moorish princess fell in love by hearsay is given in Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*: "she fell in love with him; not by seeing him (for she never did), but on account of his good reputation and his high honour which grew day by day."³⁹ Ibn Ḥazm devotes a short chapter to this topic in his *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, observing that ladies of high birth, living in seclusion, often fall in love in this fashion,⁴⁰ and *amor de lonh* was, of course, the central theme of the poetry of the early Provençal troubadour Jaufré Rudel, addressed to the Countess of Tripoli.⁴¹

Finally, we should consider the possible repercussions of a single military expedition against the Muslim stronghold of Barbastro in Aragon by an army of Normans and some knights from southern France, including Guilhem VIII of Aquitaine, the father of the first troubadour. According to the Arab chronicler Ibn Ḥayyān, the campaign was led by "the commander of the cavalry of Rome", therefore by Guillaume de Montreuil, who was in the service of Pope Alexander II.⁴² According to Amatus de Monte Cassino, in his *Historia Normannorum* (written 1080-1083), the leader was Robert Crespin, a Norman lord and soldier of fortune.⁴³ What is certain is that the booty included a vast number of slave-girls—Amatus mentions one thousand five hundred—most of whom became lute-playing singers and concubines in the courts of southern France. Despite the pledge of an amnesty, six thousand fugitives from the town were slain. Then all householders were ordered to return to their homes with their wives and children. "Each knight who received a house for his share," writes a contemporary Arab author, "received in addition all that it contained—women, children and money ... the infidels, by a refinement of cruelty, took delight in violating the wives and daughters of the prisoners before the eyes of their husbands and fathers."⁴⁴ After behaving like true barbarians, the Christians were apparently seduced by the Arab style of life. Ibn Ḥayyān recounts how a Jewish merchant, a friend of his, visited one of the Christian princes in Barbastro to discuss the ransom of the daughters of the former commander of the fortress. This prince, dressed in Arab robes, was installed in the *alcaide*'s harem. He asked the girl to take her lute and sing to him, and then made gestures of delight as if he understood the words. After hearing the song, the Christian prince dismissed

the Jew, saying that the pleasure which he derived from his slave-girls was worth more than all the gold which he might receive as a ransom.⁴⁵ Whether or not this prince was Guilhem VIII of Aquitaine, we can be sure that Guilhem would have received his full share of captives. It is therefore probable that his son, Guilhem IX, inherited some Arab singing-girls when he succeeded his father in 1086 at the tender age of fifteen. Guilhem IX continued the family's connections with Spain. When Sancho I of Aragon died at the Siege of Huesca in 1094, he married the king's young widow Philippa, whose "retinue would almost certainly have included some jongleurs or female singers similar to those who had been captured at Barbastro".⁴⁶ Furthermore, his sisters had respectively married Peter I of Aragon and Alfonso VI of Castile; and one of his daughters married Ramiro II of Aragon. His father was buried in Santiago de Compostela; and it was here that his son died as a pilgrim in 1137. When we bear in mind that his grand-daughter was Eleanor of Aquitaine, the great patroness of courtly poets, who after divorcing Louis VIII, became the wife of Henry Plantagenet and the mother of Richard the Lionheart, then we perceive how ideas borrowed from Muslim Spain could soon have reached England and Northern France. The frequent allusions to Spain in the poetry of all the early troubadours tell the same story.⁴⁷

The Arabic lyrical tradition was maintained by the social institution of singing-girls or *qiyān*, whose position in society was comparable to that of the geisha girls of Japan. The description of the beloved in Arabic love-poetry owes much to the ambivalent figure of the *qayna*, who was taught by her master to play the role of the courtly beloved: she was coquettish and modest, demanding and deceptive, raising hopes, but rarely fulfilling them, giving each man the illusion that her words were addressed to him alone. As al-Jāhiz (d. 255/868) explains in his *Risālat al-qiyān* ("Epistle on Singing Girls"), she "is hardly ever sincere in her passion ... for both by training and by innate instinct, her nature is to set up snares and traps for her victims".⁴⁸ "When the girl raises her voice in song, the gaze is riveted on her, the hearing is directed attentively to her, and the heart surrenders itself to her sovereignty ... From this there arises, together with the feeling of joyous abandon, [an indulgence in] the sense of touch."⁴⁹ Thus the girl pleases all the senses, providing "a combination of pleasures such as nothing else on the face of the earth does".⁵⁰ If singing-girls in the 5th/11th century were still expected to have "a repertoire of upwards of four thousand songs, each of them two or four verses long",⁵¹ then one can imagine the influence which several hundred of these girls must have exerted on the society of the Languedoc. The talents of these girls were also much appreciated in the courts of Castile, Aragon and Navarre. We know, for example, that Sancho García, Count of Castile (r. 995-1017), received a gift of singing-girls and dancers from the Caliph of Córdoba.⁵² Even in the 14th century such songs

were still enjoyed in Christian Spain. Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, informs us that he wrote many songs for Moorish singing-girls and he gives a list of instruments which he considers unsuitable for these songs.⁵³

Having proved that there is no problem with regard to the means of cultural transmission, let us turn to the question of parallel themes. It seems to me that the most important feature of Courtly Love is the lover's attitude of submission. One thinks, for example, of Bernart de Ventadorn:

Bona domna, re no.us deman
Mas que.m prendatz per servidor,
Qu'ie.us servirai com bo senhor,
Cossi que del gazardon m'an.⁵⁴

("Good lady, I ask of you nothing more than that you take me as your servant. I will serve you as I would a good lord, whatever I may receive as the reward.")

Similarly, Guilhem IX, many of whose poems are scurrilous, asks his beloved to register his name in the charter of her slaves, saying that he will yield to her whatever case she may bring against him.⁵⁵ Among Arab poets the name of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. 190/806) immediately springs to mind:

I am your slave, torment me if you will,
or whatever you will of me, do it, whatever it is!⁵⁶

Accept my love, I give it as a gift!
Then reward me with rejection—that is love!
This soul of mine is given to you;
the best gift demands no return.⁵⁷

It has been said that al-'Abbās is unique in "his consistent display of the courtly attitude to his Lady."⁵⁸ However there were many Hispano-Arab poets, including several caliphs, who expressed the same sentiments. Referring to the example of al-Ḥakam II, Ibn Ḥazm wrote:

Submission in love is not odious,
For in love the proud one humbles himself;
Do not be surprised at my docility in my condition,
For before me al-Mustanṣir has suffered the same lot!⁵⁹

"Humiliation before the beloved," said Ibn Dāwūd (d. 294/907), "is the natural characteristic of a courteous man".⁶⁰ Al-Ḥakam I (d. 206/822), a contemporary of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, wrote:

A king am I, subdued, his power humbled
To love, like a captive in fetters, forlorn! ...
Excessive love has made him a slave,
Though before that he was a mighty king!
If he weeps, complains of love, more unjustly
They treat, eschew him, bring him near to death!⁶¹

Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn (ruled 400/1009-10, 403/1013-407/1016) also seems to allude to al-ʿAbbās in his use of the phrase *sulṭān al-hawā*, "the sovereignty of love":

Concerning the three beauties [who have conquered my heart], I have mentioned oblivion to love, and love has decreed that its sovereignty [*sulṭān*] should be used against mine.

Do not blame a king for prostrating himself in this way before love [*hawā*], for humiliation in love is a power and a second royalty.⁶²

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V (r. 414/1023-4), speaking of his marriage to his cousin Ḥabība, wrote:

I have stipulated as a condition [of marriage] that I shall serve her as a slave and that I have conveyed my soul to her as my dowry.

He also wrote:

I have given her my kingdom, my spirit, my blood and my soul, and there is nothing more precious than the soul.⁶³

Given the conventional image of the Muslim despot and the allegedly abject status of women in Islam, it is amazing that so many of the rulers of Muslim Spain subscribed to this concept of the beloved's sovereignty, even within the state of marriage. I cannot think of a European king before Wenzel IV of Bohemia in the late 14th century who would speak in this fashion.⁶⁴

Chaucer was, I believe, the first European writer to attempt to reconcile the courtly idea of the beloved's sovereignty with married love. In *The Franklin's Tale*, Arveragus, a true courtly lover, is reluctant to be his wife's lord in marriage after serving her with "meke obeysaunce" (l. 739). He therefore swore to do her will and obey her in all things:

And for to lede the moore in blisse hir lyves,
Of his free wyl he swoor hire as a knyght
That nevere in al his lyf he, day ne nyght,
Ne sholde upon hym take no maistrie
Again hir wyl, ne kithe hire jalousie,
But hire obeye, and folwe hir wyl in al,
As any lover to his lady shal,
Save that the name of soveraynetee,
That wolde he have for shame of his degree. (ll. 744-752)

Thus Arveragus becomes simultaneously a servant and a lord, "Servant in love, and lord in marriage" (l. 793). The Franklin, who seems to be here expressing Chaucer's opinion, approves of this solution because, as he says, "Love wol nat been constreyned by maistrye" (l. 764). In these lines Chaucer's direct source could have been Bernart de Ventadorn:

Mas en amor non a om senhoratge,
e qui l'i quer vilanamen domneya,
que re no vol amors qu'esser no deya.⁶⁵

("But in love a man has no sovereignty, and if he seeks it there, he woos like a churl, for love desires nothing unseemly.")

Although Bernart de Ventadorn declares that he hopes, by his obedience, to arouse his beloved's compassion, he stresses the need for mutual consent:

En agradar et en voler
Es l'amors de dos fis amans.
Nula res no i pot pro tener
Si.lh voluntatz non es egaus.⁶⁶

("In accord and in assent is the love of two noble lovers. Nothing can be of profit in it if the will thereto is not mutual.")

Closely linked with the theme of submission is the precept of discretion. Just as Arab poets often used the masculine form *sayyidi* or *mawlāya* (my lord), corresponding to the Provençal *midons*, so it was also customary for both Arab and Provençal poets to conceal the beloved's identity by employing a fictitious name (Arabic *kunya*, Provençal *senhal*). Failure to observe this convention could bring dishonour on the lady. Thus 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a (ca. 23/643-101/719) wrote:

Zaynab secretly sent a message to say:
you have brought dishonour upon me by uttering my name
in the love-prelude [*nasīb*] instead of my fictitious name [*kunya*].
Thus you have profaned our secret.⁶⁷

Ibn Ḥazm declares that he would become mad rather than betray the secret of his beloved's identity:

They say: "By God, name the one whose love has driven sweet sleep from you!"
Yet I will never do so! Before they obtain what they seek,
I will lose all my wits and face all misfortunes.⁶⁸

These celebrated lines by Ibn Zaydūn (394/1003-463/1071), addressed to the princess Wallāda, might well have been written by a troubadour:

If you wished it, we could share something which does not die,
a secret that would remain when all secrets are divulged.
You have sold your share in me, but know that I
would not sell my share in you, even at the price of my life!
Know, may this suffice, that if you burdened my heart
with what other hearts cannot bear, mine would bear it.
Be disdainful, I'll endure it; postpone, I'll be patient;
be haughty, I'll be humble;
leave, I'll follow; speak, I'll listen; command, I'll obey.⁶⁹

In another poem to Wallāda, he speaks of his love as an open secret:

We do not name you by reason of our respect and honour [for you]; besides
your elevated rank makes it unnecessary to do so.⁷⁰

Similarly, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād (d. 480/1088) addressed some fine poems to a Christian girl, to whom he gave the *kunya* Nuwayra:

O how carefully do I hide the name of my beloved,
for it is my custom never to pronounce it,
and I never cease, by my enigmas, to make it more obscure.⁷¹

Both Arab and Provençal love-poets communicate by means of secret signs, demanding some gesture of recognition or *bel accueil*, and sometimes, as in Dante's *Vita nuova*, using another lady as a screen. Advice of this kind may be found in Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on love. Bernart de Ventadorn writes:

Parlar de gram ab cubertz entresens
E, pus no.ns val arditz, valgues nos gens! ...
C'amor pot om e far semblans alhor
E gen mentir lai on non a autor.⁷²

("We should speak in secret signs and, since boldness avails us not, may guile avail us! ... For one can love and make pretence elsewhere, and smoothly lie there where there's no sure proof.")

In connection with the need for secrecy, one encounters the same *dramatis personae* in both Arabic and Provençal poetry: the spies or slanderers (Ar. *wuṣṣāt*, pl. of *wāṣhī*; Prov. *lauzengiers*), the guard (Ar. *raqīb*; Prov. *gardador*), and the jealous persons (Ar. *ḥussād*, pl. of *ḥāsīd*; Prov. *envejós*). But in Arabic poetry and in 15th-century Castilian poetry the chief threat to the lovers' secret is the lover's urge to express himself. In Spanish *cancionero* poetry there are literally hundreds of poems on the conflict between secrecy and the need for self-expression. One of the best definitions of this secret love is given in Rust'haveli's *The Knight of the Leopard's Skin* (ca. 1196-1207), a Georgian prose adaptation of a Persian romance, *Wis and Ramīn*, composed by Gorgānī in the middle of the 5th/11th century:

There is a noblest love; it does not show, but hides its woes; the lover thinks of it when he is alone, and always seeks solitude; his fainting, dying, burning, flaming, all are from afar; he must face the wrath of his beloved, and he must be fearful of her.

He must betray his secret to none, he must not basely groan and put his beloved to shame; in nought should he manifest his love, nowhere must he reveal it; for her sake he looks upon sorrow as joy, for her sake he would willingly be burned.⁷³

The meaning of the Provençal concept of *joy*, which is obviously associated with the later expression *gay saber*, has been much debated.⁷⁴ But there could hardly be a better explanation than that which Ibn 'Arabī gives in his vast mystical work *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* ("The Meccan Revelations"):

If union with the beloved is not personal union, and the beloved is a superior being who imposes obligations on the lover, then the fulfilment of these obligations sometimes takes the place of personal union, producing in him a joy which obliterates the awareness of sorrow from his soul.⁷⁵

This type of passionate love (*'ishq*) is always potentially destructive, because it is a species of melancholy. For this reason we cannot fully understand medieval love-poetry without consulting medieval treatises on medicine, most of which contain a chapter based on Arabic sources, concerning "the malady of love."⁷⁶ The paradoxical nature of love was emphasised by Ibn Ḥazm:

Love, my dear friend, is an incurable disease and in it there is remedy against it, according to the manner of dealing with it; it is a delightful condition and a disease yearned for: he who is free from the disease does not like to stay immune, he who suffers from it does not find pleasure in being cured of it; it makes appear beautiful to a man what he has been abstaining from because of shame, and makes appear easy to him what was difficult for him, to the extent of changing inborn characteristics and innate natural traits ...

All opposites, as thou dost see,
In him subsist combined;
Then how shall such variety
Of meanings be defined?⁷⁷

The ennobling influence of suffering and self-restraint was still understood by the Aragonese poet Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea at the end of the 15th century, and it is significant that he uses the Provençal term *fino amor*:

El amor qu'es fino amor
ningún galardón procura ...
esto sólo es remediar:
ver que la causa ennoblece
aquella pena que crece.⁷⁸

("Love which is perfect love (*fin'amors*) does not seek any reward ... this alone is its remedy: to see that the cause [of love] ennobles that growing affliction.")

Vosotros por bien amar
entendéys la de alcançar
es yerro pensar quitar
los muy devidos dolores.⁷⁹

("You mean, by loving well, attainment; but it is wrong to think of removing the obligatory sorrows.")

Of course, by this period, especially in Spain, the language of the court lyric had become more abstract and less explicitly sensual, yet, at the same time, more replete with doubles entendres. The Provençal troubadours dream of contemplating the lady's naked body, or speak of this as a favour granted. They also speak of being revived by a kiss. But, as a rule, they do not celebrate sexual fulfilment. For example, the Provençal troubadour Guiraut Riquer writes: "I deem myself richly rewarded by the inspiration I owe to the love I bear my lady, and I ask no love in return ... Had she ever granted me her favours, both she and I would have been defiled by the act."⁸⁰ In biblical

terms the courtly lover is necessarily guilty of adultery on account of his *immoderata cogitatione*, to use a phrase employed by Andreas Capellanus in his *De amore*.⁸¹ However, his conduct is compatible with chastity (*'afāf*) as understood by those Arab poets who regarded themselves as the spiritual successors of Jamīl al-'Udhri. Consider these lines by Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī (d. 366/976), a confessed admirer of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī:

Often, when she would submit, it was I who abstained,
and Satan, as a result, was not obeyed.
During the night she revealed her face
and thus the night unveiled its shade.
Not a glance did she cast but it contained
an urge to stir temptations in men's hearts.
To the custody of my mind I entrusted my desires,
remaining, true to my nature, chaste.
And so I passed the night with her in thirst,
like a camel colt, muzzled, prevented from suckling the breast.
My beloved is a garden where, for the likes of me,
there are only fine sights and scents;
For I am not an abandoned beast, roaming free,
such as would take a garden as a grazing ground.⁸²

Similarly, Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Sharaf wrote:

If I have obtained its fragrance, I have not coveted the favour of tasting it,
since love's garden is composed of flowers without fruit.⁸³

Ibn Sārā, who lived in Santarén and died in 517/1123, says in one of his poems that he remained with his beloved until "a dawn like her face" and abstained from her "like a man who is noble, endowed with strength", adding that "chastity is only a virtue when practised by a person in the fullness of health".⁸⁴ For these poets, and also for Ibn Ḥazm, the union of hearts is considered a thousand times nobler than the mingling of bodies. It is assumed that there is a hierarchy of the senses, with the sense of sight associated with the spirit and the sense of touch associated with matter. Thus, in his treatise on passionate love (*'ishq*), Ibn Sīnā wrote:

If a man loves a beautiful form with an animal desire, he deserves reproof, even condemnation and the charge of sin, as, for instance, those who commit unnatural adultery and in general people who go astray. But whenever he loves a pleasing form with an intellectual consideration, in the manner we have explained, then this is to be considered an approximation to nobility and an increase in goodness.⁸⁵

This distinction between animal desire and ennobling passion, which seems to be based on scientific rather than religious grounds, is analogous to the distinction made by Andreas Capellanus between *amor mixtus* and *amor purus*:

This kind [of love, *amor purus*] consists in the contemplation of the mind and the affection of the heart; it goes so far as the kiss and the embrace and the modest contact with the nude lover, omitting the final solace, for that is not permitted to those who wish to love purely.⁸⁶

Although, in the Renaissance, the Florentine neo-Platonists studied Plato in the original Greek, their views on this subject are strikingly similar. I am thinking, in particular, of Bembo's speech in Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* ("The Courtier") and Ficino's *Commentary on Plato's Symposium*. One should remember, however, that Ficino was a physician familiar with Arab theories concerning the "malady of love".

These parallels—and I could give countless further examples—should be sufficient to demonstrate that the Provençal troubadours and European poets in general were influenced by Arabic poetry and treatises on love, either directly or indirectly. And here I should emphasise again that, although no early translations of Arabic poetry into any Romance language are extant (except those cited in a commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*),⁸⁷ there were numerous opportunities for oral transmission. Anyone who still entertains doubts should consult my appendix, in which I quote passages on the affinity between love and hate and love's paradoxical effects. Although we do find passages in Ovid on the bitter-sweet nature of love, we do not find anything comparable to Ibn Ḥazm's psychological insights.

APPENDIX ON THE INFLUENCE OF IBN ḤAZM

I. *Affinity between love and hate*

Opposites are of course likes, in reality; when things reach the limit of contrariety... they come to resemble one another. This is decreed by God's omnipotent power, in a manner which baffles entirely the human imagination. Thus, when ice is pressed a long time in the hand, it finally produces the same effect as fire. We find that extreme joy and extreme sorrow kill equally ... Similarly with lovers: when they love each other with an equal ardour ... they will turn against one another without any valid reason, each purposely contradicting the other in whatever he may say; they quarrel violently over the smallest things, each picking up every word that the other lets fall and wilfully misinterpreting it. All these devices are aimed at testing and proving what each is seeking in the other.

(Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, written ca. 412/1022, trans. A. J. Arberry, pp. 36-37)

Often bursts of anger arise between lovers in this state, often they start quarrels, and when true grounds of antagonism are not there they invent false ones, often not even probable. In this condition love often turns to hate, since nothing can satisfy their longing for each other ... and in a wondrous, or rather in a wretched way, out of desire springs hate, and out of hate desire ... Yet beyond measure, beyond nature even, fire gathers strength in water, in that the flame of love burns more fiercely through their opposition than it could through their being at peace.

(Richard of St Victor, d. 1173, *Tractatus de quatuor gradibus violentae charitatis*, quoted from P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, I, 65 n.)

It is well if lovers pretend from time to time to be angry at each other, for if one lets the other see that he is angry and that something has made him indignant with his loved one, he can find out clearly how faithful she is. For a true lover is always in fear and trembling lest the anger of his beloved last for ever, and so, even if one lover does show at times that he is angry at the other without cause, this disturbance will last but a little while if they find that their feeling for each other is really love. You must not think that by quarrels of this kind the bonds of affection and love are weakened; it is only clearing away the rust.

(Andreas Capellanus, writing ca. 1185, *De amore*, trans. J. J. Parry, pp. 158-59.)

"Before the face of God rapt silence shouts." Look at other stations, and you will see the same [concord through opposition] there: when lovers fight in quarrels with each other, their peace of spirit grows through that war of words; love is spiced with hate. So too in metaphors: inwardly the words love each other, though on the outside there are enmities. Among the words themselves there is conflict, but the meaning calms all conflict in the words.

(Geoffrey de Vinsauf, writing 1208-1213, *Poetria nova*, quoted by P. Dronke, "Medieval rhetoric", in *The Mediaeval World*, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby, London, 1973, pp. 334-35.)

"Pero donde yo me llevo
todo mal y pena quito;
delos yelos saco fuego ...
Assí yo con galardón
muchas vezes mezclo pena,
que en la paz de dissensión
entre amantes la quistión
reyntegra la cadena."

(Rodrigo Cota, writing ca. 1490, "Love's words", *Dialogo entre el Amor y un viejo*, in *Cancionero general*, ed. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, Madrid, 1958, fols. 73v-74v.)

II. *Love's paradoxical effects*

How often has the miser opened his purse-strings, the scowler relaxed his frown, the coward leapt heroically into the fray, the clod suddenly become sharp-witted, the boor turned into the perfect gentleman, the stinker transformed himself into an elegant dandy, the sloucher smartened up, the decrepit recaptured his lost youth, the godly gone wild, the self-respecting kicked over the traces—all because of love!

(Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, pp. 34-35.)

Per son joy pot malautz sanar,
E per sa ira sas morir,
E savis hom enfolezir,
E belhs hom sa beutat mudar,
E. 1 plus cortes vilaneiar,
E totz vilas encortezir.

(Guilhem IX, 1071-1127, *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, ed. and trans. Gerald A. Bond, New York: Garland 1982, no. 9, ll. 25-30, p. 33.)

Love causes a rough and uncouth man to be distinguished for his handsomeness; it can endow a man even of the humblest birth with nobility of character; it blesses the proud with humility; and the man in love becomes accustomed to performing many services gracefully for everyone. O what a wonderful thing is love, which makes a man shine with so many virtues and teaches everyone, no matter who he is, so many good traits of character!

(Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*, written ca. 1185, trans. J. J. Parry, p. 31)

Ancaras trob mais de ben en Amor,
Que.l vil fai car e.l nesci gen de parlan,
E l'escars larc, e leial lo truan,
E.l fol savi, e.l pec conoissedor;
E. l'orguillos domesga et homelia;
E fai de dos cors un, tan ferm los lia,
Per c'om non deu ad Amor contradir,
Pois tant gen sap esmendar e fenir.

(Aimeric de Peguilhan, d. 1230, *The Poems*, ed. William P. Shepard and Frank M. Chambers, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1950, no. 15, ll. 17-24, pp. 101-03.)

Muchas noblezas ha en el que a dueñas sirve:
loçano, fablador, en ser franco se abive;
en servir a las dueñas el bueno non se esquive,
que si much trabaja, en mucho plazer bive.
El amor faz 'sotil al omne que es rudo;
fázele fablar fermoso al que antes es mudo;
al omne que es covarde fázelo muy atrevudo;
al perezoso faze ser presto e agudo.
Al mancebo mantiene mucho en mancebez,
e al viejo faz 'perder mucho la vejez;
faze blanco e fermoso del negro como pez:
lo que non vale una nuez amor le da gran prez.

(Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, writing ca. 1330, *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. and trans. Raymond S. Willis, Princeton: University Press, 1972, sts 155-57, pp. 50-51.)

And considering the effect and essence of the said science, which is known by one of love's terms as the Joyous or Gay Science and by another as the Science of Invention; that science which, shining with the most pure, honourable and courtly eloquence, civilises the learned, trims the hirsute, discloses hidden things, sheds light and purges the senses ... nurturing the old men, ... it sustains them as though in the freshness of their youth.

(Document issued by Joan I of Aragon, 20 February 1393, establishing the Festival of the Gay Science; see Roger Boase, *The Troubadour Revival*, London: RKP, 1979, p. 130.)

"Al rudo hago discreto,
al grossero muy polido,
desembuelto al encogido,
y al invirtuoso neto;
al covarde, esforçado,

escasso, al liberal,
bien regido, al destemplado,
muy cortés y mesurado
al que no suele ser tal."

(Rodrigo Cota, writing ca. 1490, *Dialogo entre el Amor y un viejo*, in *Cancionero general*, fol. 73v.)

Aún podemos en otra manera dezir que las saetas que fazen amar sean de oro, por quanto, según los vulgares piensan, el amor mueve a los mancebos a alguna claridad de nobleza y de virtud humanal, aunque no divinal, ca son algunos mancebos, torpes, perezosos, no despiertos para actos de proeza, tristes en sí mismos, o no alegres, pesados, no curantes de sí mismos, agora sean apuestos, agora incompuestos, callados, no gastadores o destruydores según alguna liberalidad; al amor les haze tomar todas las contrarias condiciones ... todos los amadores curan andar alegres, y limpios, y apuestos, y conversan con las gentes, y distribuyen, y donan algo, como todo esto requiera el amor. Esto fará todo hombre que amare, aun que su natural condición sea melancólica, triste, pensosa y apartada, sin fabla, sin compostura, sin conversación, y escassa o avarienta, porque no es possible en otra manera amar y mostrarse amador.

(Alfonso de Madrigal, El Tostado, d. 1455, *Libro de las diez questiones vulgares*, fol. 35v.)

Clau. Que tan bien os parecen las mugeres?

Amin. Nascí d'ellas, y que donde ellas no andan ni hay alegría ni descanso ni perfeto gozo ni contentamiento, y por el contrario, el favor de la hembra da esfuerço al cobarde, y haze al [perezoso] despierto, y al tartamudo elocuente, y al nescio discreto, y al parlero templado. Y al grosero haze polido, y al bovo prudente, y del rudo avisado, y del descuidado torna diligente, y del liberal pródigo y del avaro liberal. Y al desabrido torna de dulce conversación, y del mudo torna parlero, y del cobarde haze esforçado, y del mal christiano torna y haze religioso, compeliendo all hombre a que ni pierda missa ni biéspas ni cumpletas.

(Anon., *La comedia Thebaida*, Valencia, 1521, ed. G.D. Trotter and K. Whinnom, London: Tamesis, 1969, p. 180).

¹ María Rosa Menocal, "Close Encounters in Medieval Provence: Spain's Role in the Birth of Troubadour Poetry", *Hispanic Review*, 49, 1981, p. 51.

² The phrase was coined by Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, London, 1953, pp. 541-43.

³ *L'Amour et l'Occident*, trans. Montgomery Belgion, London, 1956, pp. 106-07.

⁴ *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, 4th rev. ed., Paris, 1863, p. 397. Here and elsewhere, my translation unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature des musulmans d'Espagne au moyen age*, Leiden, 1849, p. 611.

⁶ *La Poésie des troubadours*, 1934, I, 75, n. 2., cited by María Rosa Menocal, "The Etymology of Old Provençal *trobar*, *trobador*: A Return to the 'Third Solution'", *Romance Philology*, 36, 1982-83, pp. 137-53.

⁷ *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford, 1974, pp. 216-17, 220.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁹ *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*, Philadelphia, 1987, p. 16.

¹⁰ *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship*, Manchester, 1977, pp. 129-30.

¹¹ The adjective "courtly" was rarely applied to love in this way by medieval poets, but the expression is appropriate because it indicates both the ethic of courtliness and the milieu in which the convention flourished; see Boase, *Origin and Meaning*, p. 4, n. 1.

¹² *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. Newman, Albany, 1968, p. vii.

¹³ It was partially edited by A. R. Nykl, Chicago, 1932. For this and many similar works, see Lois Anita Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*, New York, 1971, and Joseph Normant Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, Albany, 1979.

¹⁴ Trans. A. R. Nykl, *A Book Containing the Risāla Known as the Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers*, Paris, 1931.

¹⁵ Dronke, Oxford, 1965, 1966, 2 vols.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 588.

¹⁷ *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*, Oxford, 1936, p. 4.

¹⁸ "Il modo de descrivere loro amore fu novo, diverso de quel de antichi Latini; questi senza respecto, senza reverentia, senza timore de infamare sua donna apertamente scrivevano", *Libro de natura de amore*, Venice, 1525, fol. 194r.

¹⁹ Alan M. Boase, *The Poetry of France*, I, London, 1964, p. xx.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 56.

²² *The Cultural Barrier: Problems in the Exchange of Ideas*, Edinburgh, 1975. He remarks that "what was taken was always either culturally common or culturally neutral" (p. 177); "The exact part played by Arab literary practice in Provençal poetry and in the conventions of courtly love is still controversial; but it seems that much original stimulus came from the Moors; macaronic Arab and Romance love songs unequivocally indicate a common world of singing girls" (p. 176).

²³ Published Cambridge (England), 1975.

²⁴ For example, in the eyes of the Castilian epic hero, El Cid, the troops of Ramon Berenguer were over-effete in their dress and riding equipment; *The Poem of the Cid*, ed. Ian Michael, Manchester, 1975, ll. 992-95.

²⁵ Ed. and trans. John England, Warminster, 1987, No. 25, pp. 156-67. The moral of the story is that virtue is more important than either lineage or wealth, a question much discussed by the Provençal troubadours; see Erich Köhler, "Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poésie des troubadours", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 7, 1964, pp. 27-51.

²⁶ Henri Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, trans. Mercedes García Arenal, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1983, p. 385, n. 128.

²⁷ A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 21.

²⁸ Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

²⁹ Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, London, 1983, pp. 174, 251; cf. Bernhard and Ellen M. Whishaw, *Arabic Spain: Sidelights on her History and Art*, London, 1912, p. 79.

³⁰ Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

³¹ See Ibn Ḥazm's list of the Cordoban caliphs renowned as lovers: 'Abd al-Rahmān I, al-Ḥakam I, 'Abd al-Rahmān II, Muḥammad I and al-Ḥakam II, Ṭawq, trans. Emilio García Gómez, *El collar de la paloma: tratado sobre el amor y los amantes*, Madrid, 1952, p. 74. Al-Manṣūr also seems to have been infatuated by Ṣubḥ. This would explain why he ordered a slave-girl to be killed for singing a song about her by one of her admirers (*ibid.*, p. 125).

³² Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

³³ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Historia y epopeya*, Madrid, 1934, pp. 18-21.

³⁴ *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 24-26.

³⁵ Reinhardt Dozy, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain*, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes, London, 1988, pp. 677-81.

³⁶ Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

³⁸ Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain. I: 711-1150*, Warminster, 1988, chap. 883 of Alfonso X's *Historia de España*, pp. 104-07. The epitaph on her tombstone states that she was Alfonso's wife and al-Mu'tamid's daughter: "H.R. Regina Elisabet uxor Regis Alfonsi; filia Benavet Regis Sibiliae; quae prius Zayda fuit vocata"; see Whishaw, *Arabic Spain*, p. 255.

³⁹ "Se enamoró dell; et non de uista ca nunqual uiera, mas de la su buena fama et del su buen prez que crescie cada día", Smith, *Christians and Moors*, I, 104. She owned the castles of Cuenca, Ocaña, Uclés and Consuegra, but was obviously in need of a protector.

⁴⁰ Trans. García-Gómez, p. 98.

⁴¹ See Leo Spitzer, *L'Amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours*, Chapel Hill, 1944. This theme is also found in early Sicilian poetry by Iacopo da Lentini and others.

⁴² R. Dozy, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Muslims in Spain*, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes, London, 1988, p. 657.

⁴³ Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 84.

⁴⁴ Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 658.

⁴⁵ Reinhardt Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, 3rd rev. ed., Amsterdam, 1965, II, 345-48. According to Yāqūt's *Geographical Dictionary* the booty included 7000 young girls, later offered to the ruler of Constantinople.

⁴⁶ Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, London, 1977, p. 93.

⁴⁷ See Carlos Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, Madrid-Barcelona, 1977.

⁴⁸ Ed. and trans. A.F.L. Beeston, Warminster, 1980, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵² Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea*, Madrid, 1941, p. 33.

⁵³ *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Raymond S. Willis, Princeton, 1972, sts. 1513-17, p. 406; Juan Ruiz also uses many Arabic words, as in sts. 1509-12.

⁵⁴ *Chansons d'amour*, ed. Moshé Lazar, Paris, 1966, No. 1, II, 49-52.

⁵⁵ Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, Barcelona, 1975, I, 125.

⁵⁶ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, I, 21, from J. Hell, "Al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf", *Islamica*, 2, 1926, pp. 271-307.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Hilary Kilpatrick, "Selection and Presentation as Distinctive Characteristics of Mediaeval Arabic Courtly Prose Literature", *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context*, ed. Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, Amsterdam, 1990, p. 338.

⁵⁹ *Tawq*, trans. Nykl, p. 62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. cv.

⁶¹ Nykl, *Hispanic-Arabic Poetry*, p. 20.

⁶² Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁶⁴ King Wenceslaus celebrated his love for Sophia Euphemia, his own wife, in a most extraordinary way—by having himself depicted as a wild man enthralled by a glamorous damsel from the bath house with a bucket and broom: see Josef Krása, *Die Handschriften König Wenzels*, Prague, 1971, plate 13 opposite p. 40, p. 88, and elsewhere.

⁶⁵ Ed. Lazar, No. 7, II, 15-17.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 2, II, 29-32.

⁶⁷ See Jean Claude Vadet, *L'Esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris, 1968, p. 126.

⁶⁸ *Tawq*, trans. Arberry, *The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*, London, 1953, p. 174.

⁶⁹ Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁷⁰ Nūniyya, I, 33, in *ibid.*, p. 418.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Ed. Lazar, No. 20, II, 47-48, 53-54.

⁷³ Bernard O'Donoghue, *The Courtly Love Tradition*, Manchester, 1982, p. 80. This work is obviously influenced by Arabic models, such as the story of Qays Majnūn (the "Mad One") or that of Jamil and Buthaynah. Note: "In the Arabic tongue they call the lover 'madman', because by non-fruition he loses his wits." (*Ibid.*, p. 79).

⁷⁴ See Charles Camproux, *Joy d'amor des troubadours (Jeu et joie d'amour)*, Montpellier, 1965, and A.J. Denomy, "Jois among the early Troubadours. Its meaning and possible source",

Mediaeval Studies, 13, 1951, pp. 177-217. Since *ṭarab* is the special Arabic word used to describe the rapture produced by music and passionate love-service, it is not surprising to find the same association of ideas among poets known as "troubadours", a word derived from the same Arabic root.

⁷⁵ Miguel Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado*, Madrid, 1931, p. 501. Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabī drew upon the psychology of *'ishq* and the tradition of *'udhrī* love to explain their spiritual states, a procedure adopted by Ramon Llull in his *Llibre d'Amic e Amat*: see Brian Dutton, "Hurī y Midons: el amor cortés y el paraíso musulmán", *Filología*, 13, 1968-69, pp. 151-64.

⁷⁶ The contradictory and erotic effects of an excess of black bile were described by Aristotle in his *Problemata physica*, but the theory of melancholy was greatly expanded by Arab physicians who often rejected Aristotle's materialism, stressing the influence of mind over matter. Ishāq b. 'Amrān (executed in the early 4th/10th century) seems to have been one of the first to mention the contradictory symptoms of melancholy repeated by Ibn Ḥazm (see Appendix), and his words were cited by Constantinus Africanus, *Opera*, Bâle, 1536, I, 288: see Boase, *Origin and Meaning*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁷ *Tawq*, trans. Arberry, p. 30.

⁷⁸ *Cancionero*, Logroño, 1513, fol. 40r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 38v.

⁸⁰ Robert S. Briffault, *The Troubadours*, Bloomington, 1965, pp. 151-52.

⁸¹ Henri Davenson, *Les Troubadours*, Paris, 1961, p. 151.

⁸² Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *El libro de las banderas de los campeones*, ed. and trans. Emilio García Gómez, Madrid, 1942, No. 91, pp. 72-73. Cf. *The Banners of the Champions: An Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond*, trans. James A. Bellamy and Patricia Owen Steiner, Madison, 1989, p. 187, and my foreword, pp. v-viii.

⁸³ Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁸⁵ "A Treatise on Love, by Ibn Sinā" [*Risāla fī 'l-'ishq*], trans. Emil L. Fackenheim, *Mediaeval Studies*, 7, 1945, p. 221.

⁸⁶ *The Art of Courtly Love (De amore)*, trans. John Jay Parry, New York, 1941, p. 122. Of course it is now generally agreed that Andreas is basically misogynistic and his work can by no means be taken as "the bible of courtly love". Nonetheless it contains ideas disseminated from Muslim Spain.

⁸⁷ Ibn Rushd completed his commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* about the year 575/1180. It was translated into Latin in Toledo in 1256 by Hermannus Alemmanus and this text was probably the source of Petrarch's unflattering remarks about Arabic poetry; see C. H. G. Bodenheim, "Petrarch and the Poetry of the Arabs", *Romanische Forschungen*, 94, 1982, pp. 167-78.

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AL-ANDALUS AND 1492: THE WAYS OF REMEMBERING

MARÍA ROSA MENOCAL

I. *Forgetfulness*

It is a most peculiar and ambiguous anniversary that is celebrated in this volume and elsewhere throughout much of the world in 1992, a pointed reminder of the ineluctable marriage of life and death. While some commemorate a remarkable beginning, the birth of a radically new order in what we call the "New World", others will lament the various ends that are so intimately tied to that birth: the shattering of the indigenous civilisations of what we would come to call the Americas, and, in the Old World, both the new diaspora of the Spanish Jews and the termination of al-Andalus. These latter two endings are also deaths explicitly tied to births: the expulsions are a critical aspect of the political and ideological contingencies that made Spain itself possible, that defined what it was and could do, including settling vast new worlds. What our constructs of history have done, by and large, and certainly in the broadest institutional contexts, is, unnaturally, to divorce life from death, beginnings from terminations, and thus—to put it in terms of the single most pointed and simplistic example to hand—to see al-Andalus as being ages and continents removed from the modern world, on either side of the Atlantic.¹

Much of this volume evokes the often stunning details of a spectacular and surprising past. It is a past that is largely unknown to the European and American public—and one means here, of course, the unusually well-educated public, those who know about Aristotle, about the founding of Rome and its recounting in the *Aeneid*, about Renaissance Florence. But these events, these recountings, these foundational stories and glories are part of our most elementary educations and memories and visions, because, although the Athenians lost the Peloponnesian war, and Rome was sacked in 410, and the death of Lorenzo dei Medici was arguably, at the time, one of the most ruinous of those of 1492, we see those pasts as stages of our own present. But al-Andalus, in part for reasons I have discussed extensively elsewhere,² is something that has become foreign, which lies outside the fundamental constructs of westernness we use to define ourselves, and which we thus study (when we do, occasionally) as a charming and exotic jewel. Although it is crucially important not to underestimate the cruel role played by some very fundamental prejudices in the relegation of the Andalusis to an inactive and foreign past, this anniversary, which at every turn asks who and

what we are, reveals an equally fundamental reason for the disjuncture that 1492 should summon up: the spectacular chaos and multiplicity of voices, the scattered and many selves that make up that lyrical and fragmentary world.

Indeed, the medieval world which is so palpably Andalusi (and by this I mean, in shorthand, the world revelling in the superb relativisms and multiplicities that make the *muwashshahāt* sing and the stories of the "Seven Sages" multiply in every language), both inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula, fits with great difficulty, if at all, into the kind of smooth and continuous narrative our historiography craves and our sense of identity seems to need as a firmament. In a number of crucial ways al-Andalus and its progeny—and they are many in a medieval Europe far less orthodox in every way than we have imagined—has presented a virtually insurmountable challenge to the narration of European culture and its history: our scholarship of the continuum, of what in other spheres is called the grammatical, has left out the many cultural shapes that are not thus narratable, or thus subjectable to the rules of grammar. The crucial question is how we remember al-Andalus, particularly on an anniversary that is logically construed as a mournful one; and the challenge for those who believe that Andalusi culture was pivotal and foundational in the carving out of European culture continues to lie in the means we have devised of inscribing a memory of that ancestral past into the narrative of our ancestral past—which is one that largely excludes al-Andalus. I want to suggest, in what follows, that the memory of al-Andalus must be evoked through translation and the imagination, and I will tie together two seemingly paradoxical manifestations of translation: how modern scholars can mimic the medieval past and use translations to establish Andalusi culture as central; and how we can use the principal area in which no medieval translations were made, poetry, to imagine an aesthetic surprisingly like our own. Perhaps, in 1992, we can begin to see that this aesthetic is neither very foreign nor very past.

II. *Translations*

Why is it so difficult to map the medieval entity that occupied the geographical space now roughly occupied by something we call Spain? There are two ways to answer the question. We might say, as a first answer, that it is because of the peculiar historical circumstances that prevailed roughly between 92/711 and 897/1492. These, of course, made varying parts of the Iberian Peninsula an entity of sparkling flux, made up of Arabic/Muslim, Hebrew/Jewish and Latin/Christian cultures, in an almost infinite variety of mixes and distributions (and rarely, if ever, in the sort of simple, cartoonish black/white, "Moors" versus "Christians" configurations we are all too used to). Even more significantly, perhaps, it was a hybrid entity whose cultural peaks—reached, according to one vision, in the period from the 4th/10th to

the 6th/12th centuries—were explicitly the result of that very hybridness, of the rich cultural interaction which was far from always peaceful, but which often, even in strife, seemed to ignite and provoke and produce. Thus, the first answer to why it has been so difficult for European historiography to write an appropriate history of al-Andalus, one that integrates it into the European continuum itself rather than making it a separate and very different chapter, is that it is anomalous, overly different, in terms of what the rest of Europe was.

The other side of this coin is that this presents a difficulty—not for any intrinsic reasons, but rather because our canon, largely formed and elaborated in the 19th and early 20th centuries, does not allow for the existence of such an entity within either its epistemological or its imaginative systems. At its most basic, in fact, it simply does not allow it at a linguistic level. One need not even go into questions of “Orientalism” (although I strongly believe they obtain) to grant that the most rudimentary divisions into language/culture groups were dictated, quite logically, by the national language/culture configurations obtaining at the time the disciplines were being defined and established. How could it possibly be otherwise? One might say, in a fit of naïveté, that the divisions in fact correspond to objective linguistic criteria—hence the Semitic languages are separate from the Romance, and so forth; but a peek beneath the surface reveals this to be far from the major criterion, and one that is readily modified when the need arises.³ In the end, the unassailably logical reason for the exclusion of a central and shaping Andalusi chapter in the history of Europe was the combination of contemporary political/cultural definitions of cultural entities—which were, of course, inextricably bound to the models, at times mythological, that served as revered notions of cultural histories and hierarchies.⁴

But pre-1492 Spain, that cacophonous delight, is the great exception to the philological rule: it is the single conspicuous case in which the circumstances obtaining after 1492 are radically at odds, or at least seemingly so, with those beforehand. It continues to be treated, all too often, with virtually no changes in the definitions of knowledge that may obtain for Germanic or Slavic studies, but which are so drastically inappropriate if one is studying the “modern” (i.e. post-Roman) history of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, Hispanists who are medievalists, do not, as a rule, know even two of the three “classical” languages dominant in the Peninsula over a significant period of time, and Hispano-Hebraists or Arabists have not, traditionally, been required to know the third, namely the medieval Romance spoken, in almost all cases, by the people in whose written cultures they are “experts”.⁵ We house, in different departments and in parts of the curricular canon that have virtually nothing to do with each other, the students of the people who in the 6th/12th century not only lived next door to one another, but whose “neighbourliness” may be seen to have wrought many of the cultural up-

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heavals that our own historiography considers a turning point in western history—what Haskins called the Renaissance of the 12th century.⁶

In part what is odd and problematic is that the canonical barriers to a mapping of this society were not bypassed or established differently—quite simply because it is such an exceptionally important case, a case that is not on the margins either of history or of Europe, but at their very centre. In other words, one is struck that—while it would, indeed, be an “exception” to see an Arabic culture as a principal component of cultures that were not, subsequently, at all Arabic—it is not hard to construct a case for it being the exception worth making, the odd case, in the context of cultural development, that requires different kinds of programmes and reading lists and language preparations. The sort of adaptation that has taken place has, on the contrary, been in the other direction: the cultural parameters of 19th century Europe are regularly applied to 6th/12th century “Spain”, this resulting, necessarily, in severe cultural demarcations where once there was productive hybridness. Thus it is that poems such as the *muwashshahāt* are divvied up along the language lines that define modern departmental structures—and which result in grotesque internal divisions within the poems themselves. How many other cultural/literature study areas can one name, or even begin to imagine, where the divorces and schisms of the present age are permitted so to impinge on a past, or at least a part of a past, so that its very poems are divvied up, strophe by strophe, among different departments? Are the first five strophes of a *muwashshaha* part of the Middle East, and the sixth (which also happens to be its refrain, incidentally, and thus probably repeated after each other stanza) a part of Europe? How can one possibly, given our most fundamental divisions of knowledge—our languages—and what they allow us to imagine, begin to imagine the culture that wrote such poems? How can we ever, in fact, begin to read such poems, since our canon tells us, in effect, that they do not exist? This, then, is one of the various, seemingly intractable canonical problems of al-Andalus.⁷

This is the point in the argument at which the sympathetic colleague and the enthusiastic reader are likely to shrug and say, no doubt sincerely, that it is too bad, but that basically there is nothing to be done about it, because one cannot make any of the radical institutional changes required really to alter the situation. Can one really imagine that departments of Spanish—to take a simple example—will redefine their programmes so that the medieval component is predominantly Arabic? The grim response one is asked to accept is that there is no practical way to alter the canon (and by this one means everything from the nature of departmental divisions to the structure of encyclopaedia articles and everything in between), even in a case such as this, where one can, despite the barriers, effectively argue that a highly significant cultural moment is thus grossly distorted or even rendered invisible. To put it bluntly, Spanish departments study literature written in Spanish, and the lite-

rature of al-Andalus written in other languages is not part of the purview of those departments. (And of course, what one is localising by applying to departments is *a fortiori* true of the general concept of what is "our" culture and what is not.) If we were not so intractably attached to some current notions of scholarly propriety, perhaps this situation could be significantly altered.

Indeed, the first step in creating a canon that would be conducive to a significantly richer vision of medieval Spain is the almost shockingly simple one of breaking that remarkable commandment about texts in translation—the one that is stated as: "Thou shalt not use a translated text", with its positive correlative: "True scholars work with original texts". Well, yes, and no, and sometimes. The "original language" versus "translation" issue turns out to be, on close inspection, one of remarkably widespread repercussions, one of those seemingly small problems—an apparent matter of detail—which, under a certain kind of scrutiny, reveal themselves to be the heart—or at least one of the hearts—of the matter. Indeed, the suggestion I make that we cannot begin to remember al-Andalus as part of our past culture until we make it part of our present culture, by reading its texts in our own language(s), is rejected as unsound and unscholarly by many, and it is worthwhile considering why this is so—and why I am suggesting we break the rules.

It is hardly surprising that, particularly in the language and literature branch of scholarship, we tend to value above almost all other activities and "virtues" that of being able to work in the "real" languages of the texts we deal with. The various philologies, of course, began as linguistic-reconstructive enterprises, and in many ways one version or another of the philological/linguistic enterprise has remained dominant. The most crucial of all tasks for the philologist was (and in certain areas, such as Arabic, clearly continues to be) the establishment of editions of texts. But one of the central aspects of that tradition which appears increasingly odd in a modern context clamouring for the "native speaker" and the "original text" is that scholars have not needed to have anything like the kind of "native" knowledge of the languages whose texts they professed.⁸ On the contrary, very few people would have imagined really wanting to speak the language: *the goal was to be able to translate*.

But we cannot, once again, necessarily apply the values that may be positive in some areas to other areas. It is one thing to require students to be able to speak French—and thus obviously read it—in order to take a survey course in 20th-century French literature, while the implications—and the net effect—of a comparable requirement before a student can study the pre-1492 Peninsular versions of the *Thousand and One Nights* or Ibn Ḥazm's *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* are radically different. A great deal of clarification is needed,⁹ but perhaps one should, for the moment, consider the crucial role that translations can and do serve in our broadest cultural constructs. One of the crucial things

we forget when we righteously hold up the rules of philology is that at the heart of the philological enterprise lies prestige: that notion of (desirable) cultural bonds that has led us to know about the founding of Rome and not about the loss of Granada—and it would be disingenuous to argue that it is because we all read the *Aeneid* in Latin but cannot read Ibn Ḥazm in his language.

Indeed, it is, overwhelmingly, prestige and ideologically-bound need, perceived value, that lead to the possibility, at the far end of the line, of being able to read texts only in the original, only in “definitive” editions and with some degree of literary sophistication. It should be no less clear that other varieties of prestige and need dictate what languages are studied (and not), and, although nowadays one hears an enormous amount of discussion about “practical” considerations, I would maintain that the cultural-prestige models still hold sway—certainly nothing else could explain the continuing popularity of the study of French, for example. Al-Andalus, of course, is not perceived as a significant part of our central cultural “heritage” and concerns and, as a result, it lies well outside the major canonical structures. At the heart of the memorialistic enterprise lie the questions of perception and evaluation: Why should we know about it? Why should this be a part of my scrapbook, of my little, limited treasury of memories of my past?

In great measure, as I have tried to argue in the past, one can begin to do this by revealing the extent to which the evaluations that marginalised that culture in the first place, those of the latter half of the 19th century and thereafter, were based on the ideological needs and cultural values of that moment—and by showing how our own times’ ideological needs and cultural values are not only substantially different, but patently favour a much more central role, in the making of the West, for what was Other for our grandparents. But beyond that, at the heart of this ideological and memorialistic enterprise, must, for practical and obvious reasons, lie the translated text. It is only that text which can provide the first necessary resolution of the two principal canonical-epistemological difficulties: it can bypass, at least partially, the barrier of “knowability” and it can diminish the distortions of extant disciplinary boundaries. The “objective scholarly standard” that requires that, as “serious scholars”, we work only in the original language can only reasonably apply in cases where prestige and interest has created a body of people able to work with the original texts. This is, patently, not the case at hand, and here the translated text must, conversely, lie at the beginning of the cycle, if the cycle is to get under way at all: the *Thousand and One Nights* must be read and studied in dozens and dozens of courses, undergraduate and graduate alike, it must be written about in all the obvious kinds of comparative literature dissertations and articles, and in literary histories of European literature;¹⁰ and all this in a context in which a great part at least of the vast panoply of “Middle Eastern” literature—again via translations—is shown to be mappable far further West (or the West further East, more likely) than anyone much now imagines or admits.

Finally, curiously enough, the translated text usually lies at the other end of the spectrum as well: the works that end up being granted "world literature" status are read *overwhelmingly* in translation: if the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or *War and Peace*, or the *Divine Comedy* were read only in the original languages, and were discussable only by those scholars who could work with them in the original, then the canon we currently have would surely be minus all of those—and minus the discrete and fundamental notions we have that those texts' cultures are a fundamental and central part of the "tradition" we claim for our own.

But perhaps the strongest argument I can make is the one most explicitly rooted in tradition itself: let us look back at the ethos of the cultures we are trying to recapture, to remember. And, from such a perspective, there is a compelling irony in the "original language" fetish; for the specific historical moment we are trying to recapture, the Arabic moment in European history, is one built on translations, when an extraordinary amount of what would today be called scholarship was translation and commentary on translated texts. Is Aquinas to be disdained because he was an Averroist—because, that is, he read Ibn Rushd's Aristotelian commentaries in Latin? Is Ibn Rushd himself to be dropped from our list of worthies because he worked with translations from the Greek texts? Thus, the very individuals to whose "original" texts we now accord sacred cow status would have found such a value peculiar—and would themselves be excluded by it.

And in the literary sphere, no less, perhaps more, the spectacular success of the Andalusī phenomenon lies precisely in its aggressive cultivation of the different version in the different language: what, indeed, could one claim to be the "original" or "definitive" language of texts like the widespread and infinitely varied framed tales that permeated European literary culture for centuries? One of the many anachronisms of medieval studies—and one which lies at the heart of the philological enterprise—is the idea of an original, definitive text vis-à-vis which a translation is a secondary and derivative artefact. But if we take as exemplary something like the framed narrative tradition, the one to which the almost infinite versions of the *Alf Layla* belongs, and of which various sub-cycles appear throughout medieval Europe, it becomes clear that the very success of the texts is rooted in their translatability and in the explicit textual denials of authenticity and originality. The "original" language and text issue has almost always been a red herring, and the one most often used to deny the centrality of Andalusī culture in medieval Europe: where is the manuscript, we are asked, that gives us the story that Boccaccio used? The point, clearly, is that the literary traditions, much like the philosophical tradition which is also rooted in primary translations, caused the enormous upheaval they did, and rewrote the face of Europe when they did, because the textual traditions and their agents—the commentators, the storytellers—understood how translation, with all its

vaunted imperfections and limitations, is often life and continuity itself, while the deep respect for an "original" can mean the opposite: the death, for a text, of lying unread, unheard, unknown.

A reformation, literally, of the canon is not then nearly as difficult or impossible as many claim it to be, and in 1992 we are perhaps far closer to seeing Andalusí culture established as central to the European canon than we might suspect. If I am teaching an undergraduate course in the medieval European lyric, for example, or writing an article on the Provençal *canço* that we all believe revolutionised European poetics, it is a relatively minor change to add a handful of the poems of the Hispano-Arabic tradition (so ably translated into English by James Monroe) and another fistful of the Hebrew poems of Judah Ha-Levi, (of which a charming volume in Spanish recently appeared, as well as a new and wonderful batch of translations by Raymond Scheindlin). The gesture is a small one, but the impact, the ideological and canonical impact, is enormous: in one stroke the Western lyrical tradition, at its origins and during the formative stage of the modern period, is revealed as multi-cultural and multi-religious, as Jewish and Muslim, as well as Christian; as Andalusí. In one stroke, the teleological and institutional divisions that had previously separated Semitic from Romance are seriously eroded, and a different map of medieval Spain—and of medieval Europe, as a whole—has begun to emerge. Suddenly we are able to remember, because we hear and read texts we did not realise we knew.

But now let us return to the moment when that world was about to change, or so it seemed, in order to grasp some of our other difficulties in imagining it as present, as part of what we continue to be, and not something so long past, not so separated by the chasms and ruptures that history is said to create ...

III. Images

These are the first days of August, 1492. If we tried to stand on the docks in the great Spanish port of Cádiz we would be overwhelmed, barely able to find a square inch on which to stand, to look over the ships amassed in the harbour. The throngs of people are unbearable, particularly in the damp summer heat, and worst of all are the tears, the wailing, the ritual prayers, all those noises and smells and sights of departures. And this is the day—the hour and the place—of a leavetaking more grievous and painful than that of death itself, an exodus inscribed in all the sacred texts, anticipated and repeated. For the Jews of Sefarad, what Christian nomenclature would call Spain, this is the last day in that most beloved of homelands, the one that almost made them forget that it, too, was but a place of exile, a temporary home in a diaspora.¹¹

But the second diaspora did come, and the second day of August had been set, months before, in March, as its permanent marker. During that summer, all roads led to the sea, to ports such as Cádiz, to the desperately

overbooked ports and ships, and they were filled with the sounds of exile, that mingling of the vernacular sorrow of women and children and the liturgical chanting of the men. Of course, only one of the trips set out for that summer and begun on the second of August, among the thousands of others, would be really remembered, the one our children commemorate at school every year. It was on the same day, but from the port of Palos because Cádiz was far too overcrowded with the "Jew-bearing ships", that Columbus sailed the ocean blue. The scandalous suggestion has been made that Columbus himself was the most conspicuous of *conversos*, the forcibly converted Jews, usually readily identified by their excessive devotions, their fanatical and public protestations of the banal and ritualised pieties of Christianity.¹² But whether he "really" was or not would scarcely matter if we had adequately written that history—those histories—that were being so conspicuously worked out that very day, on the docks all over Spain. For if, in the palimpsest that is the Renaissance writing of its immediate past, and our own adaptation of that version of our heritage, we had not erased and forgotten all the others, that unwieldy and ungrammatical cacophony of voices, it would be clear even to schoolchildren that all those voyages of exodus and discovery, of exile and searching, begun on that day, are necessarily tied to each other. But we have not, in fact, ever considered this at all—the "coincidence" of the two events is mostly unknown, and when it slips out is merely that: an amazing "coincidence" and thus impervious to further exegesis. The word "coincidence" itself suggests exactly that: an intersection that would be highly meaningful—if it were not so fantastic and obviously meaningless, beyond rational exegesis. But exegesis of this remarkable and obviously meaningful intertwining of events is begging to be made: what is at stake is whether we can start to see how we are still, especially today, so intimately tied to al-Andalus.

We should, to begin with, be immensely curious about the way everyone avoids knowing that the day Columbus leaves Spain is the day of the beginning of the second diaspora—with "Columbus" himself the first of those avoiders. In his justly famous biography of Columbus Samuel Eliot Morison notes, with obvious and considerable puzzlement in his tone, how Columbus completely ignores the remarkable scene of the expulsion of the Jews, which was not only the event of the season, and all around him, but which obviously complicated and even compromised his own obsessive mission quite directly.¹³ In fact, the more one dwells on the subject the more one realises that the expulsion, itself intimately tied up with the pathetic and dishonourable last dance with Granada, is necessarily a principal condition obtaining throughout: it shapes everything Columbus does, from the long-sought approval of the trip (granted only in the conspicuous aftermath of both the decree of expulsion and the taking of Granada, that last outpost of Muslim Spain) to the fact that, in rerouting from Cádiz to Palos, Columbus lost not only the better

port as such but also the far better market for experienced seamen. Most sailors, that August, were already engaged for the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of trips into exile by the Jews which took place between March and August.

Morison the historian is thus quite right to be surprised and ultimately baffled by Columbus' stark avoidance of the subject; but this highlights the most obvious evidentiary problem at hand, since, as is well known (and as Morison himself knew quite well), "Columbus" narration is not his at all, but rather the regularised version—the Renaissancised version, one is tempted to say—of Las Casas. Indeed, in miniature and exemplary form, the transformation of Columbus embodied in the Columbine texts that have come down to us is a perfect example of the sort of palimpsest one sees when one contemplates the normalisation and classicisation of the medieval world that so swiftly and effectively took place. For a medievalist—at least for a certain kind of medievalist, the one who appreciates how polymorphous, how Andalusí, the medieval world really was—Columbus is poignantly medieval in a world ever less understanding of his unruliness, a stranger in a strange land, his search for an Orient readily understandable. Consider, if nothing else, the question of his languages and that of his text: he was a man of multiple languages, all spoken, a student of the kind of wild and irregular vernacular text produced by the likes of Marco Polo, in languages that celebrate heterodoxy and defy the grammarians. But this was no longer the time of Dante in Italy. This was the Italy of Bembo; and Columbus, the most famous and celebrated of Italians in the New World, left Italy never having learned "Italian".¹⁴ But he soon added another fistful of vernaculars, no doubt easily, to his repertoire, and eventually found it advantageous to learn—although it is unclear to what degree of grammaticality—the two codified languages that appeared to have some control over his destiny, Castilian and Latin.

Most importantly, he knew, of course, what the lingua franca of the civilised world was, and provided himself with a speaker of Arabic to serve as translator when he reached the Indies. Indeed—and this piece of great and fitting poetry is also left out of most of our narrations—the first official diplomatic conversation in the New World took place between Luis de Torres, a Jew of recent conversion, speaking in Arabic of course, and a Taino chief in the hinterlands of Cuba—the Cubanacan that Columbus took to mean "el gran can". But in the narrations left to us these conversations are gone: this riot of languages, this society where everyone spoke two or three different languages at least, these hundreds of years of productive hostilities between stern and fixed father tongues and the always ungraspable, unfixable *lingue maternelle*. Columbus' original diaries, undoubtedly as mongrel as he and as his world, are erased, "lost"—conveniently, after Las Casas rewrites them in correct Castilian.¹⁵ Good and smooth paper is made from the pulp of illiterate and undisciplined cacophony that sprang, without a doubt, from the voices of the shiploads of mongrels of the old world—and that of

course did include the Jews, the half-Jews, the Muslims, whose ancestry was as ethnically mixed as everyone else's, all those speakers of unregulated vernaculars by the fistful, including Arabic. And on this paper is written a smooth trip, over even seas, all according to the new rules of the new universe, all following the rules of Nebrija's grammar of Castilian—that, too, is written in 1492 and is perhaps an even better example of the first text of the Renaissance in Spain. And once again, we can see the intimate dance of death with life: the single new official language is fixed at the expense of the many that had characterised Andalusī culture since—and this is perceived as an irony by some—the sacred status of the language of the Quran had encouraged the richly polylingual culture it became. In the end, a language sure of its essential and intrinsic worth (and in this respect, of course, it is supreme) does not squabble for territory with others and flatters itself, lives in a house where so many others can live, basking in its magnanimity.

If we look very closely it is not hard to see, not far below that rewritten text, the mongrel Columbus that our pristine narrations of European history have replaced with something far more orthodox and proper. And in seeing that Columbus what we might also see, if we do not cultivate purity for ourselves, is the reflection of the Andalusī past that is also an American present: the culture where everyone is an exile and an émigré; the house where at least two or three languages are spoken and the oldest son falls in love with a girl from a different culture and religion; the philosophy that is always translated; and the literature that is revolutionary and sung. Let us listen to a bit of this, so we can hear how much we are like that past—how much more like it, perhaps, than we are like others we are fonder of calling "ours".

There is one central area of literature in medieval Europe where there are no translations from the Arabic, a fact that contrasts pointedly with the vast quantities of translations existing in other areas. As I noted in my arguments for using translations in our own scholarship, there are various viewpoints from which Andalusī culture might well be seen as a culture of translation. Within such a context, indeed, it is this conspicuous contrast—that relatively few translations were made of the literary tradition, and within that virtually none from the essential lyric tradition—that has served as the cornerstone of the argument that, in fact, there was no significant interaction and influence in the literary sphere between the Arabic culture of al-Andalus and the nascent European literatures of the Romance vernaculars. And because at the heart of this issue there lies the most important literary genre of all, the lyric, the stakes are extraordinarily high here. Were Europe's first vernacular lyrics—its first modern flower—born in the context of some sort of interaction with the Arabic culture of Europe? For reasons I have discussed in detail elsewhere (and which I think are actually rather easy to grasp) the lyric becomes the striking symbol of the newness and distinctiveness of post-classical Europe. Thus, the cultural conditions at the moment of its birth (for

it has always been seen as a birth, a fairly clean and momentous break with the past) seem to define Europeanness itself.

It is no accident that the troubadours have been the first chapter in the study of "modern philology" from Dante, in the previously cited *De vulgari eloquentia*, on. And the lack of any translations of lyric poetry from Arabic, when so many other sorts of translation exist, is eagerly fallen back on as the ultimate proof that, despite insistent suggestions from many quarters over the years, the lyric is not like glass or paper or sherbet: it has little or nothing to do with the "foreign" culture to the south of the heartland of European culture, France. Indeed what usually emerges is the direct distinction between the abundance of translations, and thus influence, in areas that are basically external to the essential self—all manner of scientific discourse, for example—and the ultimate discourse of the self, the love song. In this latter there was no traffic—no translations—between East and West. Given that a simple reading of the poetic traditions in question, the lyric poetry of Provence and that of al-Andalus, would rapidly reveal the poetics of the *canso* and the *muwashshahāt* to be closely related, the lack of translations appears to be the ultimate trump card. And I would like to re-emphasise that the stakes here are very high, since we are indeed arguing over the fundamental cultural parameters of our heritage, our "Great Tradition".

So the question is of particular interest: why are there no translations of the lyric poetry of al-Andalus, and of the *muwashshahāt* particularly? Or, to ask the same question differently, why does the fact that there were no translations not mean that the first Provençal poets were unlikely to know that poetry?¹⁶ I have come to realise that at the heart of this matter—as is so often the case—lie our most basic epistemological assumptions, in this case what we imagine the *muwashshahāt*—or the Provençal *canso*, for that matter—to have been. The traditional view, although largely unstated, is that this is literature like all the other texts of medieval Europe, a literature not only preserved in writing but whose essential nature is written. This is another of the many instances of considerable anachronism in medieval studies, often stemming from a very misplaced sense of élitism. But in fact, we know, we have always known, that the medieval lyric is not at all a written genre, that it bears no essential relationship to the kind of poetry published in slim volumes or in the pages of the *New Yorker* every week.

In fact, if, instead of calling the *muwashshahāt* or the *canso* poems, as we almost invariably do, we call them by their proper name, the literal translation of *canso*, we should consciously and explicitly understand that these are rather songs. And while a considerable amount of scholarship may pay this distinction some sort of lip service, we are, in the end, literary historians who react to the written word in certain ways, most of them inculcated from the time we learned to read, and we are almost exclusively—particularly if we are medievalists—trained to deal with the written text and its poetics. It

is difficult to make even the most basic and fundamental shifts in our conceptualisation of the genre, and this is certainly aggravated by the simple and unalterable fact that we are constrained to study these songs through a silent and private reading of the lyrics that survive in a written form.

And yet, would it not make a crucial and telling difference in at least some of the ways in which these lyrics are "read" if we made the conscious and consistent effort actively to conceive and imagine them as songs, and to imagine too that their original and primary existence as works of literature was in public performance? There is of course, a model close at hand that we could use, rather than that of the slim volume of written poems on our shelves that we so unconsciously fall back on. But for many (perhaps most) scholars to imagine that the Provençal canso or the Andalusī *muwashshahāt* more closely resembles the popular song tradition, which in our culture is, of course, that known as "rock", is a suggestion many would find at least as appalling as the theory that the two schools of songs are, indeed, closely related to each other, that the difference between an Andalusī "Arab" and a Provençal "European" might not be readily seen or heard. This too, however, is like my suggestion that we start using and spreading the Hispano-Arabic corpus in English translation: it may be heterodox, but I take it very seriously, and believe it, in fact, to represent a sound "traditional" approach.

Indeed, rock is the tradition within our own lifetimes, the conceptual model that most closely resembles the radically new medieval lyric tradition, all too obviously Andalusī at the outset, which so transformed the cultural parameters of Europe. Let us count the most obvious ways in which these lyric cultures resonate of and for each other.

Firstly, we see the explosion of renegade new song traditions, unambiguously in open rebellion against the forms and languages of classical predecessors, and yet, of course, really just in quest of a new tradition.

Furthermore, we hear the establishment of the song itself as the pre-eminent cultural form of a generation, and that song is a lyrical form that seamlessly melds contemplation of self, the artist and his creation, with the lyrics of "love".

We notice that many of the salient—and "revolutionary"—features of these lyrical traditions are conscious and direct appropriations of popular forms (the Mozarabic of the *muwashshahāt*, the black beats in the first generation of rock), and these are meant to redefine the tradition with a direct infusion of new blood that also serves to establish a distance from a brand of classicism that excludes those forms, those songs of the Other. (These appropriations, of course, must not lull us into believing that the lyric, either in the 12th century or in our own, thus becomes a "folk" or truly "popular" tradition, since we would thus be confusing, as many traditionalists are wont to do, "revolutionary" with uncultured, vernacular and sung with illiterate or primitive.)

Finally, in this very cursory sketch of the issue, we must realise that at its peak—before it is classicised and thus made written instead of sung (and in this too we remember Columbus and the palimpsest of the native vernacular replaced with the official grammar)—this is a tradition which finds its great effect in performance. Indeed the misleading irony, in these and other cases, is that our seemingly insatiable urge to classicise what we love, to fix what may be fluid, is the very factor that has preserved the *muwashshahāt*, and also the *canso*, for posterity—in a written form, of course, which was clearly not their original medium or form.¹⁷ Thus, while we do well to reject the notion that some scruffy troubadour in the outskirts of Perpignan or Montpellier spent a lot of time at the local monastery studying now-lost translations of the *muwashshahāt* of some obscure poets who wrote in an unintelligible script, what we really have to do is substitute a more plausible scenario in the first place. And that is why the model provided by rock is so crucial.

Clearly, it is crucial to consider why this modelling issue is problematic. From a methodological point of view we often have no way of knowing how a literary tradition may have worked, we have no way of imagining a distant cultural moment, except through the process of analogy with a comparable form we can, in fact, observe from up close. After all, until Lord and Parry found some epic storytellers in the hinterlands of central Europe, we all read the works of the epic tradition as if they had been written down for us readers to read quietly in our book-lined studies. Indeed, in the scholarship dealing with the medieval Spanish epic—whose single surviving text has that hero with the Arab name, al-Sayyid—the orthodox view is still derivative of a model within which the artist was a monk who went to France to study the French epics for a period of his life, and then returned to his cell in Spain to write the “Poem of the Cid”. As a brilliant critic of this version has recently noted, this is a model that smacks of a British don’s view of himself, a model that conceives of the artist as a scholar.¹⁸ Indeed, what is at stake is the fundamental model we have of the artist, both as a young man and later on. It is also why the analogy with rock will stick in many scholars’ craw; for, once again, what we are doing, consciously or not, is painting a picture of our venerated ancestors, and the suggestion that they might resemble Mick Jagger or, to take a recently visible example, Jim Morrison, is an unacceptable and offensive idea to many—much as is the idea that those ancestors’ portraits would show them to have been Arabs or Jews. If we talk about it in these terms, it is difficult to avoid the often-avoided issue of the role of the imagination, and to understand that the choices made in accepting and rejecting ancestors, a choice which has removed al-Andalus from a foundational to a marginal place in the European family tree, rest on how we see ourselves and our cultures.

And, in fact, most of our scholarship, particularly in the medieval area, is enamoured of a model of culture that sees the past as if manuscripts had

always been quaint, of literature as a learned enterprise and of the artist as a sort of scholarly type—above the vulgarities of fame and a public, most respectful of the Great Tradition, at home alone double-checking references to those Old French epics or to Virgil. Petrarch, of course, was instrumental in helping us carve out such a model (and it is far from irrelevant that he had a well-known hatred of the revolutionary cultural forms the Andalusis and Sicilians had foisted on the rest of Europe)—and we are happy to overlook the fact that all the while he had been home, wishing he were popular and famous, and writing some of the most superb love songs ever written in a language he never tired of saying was too vulgar to be a part of the Great Tradition. In our model, which tends to mimic what Petrarch preached but differed from so radically from his practice, and which smacks of our own most élitist images of ourselves, it is seen as part of the decline of civilisation as we know it that the artist in modern times, i.e. in a period where we can see their pictures and know about their lives and hear their songs, so rarely measures up to our standards, so infrequently looks anything like that writer-scholar.

It is bracing, in such a context, to read Ibn Quzmān, for example, and imagine what he looked like and where he would fit on the cultural spectrum today. The pre-eminent impact of the classicisation process, that incorporation of revolutionaries and outsiders into the mainstream, that making the once-black sheep into an ancestor we can be proud of, is a purification: we clean things up and make them respectable. Just as we made Columbus a pure European, in the worst post-1492 sense of the word, so we make Byron, to take yet another salient example, fit company for the dignified tea party (conveniently forgetting he was a drunk and a compulsive lecher, and scandalised good society with his debauches and his midnight swims in the Grand Canal in Venice). Behind all of this there is a variety of crucial oppositions at play: the classical versus the vernacular; the written versus the sung; the orthodox versus the revolutionary; and so forth. And by and large we have come to define the culture and literature we study as the former—the classical and the exclusive, the written and “high”. That is our work after all, since we see ourselves as the guardians and preservers of the Great Traditions—and thus must conceive of that tradition in that way. Moreover, the hard and ironic fact is that the only way any literature is preserved is by being successful enough to become classical, to get fixed and written down and emulated—only to become someone else’s revered ancestor and be overthrown by some brash young artist looking to make it new.

But the fact that something became a classic does not mean that it always was a classic, any more than the fact that a song was eventually written down means it was always a written literary form. Indeed, what we must be careful not to do is to project our own reverence backwards: when the poets of Provence—the troubadours—began to compose and sing their songs, and

reached the peak of their popularity, they did so in flagrant and rather shocking rebellion against the Great Tradition of their moment. And it was only one of their many wildnesses and transgressions that their instruments—and thus their tunes and their beats, at the very least—came from that ever-irritating source of subversion of the traditions, of new technologies that were undermining the old ways, of secular thinking that was making the young and impressionable abandon the traditional religions—al-Andalus, of course. From there, too, no doubt, came the appalling idea that one could do without Latin, the great father tongue, since, with the great decline in educational standards, you could hardly find a young man who could read it any more. Why, after all, that was the sort of place where even Jews and Christians sang bastard songs, half in Arabic, half in the vulgar street language of ignorant women. What the offended scholars and guardians of culture in Provence in the 12th century may well have known, and taken at least some consolation from, was the realisation that those bastard songs were no less offensive to their counterparts in Seville or Córdoba.

The crucial function performed by this model, this construct that allows our imaginations to see how much of al-Andalus is not the exotic Other, scattered in long-abandoned ruins in the Spanish south, is that it lets us see the factors so amply contributing to the lack of translations of the *muwashshaha* tradition. This was, first of all, a vigorous sung tradition that in crucial ways thumbed its nose at the most basic rules of classical Arabic poetry and was not written down for a number of generations, at least in part because its poetics mitigated strongly against incorporation into the written canon. It was, no less, a tradition which lived in performance and would have been known to others—foreigners and neighbours alike—in concert. We can also see now, I think, why the transparently revolutionary songs of Murcia would have been so attractive to the troubadours of places as far as Toulouse, as close by as Barcelona: what more stunning and attractive “influence” could one invent for the brash young artists of Laungedoc also out radically to redefine a new poetic world? What better inspiration than these songs that turned the old rules on their head, and in which every verse in the old classical language is answered by one in the brash and harsh tongue of the streets, the clearly understandable language of a woman in love? Finally, we perceive the apparently insoluble historiographical problem: the fixed written text, the written translation, will by definition not exist until it is not as vital a living tradition any more, until classicisation has taken place and, most likely, until the first moment of great impact and influence is long past. But the vital relationship between the songs of the Hispano-Arabic world and those of the troubadours whom Nietzsche rightly noted as representing the very flower of European culture took place while the traditions were very much alive, in creative performance, before either tradition had to be studied in its written form or in a translation. And those (many) scholars who have

asked how we should believe that unscholarly troubadours, speaking only the dialect of Provence, could have absorbed the fundamental poetics of the Arab poets of al-Andalus, have simply never paid attention to the comparable tradition in our midst: songs are sung hundreds of time; what little translation and interpretation is needed is an integral part of the performance itself, is part of who sings it and who is in the audience; understanding of the lyrics is expected to be limited; and everyone knows it is an unhappy love song. We forget that we may need definitive editions and good translations, but that the troubadours just had to go and listen to the stuff. The very living and very influential culture of al-Andalus that was its song, needed no translator, no official introductions when it went abroad. And in this it did differ from the Columbus whose story we should return to briefly, in closing.

IV. *Home*

It is a cliché with considerable truth that the whole idea of the Renaissance, beginning with its very name, acquires meaning first of all through contradiction to a medieval past whose various deaths require various rebirths. But what these narrations can reveal is not just the kind of thing Haskins wanted to show, and which scholars working on al-Andalus have shown to be so centrally located in medieval Spain: that the "rebirth" is earlier, that Aristotle was brilliantly commented on in the 5th/11th century, and so forth. What the untranslated *muwashshahāt* and the spectacularly prolific tradition of philosophical and scientific translation—again the unholy unity—also reveal, when we look closely below the rewritten text and read the prolific versions of narratives begging to be retold by all the cultures and in all the languages, is a medieval past that is not dark, but rather too flashy to fit in with the cool lines of a certain kind of classicism, the sort of eclectic cultural hodgepodge which, like post-modernism in our own times, makes those with a certain preference for neatness want to tidy up. What our histories have wanted is the post-1492 European ideal: a coherent narration in a language with a codified grammar, a smooth trip across the Atlantic. But the Andalusī Europe that precedes that world, and the American hodgepodge that develops across the sea, have, naturally enough, not taken such notions of purity very seriously. Indeed, what is thrown overboard in the neat narration of a pure past (and the success of this story is everywhere around us) was once said to be darkness, ignorance, superstition and chanting: the medievals as much as the primitives of the New World. But if one tells the story from an aesthetic that can see and celebrate the riotous pluralities and often-chaotic poetics that made up the Andalusī medieval world, the Renaissance palimpsest might be seen as the neo-classical line meant to provide relief after the baroque, the unity to restore harmony after the chaos of the post-modern. The baroque, of course, would eventually be the dominant aesthetic of a New

World, perhaps the only aesthetic adequate for that lush and unstandardisable cacophony.¹⁹

The tension and the problem in all of this is, transparently, that histories are written and rewritten in the languages of the great grammars, and philology can only describe the dialects of Romance in the tongue and the rhetoric of the grammarians. Indeed, what is difficult or even repugnant about the rest of the story—the Jews that made and unmade Spain, the Islamic empire that thrived on the sort of cultural syncretism and apparent relativism we see in the *Alf Layla wa Layla*—is that it seems to be tellable only in the near incoherence of the lyric. Indeed, the brilliance of the concept of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, that first of the literary histories of Romance, is that it explicitly sets out the *folie à deux* that is the dialogue between the love lyrics and the Latin descriptions, the "dialogue" between father and parricide. In this Dante is mimicking the sort of literary history inscribed in the *muwash-shaḥa* corpus: the life and death struggle between tradition and revolution, and their dependence on each other for real meaning. Like the hermetic lyric, the bumps in the story and the radical pluralisms resist the smoothing-out effect of institutional exegesis and the successful historical narrative we have inherited, as a standard, from the Renaissance; and it is because al-Andalus is such a riotous bump that it comes to be set aside.

The story, told with all its many bumps, without smoothing over, could perhaps only end up, to steal from the great Cuban writer, Alejo Carpentier, as a baroque concerto. I think Carpentier understood this—just as he understood, in his last major work,²⁰ that Columbus' authentic relics are everywhere in the New World and that all the claimed burial sites are authentic—because, like all Cubans, like all Americans in the end, he is a descendant of that conversation that took place in 1492 in Cubanacan, between the Jew who spoke Arabic with a strong Andalusī accent and the Taino who spoke a language that never had the chance to resonate for us. And there, indeed, is the rub, for the Taino is gone from history because he did not have Nebrija to fix it and write its grammar and make its singers sing on key. It did not have Las Casas to rewrite it and edit it, to make the pulp good paper. And al-Andalus is gone from Europe because it could only be a smooth part of the narration of the East, where the language and the culture provide the sort of continuum that the classicising narrative seeks relentlessly, and perhaps inevitably. That is the dilemma because, with few exceptions, what survives is the palimpsest, the accentless narration: in Europe the Andalusis have a heavy accent and in the Arab world they don't—but of course, these assumptions too, on closer inspection, are revisable if we understand that this is in great measure the model we assume, the image we want: Columbus had an accent, too, let us not forget, as have all our ancestors in the New World, per force; and in that too we are remarkably Andalusī, always expatriates, always polycultural. But will future readers of Carpentier's marvellous novel

miss the greatest joke of all? Will they read it in clean and classical Spanish accents? Carpentier himself had a strong French accent, which only made his native Cuban Spanish more mongrel, more lyrical. More medieval and Columbus-like. More Andalusí. How close and familiar, finally, is al-Andalus in 1992.

¹ The only studies that have seen any sort of connection made between the two sides of 1492 are those that have focused on the extent to which the Conquest of the New World is related to the "reconquest" of Spain by the Christians and away from the Muslims, a view predicated on—among others—the dubious idea that the notion of "reconquest" was a contemporary one (see Charles Gibson, "Reconquista and Conquista", in *Homage to Irving A. Leonard: Essays on Hispanic Art, History and Literature*, ed. R. Chang-Rodriguez and D. A. Yates, Ann Arbor, 1977). My argument will be a more or less diametrically opposed one: that the most telling connections between old world and new are those characterised by the flourishing multi-cultural life of al-Andalus and the New Worlds, which would be discovered when Andalusí culture was but a memory.

² For extensive discussion and documentation of the varieties of prejudice that have kept Western scholarship from acknowledging the remarkable centrality of Andalusí culture for the formation of medieval (and thus, by extension, modern) Europe, see María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*, Philadelphia, 1987, especially the first chapter.

³ Thus, students of Romance philology (the principal discipline I will focus on as crucial in the exclusion of al-Andalus and Andalusí culture from the history of European literatures) have been expected to be very strong in Germanics, and, concomitantly, most of the strongest, most traditional departments of Comparative Literature have focused intently on the combination of French, German and English. Moreover, although only a miniscule number of Romanists are trained in Greek, that has scarcely meant that ancient Greek culture is seen as less central to our heritage.

⁴ One could argue quite reasonably that such divisions of knowledge, i.e., the carving up of territory into, roughly, Germanics and Romance and Semitic philologies, were not only logical enough but have, *grosso modo*, served their purposes well in most cases—certainly their historical/reconstructive purposes. Drawing the historical maps with those tools of the 19th century may, in some cases, have involved some rough edges or bits of necessary "borrowing" here and there, but by and large things seemed to work: French was written and spoken in 14th century France as much as in the 19th century (granted the historical development it was the job of philology to trace) and Arabic was spoken in Damascus and Baghdad in both eras.

⁵ Certainly the most perversely charming and telling example of applying inappropriate divisions to Peninsular artifacts is the now famous case of Stern's "discovery" of the *kharija*, the name given to the final strophes of *muwashshahāt*. The texts had in fact long since been "discovered": they were known about and existed in print, but they remained undeciphered, and thus functionally undiscovered, because, in an all-too-predictable expression of a certain cultural-linguistic reality, the texts featured a final refrain in Romance as a counterpoint to the body of the poem, in Arabic or Hebrew. No one had deciphered the texts because Arabists did not imagine the apparent gibberish might be Romance—and the Romance scholars who might have deciphered the texts knew, of course, neither Hebrew nor Arabic. In Menocal, "Bottom of the Ninth, Bases Loaded", *La Corónica*, 17, pp. 32-40, I note how the poems continue to be studied according to our contemporary canonical divisions, even in a case such as this where it could scarcely be more obviously and radically inappropriate, since a plurilingual society created such plurilingual poems, and the poems themselves are, moreover, expressly juxtaposing the various cultures that make up the one—the Andalusí.

⁶ Charles Homer Haskins' revolutionary book had as its principal aims to show the multiple ways in which the "Dark Ages" had been no such thing, and how many of the Renaissance conceits about the creation of modern Europe, which our modern historiography had bought wholesale, effectively ignored how foundational the cultural explosion of the 12th century had been. Unwittingly, Haskins work reveals (in the light of the far greater knowledge we now have about

the flourishing of Andalusi culture) the seminal nature of al-Andalus in this "Renaissance": almost without exception the features of modernity Haskins sets out (the universities, the scientific revolutions, the emergence of the vernaculars, the rediscovery of the classical philosophers, etc.) can be seen as the result, direct or indirect, of al-Andalus being a vital part of the rest of Europe, to which it exported its many revolutionary ideas and institutions.

⁷ In passing I will note my impression that it is also a crucial canonical problem for the more traditionally definable "Middle Eastern" studies, which, again with the handful of exceptions that prove the rule, has been just as incapable of making the necessary adaptations to such a different past as would be required to map al-Andalus; a "Middle Eastern" canon that has, often explicitly, said that what happened in Spain could have happened anywhere else in the Middle East, that the Arabs of al-Andalus are, in the end, just Arabs. Again, we may leave out of this, for the moment at least, the extent to which these are explicitly "orientalist" arguments, and say, merely, that such statements and the behaviour that follows from them are the necessary result of the epistemology at hand. But, clearly, the need to rewrite the parameters so that Spain—and Sicily for that matter—can be reimagined, is as great for Arabists and Hebraists as for Romanists, since it would be silly to argue that, yes, the Arabs were really just as much "pure" Arabs and Muslims as in Baghdad but, on the other hand, the Christians were different. Versions of this are, in fact, argued every day, for that is precisely what is said when someone teaches or writes about Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn al-'Arabi in the context of a "Middle East" that was for some six centuries transplanted to the West—as far West as one could go in those days.

⁸ This was of course true in all sorts of areas until not long ago: I certainly never discussed the *Song of Roland*, when I first read it in an Old French class, in the fluent Parisian-last-quarter-of-the-twentieth-century French I had had to learn as a French major. It was not that long ago, in fact, that the relationship of original language to goal was much the opposite of what it has rapidly, recently, come to be for many, since the dread Sputnik and a whole host of related social changes that have made languages in and of themselves an academic "goal". The goal was once, clearly, the artefacts, the texts "themselves", and the languages were the codes that needed breaking and massaging—if one happened to pick up spoken fluency along the way, then that was nice but hardly indispensable, and really a different thing altogether.

⁹ I present a lengthy and detailed discussion of these issues in a forthcoming article in *Edebiyat*, "Contingencies of Canonical Structures and Values of Change: Lessons from Medieval Spain".

¹⁰ The *Alf Layla* itself presents a whole range of textual issues that are exemplary for this discussion, beginning with the fact that the text itself has always resisted the notion of "originality" and "definitiveness", and, as Muḥsin Maḥdi has recently shown, the 18th and 19th century versions in European languages played a crucial role in the redaction of what would later be considered more "original" Arabic versions (notably the Cairene Būlāq). Moreover, the Galland version of the *Alf Layla* is itself an important part of the history of European literature, although, as Georges May points out in his sparkling and persuasive study, it has been unfairly and inaccurately relegated to a very minor position as a "mere" translation. Finally, in an amusing circularity, May's own study has (not surprisingly but quite fittingly) aroused the ire of a number of Arabists annoyed by the fact that he does not know the original Arabic texts, and is thus, presumably, unequipped to deal with it as a literary text. This is, of course, to miss the very point May is quite appropriately making: that the Galland "translation", whatever its merits as an "objective" or "accurate" translation might be, itself became a remarkably important and canonical text for several hundreds of years of mainstream European literature. And this is true, at least in part, because, even as late as the 18th century in European culture, translations had yet to be relegated to secondary status. Moreover, many other far earlier, i.e. pre-modern translations, some of which have survived and others which have not, no less clearly became a part of the canonical Western traditions, the *Kalila and Dimna* and the *Sendebar* being only two of the most significant.

¹¹ Two of the scholars who have most enriched our knowledge of al-Andalus have provided comparable, poignant images of the last days of the Andalusis, when diversity and tolerance were memories: see the opening of the introduction of Consuelo López Morillas, *The Qur'an in Sixteenth Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79*, London, 1982, and chapter VI of Luce López Baralt, *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española. De Juan Ruiz a Juan Goytisolo*, Madrid, 1985. Both studies evoke poignantly the loss of the sacred Quranic language for the Moriscos in the 16th century.

¹² For a lucid and detailed discussion of the *converso* proposal see Juan Gil, "Colón y la Casa Santa", *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanistas*, 21, pp. 125-35. Gil believes the proposal to have considerable merit.

¹³ Among the copious bibliography on Columbus, Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea. A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston, 1942) is still reliable and, for historiographical reasons, of exceptional interest; I have also profited from the extensive discussions of Columbus and his trip in Daniel Boorstin, *The Discoverers. A History of Man's Search to Know His World and Himself*, New York, 1983.

¹⁴ Dante, who wrote what is properly seen as the first history of poetry in the Romance vernaculars—hence, the first text in the Romance philological tradition—had a superb appreciation of the dialectal richness of Italy and, in all his works of fiction, clearly sided with the revolutionaries of the previous two centuries who had ousted the paternal tongue, the classical model of Latin, in favour of the fluid spoken language until then left for gossip among women and their children. Bembo was the most redoubtable and well-known advocate of the conservative linguistic position, the "purism" that sought to impose a single linguistic standard on Italian culture and select acceptable literary models for it.

¹⁵ In what is either an astonishing coincidence or a telling parallel, the other earliest text describing the New World in the first years of discovery goes through a comparable textual transmission. In 1494 Columbus left Fray Ramón Pané, a Catalán who spoke Castilian, the newly established "Spanish" less than perfectly, in Hispaniola to write a report on the indigenous peoples; Pané duly went and lived among the Tainos and by 1498 had produced the famous *Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los indios*. Like Columbus' diaries, the original was lost; this time, remarkably, it was Columbus' son who copied it into the biography he wrote of his father, but, in a further twist this remarkable biography, which had been translated into Italian, was also lost. For an extensive discussion, as well as the most lucid analysis of the role of an aesthetics of multiplicities in Latin American literature see the brilliant Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive. A Theory of Latin American Narrative*, Cambridge, 1990.

¹⁶ I confess that the difficulty of these questions made me bypass them altogether when I wrote my *Arabic Role* on these issues—and argue that we should simply suspend the issue of genetic relatedness and study the *canso* and the *muwashshahāt* together as an exercise in comparative literature. I can stand by that answer as such, but I think the questions do require less evasive answers.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Pierre Cachia for pointing out how many of our difficulties in reading the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas* have to do precisely with the fact that, when they were preserved, classicised, many of the revolutionary features were disguised and glossed over; perhaps, as in the case of the Las Casas version of the Columbine texts, this is the necessary "translation" from the oral to the written, from the transient to the permanent, from the revolutionary to the classical.

¹⁸ For this, and for other very telling parallels in epic scholarship, see Joseph Duggan's remarkable new book *The Cantar de Mio Cid. Poetic Creation in its Economic and Social Contexts*, Cambridge, 1989. Duggan points out how the model proposed by Colin Smith, and duly accepted by a surprising number of Hispanists, assumes that true, "high" literature—that which has long-lasting value—is learned and high from the outset rather than being made so by the canonical and classicising process. Indeed, the debate among medieval Hispanists about the nature of the epic has to do precisely with whether something as "good" as the *Cantar de mio Cid* could have been composed by scruffy and illiterate types.

¹⁹ I can only allude here to the rich possibilities that open up if we consider Andalusi and American literary aesthetics as intimately related, particularly from the perspective of the struggle between lyric multilingualism and the standardising narrative; for an eloquent and enlightening discussion of New World aesthetics see Gustavo Pérez Firmat, "The Strut of the Centipede: José Lezama Lima and New World Exceptionalism", in *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?*, ed. G. Pérez Firmat, Durham, North Carolina, 1990. There is also a telling and uncanny coincidence in the scholarship of the bilingual poems of the Cuban Nicolás Guillén: the final strophes of one of his best-known poems were long thought to be nonsense until one scholar noted they could well be a poetic version of the African language still spoken within Cuba's considerable black communities. Those medievalists who have learned the story of Stern's discovery of the *kharja*, and especially those who see the *kharjas* as the vernacular

female counterpoint in dialogue with the classical male voice of the rest of the text, will read González Echevarría.

²⁰ The best commentary on *El arpa y la sombra* can be found in Roberto González Echevarría, *The Pilgrim at Home: Alejo Carpentier*, 2nd ed., Austin, 1990. For our purposes the most revealing sections are those that have been added to this edition, a preamble and a final chapter on *El arpa y la sombra* and the sort of lyrical historiography that emerges from that singular novel.

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THE LEGACY OF ISLAM IN SPANISH LITERATURE

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It is astonishing, given the inescapable pervasiveness of Islamic motifs in Peninsular letters, that we have not yet fully come to terms with the legacy of Islam in Spanish literature. We are still in the process of understanding, and, even more amazing, of discovering this legacy. Witness the fact that S. M. Stern came upon the *kharja* as recently as 1948 (these verses, found appended to the Andalusí Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshaha*, were hailed as the first Romance or Spanish poetry ever documented, but this field of study is now undergoing severe and polemic revision). Furthermore, the process of editing the secret literature of the last Muslims of Spain is under way at this very moment: only a very small fraction of the literally hundreds of *aljamiado* manuscripts extant in the libraries of Spain (and of other European countries and the Middle East) have as yet been published. As one of the editors of this most curious Renaissance literary corpus, written in Spanish but transliterated into Arabic script, I can assure the reader that there are exhilarating surprises in store for us, and I will be dealing here with one of these, namely the discovery of an erotic treatise written in Spanish by a 17th-century Morisco who quotes his Islamic authorities alongside Lope de Vega's sonnets.

But let us return to the starting point. Understanding the legacy of Islam in Spanish letters implies an understanding of Spain's complex history and culture; Spain is the only European country that was simultaneously Occidental and Oriental in the first centuries of its formation as a nation, and it is impossible to imagine that this unique historical situation was without consequences. Before dealing, then, with the debt Spanish literature owes to its Arabic counterpart, we must necessarily say something about these most unusual beginnings.

Scholars of the literature and culture of Spain—and even amateurs in the field—have recently (and unavoidably, one would think) been struck by certain slightly ironic phrases, almost invariably in English, and widely employed for posters and tourist promotions. One such phrase is "Spain is different". Another often-seen phrase—this time in French—is less ambiguous and more to the point of our explorations here: "L'Afrique commence aux Pyrénées". This latter dictum pretends to make explicit what it is that "distinguishes" Spain from the rest of Europe, what it is that makes Spain so "different". These statements are, it must be said, often uttered in a pejorative, slightly contemptuous manner, to underscore the fact that the "Westernness" of Spain, with its strong admixture of Semitic ingredients, is highly debat-

able. The problem of the "Westernness" (or relative "Easternness") of Spain, a problem felt with singular passion and even anguish by Spaniard and non-Spaniard alike, has spawned, as we shall see in the pages which follow, one of the most important critical controversies of the entire 20th century in Spain. The history of this country—an "uncomfortable" history, as Francisco Márquez Villanueva has astutely called it¹—is indeed "different", for it follows a course inevitably distinct from that of the history of the rest of Europe in the Middle Ages. It would be a foolish and egregious error not to recognise the overwhelming changes wrought on emerging Spain by the Muslim invasion in 92/711 (which led to eight centuries of life shared with the Arabs) and by the secular presence on the Peninsula of the brilliant Hebraic civilisation, which had existed prior to the Islamic conquest and which was to last until the year 1492, when the Spaniards expelled the Jews from their ancient homeland. (We must remember, in this connection, that France and England had expelled their Jews in the 12th and 13th centuries respectively—much earlier, that is to say, than the Spaniards.) At the moment of its conception and birth as a country, Spain (we must thank Américo Castro for calling our attention to this) was formed not only from Western cultural elements but from Semitic elements as well. Christians (Romanised Visigoths) lived side by side with Muslims and Jews, in relative tolerance, throughout the Middle Ages, in defiance of the secular war of the so-called reconquest, and this complex and long-drawn-out historical process must inevitably have produced a cultural "cross-contamination" or "hybridisation" of the Western and Eastern elements on the Peninsula (to assume that the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula borrowed nothing from their extraordinarily refined and cultured Arab and Jewish neighbours is to brand the Christians virtual hayseeds, if not barbarians, and void of all intellectual curiosity—a characterisation which seems highly improbable). It is essential to keep this fact in mind when attempting to formulate an explanation for the cultural particularity of Spain and to understand the unexpected fecundity of a literature—especially in its medieval and Renaissance incarnations—so mysterious and original, in so many ways, in comparison to the contemporary literature of Europe. Thus the phrase "Spain is different" is quite true, and perfectly acceptable—so long, that is, as it is understood in a positive, laudatory sense.

As we all know, the people (or "ethnic group", if you will) that became dominant on the Peninsula were—for complex economic and political reasons—the Western Christians, and so "Spanish culture", for all the Semitic hues and tints it may have possessed, and for all its other idiosyncrasies, came to be fundamentally European. It is only to be expected, then, that scholarship and criticism have been largely focused on this Western aspect of Spanish culture. In studying the European aspect almost exclusively, however, scholars have overlooked a rich vein of culture which, in spite of its

Oriental features, is equally "Spanish". In these pages we would like to rescue the virtually forgotten (and sometimes silenced) Semitic elements of Peninsular culture. In order to look at the medieval origins of that Spanish Semitism, however, we will have to seek the aid not of Hispanicists but rather of Orientalists—more specifically, of Arabists and Hebraists. This very fact begins to confirm our hypothesis about the uniqueness of the incipient Hispanic culture: in order fully and legitimately to understand it, one must employ a scholarly apparatus, a variety of languages and a history which are, generally speaking, foreign to Romanists.

What we see when we look back is a historical period in which two-thirds of the population of the Peninsula was Eastern, beginning with the Muslims' invasion and the subsequent colonisation of al-Andalus, as the Arabs called what would only much later be Spain. Who were these conquerors, who managed in one of the most dramatic military campaigns in the history of their empire—a campaign whose speed and thoroughness has no parallel in all the annals of medieval history—to subjugate almost the whole of the Peninsula, with the exception of a few weakened enclaves in the north? They were those 2nd/8th-century Muslims who had now extended their empire to its furthest extent, and who found themselves at the dawn of a cultural age which would astound the world; or to put it another way, the Iberian Peninsula was not colonised by some savage Moroccans, but by the sophisticated Umayyads of the 2nd/8th-century Caliphate of Damascus. Of all the empires in the world, the Arab Empire, as Philip Hitti affirms,² is that most overlooked by historians, in spite of its having reached from the Atlantic to the borders of China (and being, therefore, larger than the Roman Empire at its zenith.)

By the end of his life, which was extraordinarily complex, Prophet Muḥammad had succeeded in establishing Islam, a religion equal in importance to Judaism and Christianity, and in laying the foundations for one of the most important empires in the history of the world (and unquestionably the greatest empire seen up until that time), and, still unschooled, transmitting a book—the Quran—which today is considered by one-eighth of humanity to be a compendium of all science, wisdom, and theological truth. This book has, moreover, fixed the linguistic nature of Classical Arabic down to our own day.³

Barely a hundred years after the death of Muḥammad, the Arabs, most of whom were bedouins, launched themselves upon an imperial course of unparalleled ambition, which would soon bring them to an astonishingly high level of sophistication. Their expansions had begun with the earliest caliphs: Syria, culturally Hellenised, and its important capital Damascus, fell in 14/635, and Iraq and Persia followed a few years later. The conquests continued during the Umayyad caliphate which lasted from 40/660-132/750 and brought the Arabs to Bukhara in Turkestan, then Samarkand and, acquiring

parts of Armenia and India, they arrived to the borders of China. At the same time other campaigns were launched westward culminating in the Muslims conquering the Iberian Peninsula.

Under the Abbasid dynasty, founded in 132/750, a new era began, in which the neo-Muslims were to shine forth and take the reins of the growing empire. Al-Manṣūr moved the capital to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām), the setting of the *Arabian Nights*: its first stone was laid in 145/762, and this is the moment at which the world witnessed the true internationalisation of Muslim culture. The capital was filled with people of many races: there were slaves and merchants from China, Persia, Russia, Scandinavia, India, and Malaysia. Trade brought jewels, silks, perfumes, incense, brocades, fabrics such as taffeta (*tāfta*), and materials such as paper, which came from China by way of Samarkand. In other words, luxury and sophistication were introduced into the empire (the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights* have their origins in these voyages made by Baghdadi merchants to distant lands). The Baghdad of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 170/786-193/809), rivalling Byzantium, became one of the most cultured and extravagant cities of the civilised world. The Caliph's wife, Zubayda, had her food served on plates of gold and silver encrusted with precious stones; gems also adorned her slippers. In the receiving hall of the palace, a huge artificial tree of gold and silver held mechanically-singing gold and silver birds. In the Caliph's real garden, on the other hand, there were dwarf palm trees which produced dates of rare varieties. The diet of the upper classes would today be considered the epitome of gourmet *luxe*, and of decadence: one day Caliph al-Rashīd was served a dish of fish, and he was puzzled because the pieces of fish seemed so small. He was informed that the dish consisted of 150 fishes' tongues and that it had cost over 1,000 dirhams to prepare. The rage was *sharba* (today, *sherbet*), a drink made of water, sugar (*sukkar*), and extract of roses, bananas, or violets, and almost always served with ice, as was water itself.⁴ Rose jelly was one of Baghdad's specialties.⁵ In spite of the Quranic injunction against it, one might drink alcohol (*al-kuḥūl*), and the modern word *soda* still recalls the Arabic word from which it is derived: *ṣudā'*. (*Ṣudā'* is the Arabic word for "headache": the medieval *sodanum* was used to combat this pain.) Life became comfortable: cushions (in Spanish *cojines*, a word directly derived from Arabic), divans (*dīwān*), mattresses (*maṭraḥ*), and sofas (*ṣūfa*) decorated homes; amenities included hot and cold running water. In the summer, houses were cooled by means of a complex system using ice, the 3rd/9th-century precursor of our modern air conditioning. And although some critics believe the figure to be exaggerated, there were said to be some 60,000 public baths in Baghdad at one point.⁶

What is doubtless most significant about all this is that the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad entailed an astonishing intellectual awakening, which Damascus had only dimly prefigured. Learning and wisdom of all kinds

were highly respected, and al-Ma'mūn offered the protection of his court to physicians, lawyers, writers, professors, and poets. Translation of the classical Greeks began, as did translation of Hindu and Persian scientific treatises. Both Hitti and Dorothee Metlitzki in her recent book *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, insist that Hellenism was, to a great extent, digested and reintroduced into Europe by way of Spain and Sicily, and that it was this phenomenon which made the European Renaissance possible. Juan Vernet adds information of great interest on this score: the caliphs of Baghdad prized knowledge so highly above all else that the prices of the manuscripts they bought were calculated by their weight in gold and silver, and they would ransom prisoners of war with these manuscripts, so valued were they.⁷ Under al-Ma'mūn, the classical influence in imperial Baghdad grew even stronger: the Caliph constantly sent emissaries to Constantinople to bring back manuscripts written in Greek so that he might have them translated. A profound rationalist, al-Ma'mūn tried to bring faith and reason into harmony (so many centuries before St Thomas Aquinas!), and was one of the principal patrons of the enormous labour of pouring the philosophy of the Ancients into new Arabian bottles. Many Greek books, such as those of Galen, were saved for the Western world thanks only to Arabic translations. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* and Plato's *Dialogues* were common reading for these privileged intellectuals; we know that it was through Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd that Aristotelianism and neo-Platonism came into Europe (and, of course, to Aquinas) and had their influence there. This remarkable effort of translation, which lasted for generations on end, was, as José Muñoz Sendino quite correctly points out,⁸ the example followed by Alfonso X, "the Wise" (or "Learned")—a man denounced by the Pope as altogether too "Islamic" to be Holy Roman Emperor—in his establishment of the School of Translators in Toledo and his sponsorship of the compilation and translation of the Arabic texts which were to be of such utility to Copernicus.

While al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn of Baghdad were studying Greek and Persian philosophy, and having it translated, their Western contemporary Charlemagne was having a hard time learning to write his own name. This eloquent detail reminds us of the very different levels of civilisation reached by Orient and Occident in those distant centuries.

In this empire (which, we must not forget, included the territory of what is now Spain) all the branches of knowledge grew and flourished: jurisprudence, astronomy, astrology, geography, mathematics, theology, medicine (the latter achieving such noteworthy advances as cataract operations using anaesthetics and the artificial feeding of patients through tubes).⁹ There were notable innovations: the use of the Greek-invented astrolabe (*astūrlāb*), to which Chaucer alluded with real scientific wonder, was perfected; the so-called Arabic numbers, without which Europeans would never have been able to develop mathematics, were introduced into the West and the Hindu

East by the Arabs. By way of India the concept of decimal numbers arrived, and with it the idea of zero, or *ṣifr*, both of course ideas indispensable to mathematical computation.¹⁰

The Arabs inherited from Persia, above all, their great aesthetic sensibility. The Arabic language, thanks both to this Persian influence and to the flexibility demanded of it by the countless translations it was asked to render, became ornate, malleable, complex and filled with artifice. This was to be the official language of culture and of diplomacy—Samuel Eliott Morrison has pointed out that, even as late as the 16th century, Arabic was recognised as a language of high culture. Christopher Columbus took the Arabised Jew Luis de Torres with him on his first voyage of discovery, believing that he was on his way to the court of the Great Khan and that he would have need of the services of someone who spoke Arabic there, in order to make himself understood.¹¹ Luis de Torres got off the boat on the island of Cuba and spoke Arabic to the dumbstruck Indians; this anecdote, so picturesquely comic today, forces us to consider that the language of the Quran was one of the first Old World languages to be spoken in the New World.

Literature, as might be expected, also experienced a remarkable flowering under the empire. New poetic genres were born: the *ṣultāniyyāt*, or poems of political praise; the *ghazal*, which in the 20th century would be imitated by Federico García Lorca; or the *khamriyyāt*, poems in praise of wine; or the *maqāmāt*, which consisted of picaresque tales in which the hero had all sorts of erotic adventures (María Rosa Lida has associated the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī with the *Libro de buen amor* of the Archpriest of Hita,¹² and there are those Hispanicists who believe that they see in the picaresque novel traces of these bold Muslim "*pícaros*"). The "*Thousand and One Nights*" (*Alf layla wa layla*), of Persian origin, were Arabised and popularised, and are a faithful reflection of the glory that was Baghdad.

This dazzlingly brilliant civilisation was transmitted to the colonised Iberian Peninsula. It is hard to conceive that at its demise in Spain no traces of its passage would have been left. Al-Andalus, the "province" which consisted essentially of the entire Iberian Peninsula, was administered at first by the Caliphate of Damascus, but soon distinguished itself so greatly that it became independent.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, an Umayyad prince and a refugee from the Abbasids, fled to the Peninsula and there established the first independent emirate, thereby laying the foundations for the great culture which produced Muslim Spain. The dynasty which this highly educated and extremely sophisticated Umayyad¹³ sired upon the Peninsula was to last for nearly three hundred years. A successor and a namesake, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (300/912-350/961), founded the Caliphate of Córdoba and made that city one of the most cultured and sophisticated in Europe, rivalling Baghdad and Constantinople. The story of the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, with the

subsequent entry of the Almoravids to take over from the many factionally-divided kingdoms (at one point, twenty-three of them) which were constantly engaged in fratricidal warfare is detailed elsewhere in this volume. These new rulers, the Almoravids and after them the Almohads—were fanatical, uncouth warriors (the character Búcar in the *Poema del Mío Cid* is a humorous reflection of these invaders, who furnished us with the stereotype of the half-civilised, cruel Arab warrior). With the eventual decline of their power, the reconquest gained ground. However, intellectuals and poets began taking refuge in Granada, where Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr founded the Naṣrid dynasty (636/1238-897/1492), that last political bastion of a Spanish Islamic culture, dying but still capable of producing great works of artistic and scientific merit.

After the fall of Granada, the Muslims, now called Moors (Moriscos), were either absorbed into Christianity, or fled to Muslim lands, or went underground, whence they produced a staggering secret literature. This literature, called *aljamiado*, was written in Castilian (or other Romance languages) but transcribed into Arabic characters, thereby capturing the sounds of Castilian in the accents of Islam (as I pointed out above, it is only in this century that this literature, which describes the final stage in the destruction of the Hispano-Arab people, has begun to be studied). By 1609, it was all over—to the consternation and shock of many Spaniards (and even to non-Spaniards like Cardinal Richelieu), Philip III ordered the expulsion of the last Muslims from Spain. His dramatic and historic measure was greeted by a wave of heated polemic which has continued to this day.

Let us pause for a moment to look at the remarkable complexity of Hispano-Muslim achievements in the realm of culture. At the peak of its splendour, Córdoba, the capital of the Spanish Caliphate under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, was home to half a million inhabitants and contained three hundred public baths, seven hundred mosques, and seventy libraries. The Cordoban court at Madinat al-Zahrā’ was housed in a palace whose lace-work stucco cupolas revolved—the sun filtered down slowly through the lacy panels in the roof and its rays inflamed the brilliant tiles that paved the walls. All this colour in movement was in turn reflected in fountains in the floor which were supplied from reservoirs holding not water but mercury. When one petty king from the North, Ordoño, visited ‘Abd al-Raḥmān there, he fainted at this architectural wonder, which was of such genius that it was beyond any power of his to comprehend.¹⁴

Córdoba was a city of paved streets illuminated by lamps which hung at street corners and at the principal entrances to its houses seven hundred years before London had even one public street lamp, and centuries before a citizen of Paris could walk through the streets on a rainy day without sinking up to the knees in mud. While Oxford considered a bath a pagan ritual, generations of Cordoban scientists had enjoyed their baths in public bathing-

places (these Arabs felt such contempt for Northern Europeans that the Toledan judge Šā'id (d. 462/1070) thought that their uncouthness derived from the fact that "the sun did not throw its rays upon their heads"—that is to say, did not shine on their cold, cloudy, foggy lands).¹⁵

In the Córdoba of the caliphs, there was a truly remarkable awakening in all the branches of knowledge—philosophy (we should remember the Cordoban glory which was represented by men such as Ibn Rushd), jurisprudence, mysticism (admirably represented by figures such as Ibn 'Arabī of Murcia and Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda), agriculture, medicine (in the mosque at Córdoba successful cataract operations were performed with fish bones). Above all, there was a flowering of education. Although it seems exaggerated to say, as the Dutch scholar Dozy asserts, that in Córdoba "almost every person knew how to read and write",¹⁶ it is certainly true that during those years that saw the flowering of al-Andalus, European science possessed only the rudiments of knowledge. Al-Ḥakam II, known as al-Mustanṣir, (ruled 350/961-366/976), a wise man in his own right, established twenty-seven free schools in the city, and invited to Córdoba many literary savants from the East. His library at one time held as many as 400,000 volumes, many of which had come from Alexandria, Damascus and Baghdad and had been annotated personally by the Caliph. It should come as no surprise that Europeans of every country came to bask in the sunshine of this Spanish noontime of learning. The future pope Silvester II was educated among the Arabs of Toledo, and Roger Bacon declared flatly "omnia secreta philosophiae adhuc jacent in linguis alienis". The "foreign tongues" in which, according to Bacon, all knowledge lay were, naturally, Eastern. We should recall that the splendour of Córdoba was at its height in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, and that it was to be many years yet before the anonymous *juglares* sang the *Poema del Mio Cid*.

Indeed, by the time Castilian literature began to stammer out its first words, Arab literature was in full blush. Al-Mu'tamid of Seville (ruled 461/1069-487/1095), one of the *ṭā'ifa* kings (petty kings), whom we remember as a military ally of Rodrigo Díaz in *El Cid*, literally brought glory to the Guadalquivir River by holding poetry and music contests on boats that floated along the river, lit by brilliant torches. This one man's poetic output is so rich that in order to study it, Angel González Palencia divides it into two periods—before and after his banishment to Morocco.¹⁷

It is difficult for us Western readers of *El poema del Mio Cid*, in which al-Mu'tamid is mentioned so fleetingly, to conceive that this historical character was an extraordinary poet in the Gongoresque style, at least in his early, pre-captivity phase.¹⁸ The following is one of the delicate "bellicose" poems of the king, dedicated to a shield:

Behold a shield [*mijann*] upon which the artisans who crafted it have painted the sky so that the long spears [*rimāh*] shall never be able to reach it.

They have wrought [*sāghū*] upon it, in imitation of the Pleiades [*thurayyā*], stars which shall decide the victory for us.
 And they have embroidered it in molten gold [*dhawb al-nuḍār*] as the light of the dawn spreads its shawl over the horizon.¹⁹

The sophistication and poetic sensibility of Arab culture achieved surprising extremes of delicacy and ingenuity in such cases as that of the Saragossan astronomer, musician, and poet Ibn Bājja, or Avempace (d. ca. 532/1138). Upon the death of a friend, he sat up all night at the sepulchre and, knowing from his astronomical studies that an eclipse of the moon was to occur that night, he passionately sang the following verses moments before the celestial event occurred:

Thy brother, thy twin,
 rests in the tomb
 and dost thou dare, him being now dead,
 to come, glowing and bright,
 out into the azure skies, oh Moon?
 Why dost thou not eclipse thyself? Why dost thou not hide
 thyself—
 and let thy eclipse be like mourning
 speaking to all people
 of the pain which his death has caused thee,
 of thy sadness, of thy profound grief?²⁰

Curiously, the "last line" of the poem was the eclipse itself, which, by means of the astronomer-poet's ingenious recourse, would have appeared to be brought on by the poem, thanks to a sort of "literary magic" touching and surprising even in our own day. Even as it was dying, with Naṣrīd Granada isolated as the last bastion of Islam, the Hispano-Arab culture could still give signs of an exquisite artistic decadence. The Alhambra, as F. Bargebuhr, Emilio García Gómez²¹ and most recently Oleg Grabar²² have pointed out, is a palace which comments upon itself in verse, for its polychromed plaster walls carry, in magnificent Arabic calligraphy, the *qaṣīdas* of Ibn Zamrak, which add their verbal images to the already dazzling visual images experienced by the visitor to the fortress. García Gómez quite rightly remarks that Ibn Zamrak "is, perhaps, in all the world, that poet whose work has been most elegantly and luxuriously published"²³ Indeed, for the fervent imagination of the Hispano-Arabs, the palace of the Alhambra is, among other wondrous things, a book of poems. Writing poems across the walls of a palace was a common practice among the Muslims of al-Andalus, and merits a study of its own. Among so many, we must recall in particular that lovely poem by Ibn Ḥamdīs that adds verbal images to the already lush polychrome painting encountered by the visitor to the palace of al-Mubārak, today known as the Alcázar of Seville:

It might be said that, fearful [of any negligence], Solomon, son of David, has not allowed the genii the slightest respite in the construction.

We see the sun like a palette from which the hands [of the painters] take what they need to give their figurative representations [*taṣāwīr*] [their varied] forms.

These figures seem graced with movement, in spite of their immobility; [Our eyes believe that they move] yet neither feet nor hands in truth change place.

When we have been blinded by the inflamed colours [of those marvellous drawings], we employ the [sweet] splendour of the face of the prince as drops to our sore eyes.²⁴

It was not only the palaces which commented upon themselves in verse: the controversial Umayyad princess Wallāda, a "liberated" woman *avant la lettre*, exhibited her own defiant verses in the folds of her tunic. On the right border of her robe she vaunted her own self-confidence and pride:

I am, by God, fit for high positions,
And I am going my way, with pride!

On the left border of her robe, this beautiful young woman with reddish hair and blue eyes flirted with her admirers:

Forsooth, I allow my lover to touch my cheek
and bestow my kiss on him who craves it.²⁵

Al-Mu'tamid of Seville, whom we have already mentioned, ordered that the jars and flagons of sparkling wine he offered the guests at his court be accompanied by ingenious descriptive poems, and we cannot fail to be reminded of the 17th-century poems of much the same style and manner that Góngora or Marino would make famous:

It came to you at night clothed with the daylight
Of its sparks, and in a robe of crystal.
Like Jupiter wrapped up in Mars' light,
Since it mixes burning fire with water.
Glass treated the two kindly, and though opposites,
They joined, and did not eschew each other;
The onlookers are puzzled: What are the two?
Clearness of water, or clearness of shining stars?²⁶

We marvel today not only at the high aesthetic level achieved by the poets of al-Andalus, but at their sheer number. The anthologies cited in Henri Pères—those by A. R. Nykl, Emilio García Gómez, Angel González Palencia and the more modern one by James T. Monroe—offer innumerable examples, and hold yet another marvel for Western readers: the presence of female poets. This phenomenon is doubly curious because of the great number of couples both of whom wrote poetry—Ibn Zaydūn and Wallāda in the *īā'ifa* period, for example, and Ibn Sa'īd and Ḥafṣa in the Muwaḥḥid or Almohad period. Both couples composed verses on the ups and downs of their relationships, one poem of great beauty replying to another of equal poetic merit. (We might ask ourselves what would have happened had Madonna

Laura answered Petrarch in verse, or Isabel de Freire answered Garcilaso de la Vega's love poems.)

Fully aware of the merits of their literary achievements, the Hispano-Arabs elaborated poetic theories of tremendous complexity, worthy in themselves of a modern study. We will only note the case of the literary theorist Ibn al-Khaṭīb, whose theory has been commented upon by José Manuel Contiente.²⁷ Ibn al-Khaṭīb distinguished true poetry, which he identified with magic (*siḥr*), from "mere" poetry (*shī'r*). Authentic poetry, like magic, possesses the mysterious power to move us at a distance, and even to cause physiological alterations in us. A good poem, read or listened to even hundreds of years after it was originally composed, is able to make our pulse race, our breathing become heavy. Magic, then, and great poetry are "like" phenomena. Poetic production grew so feverish in al-Andalus at last that there even came to be "workshops" or "studios" in which *kuttāb*, like some wondrous artisans of poetry or rhymed prose, would polish their verses under the direction of a master.²⁸

It would be unfair not to concede that Muslim Spain was a veritable cultural miracle within the context of medieval Europe. It was the Arabs who took al-Andalus to scientific and artistic heights unattained by any other country in Europe at this period—a period that might be called a "medieval" or a "dark age" for the main continent, but definitely not for the Peninsula.

And what of Hispanic Jews, who had lived on the Peninsula since the time of Carthage? They prospered so greatly under the Muslim empire, both culturally and personally, that some historians, such as Abraham Leon Sachar,²⁹ are led to suspect that they may have collaborated with the invasion of 92/711. The Jews had been persecuted under Recaredo, but under the Muslim régime their situation improved notably, and in most cases their religious identity was respected. Soon they began to occupy prominent positions (they were physicians, bankers, writers, political counsellors) and to act as translators and intermediaries between the Christian and Arab cultures. But the Jews of Sepharad, as they called Spain, created an impressive civilisation in their own right. Israel Zinberg,³⁰ Millás Vallicrosa,³¹ David Gonzalo Maeso,³² M. Friedländer³³ and F. Bargebuhr (*op. cit.*) unanimously insist on this point: there is a true "renaissance" or "Siglo de Oro" of Hebraic culture.³⁴ According to Bargebuhr, Hispanic Jews reacted in a most creative way to the influences of the brilliant Arab culture (though without converting to Islam, as the Persians did). The Arabs, as we know, had for many hundreds of years been using the holy language of Quranic revelation for artistic purposes; the Jews, however, had never used the Hebrew language—their own sacred tongue, now for all practical purposes relegated to the synagogue—for profane literary ends. However, their titanic effort to render the language of the Bible malleable and to bend it to the exquisite delicacies of the Arabic poetry they imitated was finally victorious, and the

galaxy of poets which emerged in Sepharad makes the Hispano-Hebraic period the most brilliant era in the history of the Jews from primitive times until the founding of the modern Israeli state in 1948. There was not a single Arabic poetic genre that was not imitated, and Hispano-Hebraic literature, without altogether abandoning its Biblical roots, took on a particularly Renaissance and pagan cast, thereby striking many orthodox Jews as heretical. But let us allow one of the Hispano-Hebraic poets to speak for himself in praise of the poetic achievements of his people. This is the third *maqāma* of al-Ḥarīzī (in the 7th/13th century):

Be it known to you that the loftiest poetry
 Bedecked with pearls
 And not outweighed by the gold of Ophir,
 Betook itself from Spain
 And spread over all the ends of the earth.
 For the poems of the sons of Spain are strong and sweet,
 As if carved from a flame of fire;
 And compared with its masculine poets,
 The poets of the world are female frail.³⁵

Perhaps the most profound of these poets was Salomón b. Gabirol (Avicbron), whom Heine praised as a "nightingale singing in the medieval Gothic night". His "Keter Malkut", or "Royal Crown", so many lines of which remind us of the religious poems of Fray Luis de León,³⁶ is a complex celebration of monotheism in which traces of Plato, Proclus, Porphyry, Plotinus and Aristotle can be detected. These are the same years, we must remember, in which the clerical verse-form used in Catholic Spain, with Berceo its most distinguished practitioner, was still struggling for expression through ill-digested classicism. Jehuda Ha-Levi adapted the brief erotic poems of the *Song of Songs* to his own hexasyllabic quatrains as he wrote love songs to his beloved, and at the end of his life he grieved over lost Israel in his famous *Siónidas*. Moses b. Ezra was not just a poet, but a preceptor as well³⁷—he studied the history of Hispano-Hebraic literature by generations, and shows himself to have been a mature critic of literature (his literary judgments are in large part still valid today) even as the infant Castilian epic was stammering out its first tentative stanzas. There is more than sufficient reason for his arrogant lament over his exile to the cultural desert of Castile. He has been brought to live, he says,

among a dark people, to whom the ways of truth and knowledge are unknown.
 When I hear their barbarous talk, I sit full of shame, and my lips remain
 sealed ... Oh, how narrow has the world become for me! It chokes my soul
 like a stiff neckband!³⁸

This Hispano-Hebraic Renaissance takes place, as one might expect, on many levels: in philosophy, the *Fons vitae* of Ibn Gabirol earns him the epithet "the Jewish Plato". But the real culmination of speculative thought was

embodied in Moses Maimonides (b. 529-30/1135), without doubt the most influential thinker of Jewish Spain. Maimonides codified rabbinical law, and his *Guide for the Perplexed*, a profoundly Aristotelian work, attempts to lay the rational foundations for faith; it was read by Spinoza, Albertus Magnus, and St Thomas Aquinas. Schools of Biblical study made two important advances during this period: the development of the Cabala (we should recall the *Zohar* of Moshé de León) and the Karaite school, which insisted on philosophical, historical and scientific analysis of the scriptures. Abraham b. Ezra was the foremost authority within this school of Biblical exegesis in the 13th century, and in the 16th century, according to A. Ḥabīb Arkin,³⁹ Fray Luis de León would be his last disciple.

Given all these facts, it is prudent to remember that, at the same time as this Jewish Renaissance was blooming in Spain, the European brothers and sisters of the Spanish Jews were facing horrible persecution, being herded into ghettos and thereby effectively prevented—with only rare and isolated exceptions, such as the Franco-Jewish Biblical commentator Rashī—from producing any significant cultural expressions. It was contact with the Muslim culture and the long and relatively peaceful coexistence of the peoples of the Peninsula which permitted the Sephardic Jews their cultural prosperity, and this remarkable period of well-being only began to crumble when the equilibrium of the three peoples began to shift and a fierce anti-Semitism broke out, culminating, as we all know, in the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478 and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and of the Muslims in 1609.

These are, then, the Semitic lineages or peoples of Spain, in all their brilliance and all the tragedy of their slow decline (I am very conscious of the fact that I have “laid it on rather thick” in some of my descriptions of the high moments of Hispano-Arab and Hispano-Hebraic culture, but it is precisely because these achievements are so little known that I have laid such emphasis on them). These Eastern peoples, as much as the tradition of Western Christianity, determined the history of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages; and we must in fact admit that “Eastern” medieval Spanish culture attained a higher point than its “Western” counterpart. Given this cultural supremacy, and given the intimate coexistence of the three lineages (the Jews, we should recall, lived as much among Christians as among Arabs), it is hard to assume that there were no significant cultural contacts among the three groups, and that these would not in turn help to colour the Spanish culture to come—which by the time of the Renaissance was primarily Western, as the Inquisition gradually choked out the last vestiges of the Semitic cultures in Spain. Yet, even in the face of the most elementary historical common sense, it has been very hard for most historians and literary critics dealing with Spain to accept the existence of these possible Semitic traces in Spanish culture. It is of course the Oriental threads in a fundamentally

Western Spanish fabric of culture that are in question here, yet even this qualification of "Spanishness" has been very hard for Hispanicists to come to terms with. When, in his book *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* ("Spain's Past: Christians, Moors, and Jews")⁴⁰, the historian Américo Castro made the relatively unexceptionable claim—one would have thought—that Arab and Jewish influences should be taken to be immediate, integral parts of an incipient Spanish culture, one of the most famous polemics in the history of Hispanic studies was launched. José Luis Gómez Martínez, in fact, considers the polemic "one of the most important of all time".⁴¹ Eusebio Rey, for his part, does not hesitate to call Castro's book, republished several times under the title *La realidad histórica de España* ("The Historical Spain"), "the most talked-about historico-literary event to have occurred [in Spain] for many a year."⁴² Few scholars had included the Semitic element in their analyses of Spanish history—Ganivet in his *Idearium español* is one of the few to accept the magnitude of Arab influence, and Ramiro de Maeztu (*Defensa de la hispanidad*) is the first to introduce the Jews into Spain's "official" histories, though he does so pejoratively. According to Gómez Martínez, Castro is simply a latecomer to the "School of '98"'s brooding meditations on Spain, injecting into their arguments both the "vitalist" philosophy of Wilhelm Dilthey and other philosophical currents such as those of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee. What Castro did was propose that "Spanish culture", what we might call "Spain", arose out of the secular, day-to-day coexistence of and interaction among Christians, Moors, and Jews. He believed that many national values and characteristics arising out of that history, such as the genius for the artistic and "vital" over the purely intellectual (as indicated by the relative absence of science and philosophy), helped to explain the complexity and pluralism of the incipient Spain, or Spain as it came to be. Castro believed (and we will pause only briefly to outline his ideas, as they are by now quite well known) that Spain did not come into existence until at least the 10th or 11th century, when the day-to-day interaction of the three peoples began to occur. In other words, the Visigoths were not Spaniards, nor were Trajan and Seneca true citizens of Seville and Córdoba respectively, as Ortega y Gasset and Ramón Menéndez Pidal have suggested (at least as we understand the words "Spaniard", "Seville" and "Córdoba" today). In general terms, Castro suggested that the Christian people—experiencing alternate feelings of submission, wonder, caution and rejection—did interact with the Muslims (their political and cultural superiors during the Middle Ages). The coexistence of the Moors and the Christians was intense and widespread, and gave rise to such hybrid groups as the Mudejars (Muslims living among Christians) and the Mozarabs (Islamised Christians). The exaggerated cult of Santiago, or St James Apostle (converted by legend into the patron saint of Spain), with the seat of the cult an important shrine at Compostela—so important in fact that

it competed with those of Rome and Jerusalem, and cardinals were ordained in it—is, according to Castro, a historical, defensive reply to the cult of the warrior-prophet Muḥammad and the important shrine at the Ka'ba, which received pilgrimages from all parts of the Muslim world. (These historical phenomena left their marks on emerging Spain: Quevedo was still defending the patronage of St James Apostle against that of St Teresa, offering in his plea *Mi espada por Santiago* ["My Sword for St James"], a curious inventory of the miracles and remarkable appearances attributed to the saint.) We should recall that this phenomenon was occurring at the same time as René Descartes, on the other side of the Pyrenees, was laying the foundations for modern philosophy with his *Discours de la méthode*; and, as a reflection of that same defensive attitude towards its old "enemy", the Christian reconquest was increasingly seen as a "holy war", exactly like its Muslim counterpart the *jihād*. Muslim influences, in fact, are numerous: the military orders of Catholic Spain (Calatrava, Santiago, Alcántara) are based on the Muslim religious concept which identified the ascetic mystic with the warrior; and Castro believed that he saw Muslim religious tolerance, stemming from the teachings of the Quran, reflected in Alfonso X (we should recall Alfonso's fair and thoughtful *Siete partidas* ("Seven Items")), in Juan Manuel and in Raymond Lully. Castro also pointed out other Islamic influences still recognisable today: attitudes or ways of life such as quietist apathy (which give rise to such "typically Spanish" phrases as "may it be so" (*ojalá*), "God willing" (*si Dios quiere*), and "it was the will of God" (*estaba de Dios que iba a pasar*), all these of direct Arab origin); formulas for hospitality and courtesy (the universally recognised *ésta es su casa* is simply a transliteration of the Arabic *al-beyt beytak*); the many blessings and curses that abound in Spanish intercourse; and many superstitions such as turning the broom upside-down to make visitors go away, which is of Persian origin. The linguistic vestiges of Arabic in the Spanish language are so widespread and so significant that no one can doubt or deny them. Here are simply a few examples of Spanish words directly "naturalised" from Arabic, vividly demonstrating the influence of Muslim civilisation on so many aspects of Spanish—and, by extension, Latin-American—life, and on the lexicon even of English: *azúcar*: *sukkar* (sugar), *azafrán*: *al-za'farān* ("saffron"); *arroz*: *al-aruzz* (rice); *cheque*: *ṣakk* (cheque), in the sense of "piece of paper, IOU, bill of trade"; *tarifa*: *ta'rifa* (tariff); *alcoba*: *al-qubba* (alcove, especially meaning "sleeping alcove or bedroom"); *azul*: *lāzawardī* (azure, blue); *jazmín*: *yāsamin* (jasmine); *carmesí*: *qurmuzī* (crimson); *alquímia*: *al-kīmiyā'* (alchemy); *álgebra*: *al-jabr* (*algoritmo*) (algebra and algorithm—not surprising, since the Arabs gave the Western world the "zero" as well). And of course there is the ubiquitous Spanish national interjection *Olé!*, which in Arabic means "by God"—*wa 'l-Lāh*.⁴³

From these Muslim influences, Castro goes on to explore the historical situation of the Jews, who grew to be an integral part of the culture of Spain.

For this aspect of Castro's theories, as well as for the history of the polemic it gave rise to (and which counted among its protagonists such renowned scholars as Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Eugenio Asencio, Otis Green, Stephen Gilman, Albert Sicroff, F. Márquez Villanueva and many others), the reader may consult Castro's book *Realidad histórica de España*, Gómez Martínez's *Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles* and my own study *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española. De Juan Ruiz a Juan Goytisolo*.

For the moment, let us look directly at the literary consequences of this complex historical situation. Even though our concern here is the legacy of Islam in Spanish literature, it is only fair to note the impact which Jewish *conversos* (Jews recently converted to Christianity) also had on the texts of the Siglo de Oro, many of which were written by these *conversos* themselves. If we pause to consider that some of the foremost figures of Spanish letters were Jewish *conversos*, we will never again naively read Spanish Renaissance literature as the product of a "European" Spain. Diego de San Pedro, Juan de Mena, Fernando de Rojas, Juan Luis Vives, Fray Luis de León, the Valdés brothers, Mateo Alemán, St Teresa of Avila, Jorge de Montemayor, Hernando del Pulgar, Bartolomé de las Casas, Baltasar Gracián and probably Cervantes are but a few major figures in Spanish letters who were tormented descendants of Jewish ancestors. Other figures, like St John of the Cross and perhaps some of the anonymous authors of the Moorish romance, are suspected of being of Muslim origin. All left their mark on Spanish Renaissance literature, and it was impossible for them not to allude in some way to their situation as *parvenus* in the strictly Catholic Spanish society that had just established the Inquisition so as to defend its newly acquired political, religious and racial "purity". Many of these *conversos*—of both Jewish and Moorish descent—did not specifically allude to their particular situation (their aim was precisely to conceal their equivocal social status), but did refer obliquely to the general state of affairs within the new social order. Because these indirect but constant allusions were sometimes made by old Christians as well, Spanish Renaissance literature is one of the most difficult to read and to understand on its own terms: if we do not catch the meaning of some of these literary references, we may completely misunderstand the author's real intentions. No one has sufficiently underscored the fact that all the literature of Spain in the Siglo de Oro was censored; this fact must be kept in mind at all times when reading—or "decoding"—a Spanish Renaissance text. Let us look at a few examples of these oblique allusions to contemporary life.

Cervantes begins the *Quixote* by giving us an inventory of his protagonist's diet, a literary rarity which can only be explained when we realise that Quixote—and of course Cervantes—lived in a country obsessed by stigmatised foods. This obsession, one immediately realises, is markedly Semitic. Don Quixote, Cervantes tells us, eats *duelos y quebrantos*, "trials and sor-

rows", and the alert reader may catch a joking allusion to Quixote's newly-adopted Christianity: *duelos y quebrantos* was the euphemistic name given to ham and eggs by the converts, as the dish must have been hard indeed for the new Christian to eat. Beside this, the peasant Sancho Panza crows over and over again about his "old Christian's seven finger-widths of fat", jestingly comparing his own corpulence with the fat of a pig—disgusting food for a convert but "finger-licking good" for a good Christian such as himself. Nor should we forget the secret allusions which Cervantes playfully employs: Don Quixote, an intelligent, imaginative, rebellious man who is, above all, a great reader, embodies many of the characteristics associated with the converted Jew, while the illiterate Sancho Panza is the ironic spokesman of a "clean" Christianity whose blood has never been mixed with that of the Jewish *bourgeoisie*. The case of Aldonza Lorenzo is amusing to decode: the Moorish translator of Cide Hamete Benengeli's Arabic manuscript—that is, of the Quixote itself—laughs out loud when he reads that "this Dulcinea del Toboso... they say she had the best hand at salting pork of all the women of La Mancha" (I,9). The joke is not very funny unless we decipher it. Dulcinea, to begin with, is a high-sounding name apparently pretty much out of place in the grubby little town in La Mancha (Toboso) that Cervantes gives as her birthplace. In the second place, Toboso was a town made up mainly of converted Moors, and thus Dulcinea's name is associated with "unclean blood" and rendered doubly humorous. We are surely meant to understand it all, then, to mean something like "Dulcinea of the Moorish town", or "Moorish Dulcinea". And to top it all, Dulcinea salts pork, desperately taking on that Christian employment, no doubt, in order to hide her (scorned) Moorish origins. Thus it is that the Moorish translator of the Quixote, a crypto-Muslim able to translate the text from Arabic at a time when that language was utterly forbidden in Spain, laughs so heartily (and probably at the same time bitterly): he must have seen his own situation reflected in Dulcinea's dissimulations, and it hardly takes any stretch of the imagination to conclude that he is also laughing at himself and his society.

It is immensely ironic, moreover, that Cervantes chose to attribute his literary masterpiece to a Moor by the name of Cide Hamete Benengeli. He is secretly (perhaps subconsciously) implying that the best creative impulses of his soul are mysteriously Arabic. The joke is quite wonderful, because it also has political overtones: to possess—let alone to write or translate—something in Arabic was a crime in 17th-century Spain. Thus Cervantes is telling us, in his magnificently oblique way, that the *Quixote* is an illegal Oriental book. No small matter for the Inquisition.

Cervantes was obsessed with the Moriscos, who were expelled from Spain precisely between the publication of the first and second parts of the Quixote. In the second part (Chapter 54), he gives us a perfectly rendered portrait of one such Morisco refugee, Ricote, who returns clandestinely to

Spain after his experience of exile in Islamic lands proves to be a tragic failure. Ricote's close, respectful friendship with the "old Christian" Sancho Panza is, as F. Márquez Villanueva points out,⁴⁴ Cervantes' way of obliquely defending religious and political tolerance in his native country. The defence had its limits, however, and it is heartrending to see Cervantes force the open-minded Morisco Ricote, who had so ardently defended the liberty of conscience he was able to practise during his brief stay in Germany, to praise Philip III and his *gallarda resolución*—the "illustrious resolution"—which decreed the massive expulsion of Ricote's race. Cervantes was to repeat the same argument in the *Coloquio de los perros* and again in the *Persiles*, where Jarife, a Morisco from Valencia newly converted to Catholicism, goes so far as to curse his own race and, like Ricote, to extol the official policy that banished the last Muslims of Spain. Writing in 17th-century Spain was indeed a dangerous affair, and if a writer thought he had gone too far in taking the point of view of the persecuted minorities, he would usually try to conceal his real sympathies by backtracking or saying the contrary. This evasive way of writing made liberals like Cervantes sound as if they were "thinking sideways".

Allusions to the persecuted races abound in the literature of the Siglo de Oro. When Pablos says in Quevedo's *Buscón* that his mother "is descended from the litany", he is speaking of his scorned lineage, for when the converts—both Muslim and Jewish—were baptised, they often chose the most pious names of Christianity: San Pablo (St Paul), Santa María (St Mary), San Juan (St John), de la Cruz (of the Cross), de Jesús (of Jesus), Rosario (Rosary), and many others. The best exchanges in *La Lozana andaluza* by the convert Francisco Delicado—a man obsessed with his origins—will escape the reader who is not "in on the secret". The Spanish Jews of Rome are trying to discover whether the beautiful Lozana is Jewish (*de nostris*), and they do so when they find that she cooks *hormigos torcidos* (a regional recipe consisting mostly of bread crumbs) with oil, like the Jews, and not with water in the "Christian" manner. But this beautiful Lozana, born in Córdoba, seems "Moorish" as well. Her name is Aldonza Alarosa; the author himself tells us that "Alarosa" is "in the Arabic language"—and we know, if we know our Arabic, that "Alarosa" comes from *al-'arūs*, meaning "bride". This Alarosa, a curious Arabised Jewess more or less converted to Christianity, has a flair for cooking Morisco specialities, which Delicado delights in describing. Her *cazuelas moriscas* (Moorish stews), *letuario de arlope* (honey jam), and constant *berenjenas* (eggplant dishes)—all suspicious foods—alert the reader as to the dangerous religious and cultural sympathies of Delicado's main character.

This fascinating novel-in-dialogue, or dramatic novel, which merits so much further study, explores the relationships among a group of converted Jews of Spanish descent who live in Renaissance Rome, with their dissembl-

ings, their mistrusts and even their anti-Semitism. Even though Delicado writes in Rome, and therefore at some distance from the direct pressure of censure and censorship in Spain under the Inquisition, there is no doubt that we still see a considerable degree of self-criticism in the equivocal morals he heaps on to the end of his book (this does not, though, prevent the author from describing the first female orgasm that we know of in Spanish literature—geographical distance from Spain did something, at least, for Delicado's book.) We must read this Spanish literature of the Siglo de Oro astutely—and with some suspicion—for its black humour demands the careful and attentive reading of virtual code-breakers.

Let us look, finally, at one more level of complexity in this medieval and Renaissance Spanish literature: the direct influence which Semitic literatures exerted on it. These influences are not to be seen only in the writings of *conversos*; old and new Christians alike show their effects. Ever since its complex cultural beginnings, Spanish literature has clearly manifested its mixed breeding. Consider the irony that the earliest Spanish literature takes the shape of bilingual lines appearing in refined poems in Arabic and in Hebrew. These *kharjāt* tacked on to the end of stanzas in the *muwashshahāt* were discovered, as we know, not by a Hispanicist but by an Israeli Hebraist, S. M. Stern, who did not quite know what to do with his discovery until, as the years passed, experts such as A. R. Nykl, E. García Gómez, Menéndez Pidal, and Dámaso Alonso came to his aid. It is only fair to note that Menéndez Pidal had not managed to understand these *kharjāt* in Mozarabic either, for they require bilingual readers and even then their difficulty is considerable; modern explorations of these writings have been carried out, among others, by James T. Monroe, Richard Hitchcock, Margit Frenk, Samuel Armistead and Alan Jones. The hybrid nature of this primitive lyric goes even deeper, however, since the language the poems were chanted in was not Castilian but Mozarabic, a Romance dialect intermixed with Arabic, and, as though that were not difficulty enough, transcribed in Arabic or Hebrew characters (lacking vowels of course). This, as Richard Hitchcock quite rightly points out,⁴⁵ is why its reconstruction has been so thorny (in fact, Hitchcock even suspects that the language of the *kharjāt* could be not Mozarabic but colloquial Arabic). It may be worthwhile to repeat here an example used by Elias Rivers⁴⁶ to illustrate the difficulties presented by the original text of a *kharja*. We will give it first in transliterated characters (based on the Arabic and Hebrew versions, and then translated into a "probable" Mozarabic version. The reader of the original languages will immediately note the liberties taken by the "decipherer" or "translator" of the *kharja*, for the final rendition is vocalised. But be that as it may, what is obvious is that if one is not both Hispanicist and Orientalist, the study of the *kharjāt* in their original languages will be completely impossible:

ky fry 'w ky shrd dmyb
hbyb
nnr ttlgsh dmyb

Qué faré yo o que serad de mibi
non te tolgas de mibi

[What shall I do or what shall
become of me
do not forsake me]⁴⁷

ky fr'yw 'w ky shyr'd dmyby
hbyby
nwn tytwlgsh dmyby

ḥabibi

my love

An essential part of the audience's pleasure at hearing these *kharjāt*, which were scattered through the long Arabic or Hebrew *muwashshahāt*, would have come from the hybrid nature of the little songs. The ancient *muwashshahā* singers, highly educated and refined folklorists *avant la lettre*, as Dámaso Alonso so correctly terms them,⁴⁸ combined their elegant poems in classical Arabic or Hebrew with popular songs and jingles—the *kharjāt*—that their audience would have immediately recognised and sung along with. The effect would have been—*toutes proportions gardées*—similar to the effect experienced by a modern listener on hearing Virgil's *Aeneid* end, in the same meter and on the same theme, with a popular song—a tango by Gardel, or the latest hit by Madonna, or a *salsa*. That 4th/10th-century Peninsular audience (which was not in the least "primitive") would have thoroughly enjoyed the artistic experimentation which this hybrid poetic genre implied.

Many of these *kharjāt* were of the utmost delicacy in their treatment of the theme of love. Others, however, were decidedly erotic, and particularly Oriental. It is with one or another of these, we should recall, and not with *El poema del Mío Cid*, that Spanish literature begins. In the *kharja* that follows, the female lover, a true antithesis of her fellow-Spaniard the chaste Jimena, describes a sexual position using the imagery of jewels:

Non t' amarey illā kon ash-sharṭi
an tajma' jal jāli ma'a qurṭi.

("No te amaré sino con la condición
de que juntes mi ajorca del tobillo con mis pendientes")

(I shall not love thee save
*thou joinest the bangle of my ankle to my ear-rings.)*⁴⁹

If these lines constitute one of the first examples of Spanish poetry, we must conclude that it was a very odd "European" poetry indeed: the Arabic origins of this *kharja* are so obvious that I have been able to find the same verses in two Arabic erotic treatises: in 'Alī al-Baghdādī's *The Glittering Flowers* and in Shaykh Nefzāwī's risqué love manual *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden*. Let us stop to think for a moment: the literary themes of Spain's primitive lyrical poetry had long been elaborated by Arab writers of erotic works. It

could be argued that we are dealing here with a particularly Arabised *kharja* which has just a few Romance words. But the feminine erotic aggressiveness is a veritable leitmotiv of the Andalusī *kharja*, and this makes the reader suspect the magnitude of its debt to Arabic literature.

But the most impressive difficulty about these Andalusī *kharjāt*, which we still fail to understand fully, is the fact that the very language in which they are written is being disputed. In the wake of S. M. Stern's pioneer article "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les *muwashshahas* hispano-hébraïques. Une contribution à l'histoire de la *muwashshaha* et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol 'mozárabe'"⁵⁰, much has been written on the *kharjāt* by such scholars as R. Menéndez Pidal, Dámaso Alonso, Emilio García Gómez, Margit Frenk, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, A. R. Nykl, Leo Spitzer, Samuel Armistead, J. M. Solá-Solé, James T. Monroe, Juan Corominas, Consuelo López-Morillas and others. Most critics have concluded that the language of the old *cancioncillas* is Mozarabic, and that what we are dealing with here is thus no less than the very dawn of Spanish poetry. Richard Hitchcock, however, has recently cast doubt not only on scholars' modern reconstruction of the *kharjāt* material, but on their language itself. He suspects that, at least in some cases, the language is not Mozarabic but Andalusī Arabic.⁵¹ A bitter yet fascinating polemic has ensued (in which James T. Monroe, Samuel Armistead and Alan Jones are only three of the participants), and we have yet to see the end of it. One of the most suggestive aspects of this debate is that it makes the student of Spanish literature realise how mysterious the origins of Spanish poetry are, to the extent that we do not yet know for sure whether some poetic pieces are "Spanish" or "Arabic"—no small problem for the history of ideas in Spain and for Spain's sense of identity.

There are other cases of hybrid literature which are very difficult to manage for those scholars who are not Orientalists as well as Romanists. The fascinating Raymond Lully, who knew no Latin, but only Mallorcan and Arabic, wrote some of his works in the latter language, and Don Sem de Carrión, a 15th-century religious writer, likewise belonged to two cultures simultaneously: from the Spanish side he wrote his famous *Proverbios Morales* while from the Hebrew side—under the name Rab Shem Tob b. Arduziel b. Isaac—works such as the *Widduy* ("Confession") and *Ma'ase* ("Action").

Julián Ribera's old theories about the Arabic origins of the Spanish (or Castilian) epic, which enjoyed such ill fortune in their own time, are now being brilliantly updated by Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes (in such books as his *Libro de las batallas. Narraciones épico-caballerescas* ("Book of Battles: Epico-Romance Narratives"), and especially *Epica árabe y épica castellana* ("The Arabic Epic and the Castilian Epic"), and by Francisco Marcos Marín (*Poesía narrativa árabe y épica hispánica* ("Arabic Narrative Poetry and Hispanic Epic")).⁵² Whether or not the epic's origins do in fact lie in Arabic

literature, studies such as these have clearly shown how Muslim literature left a strong impress on the oldest verses in Hispanic letters.

Let us just point out in passing the irony that Spain's foremost epic poem, the *Poema del Mío Cid*, calls the hero by an Arabic name (*Mío Cid* meaning "my lord"). No wonder this fervent Christian warrior had no qualms about going into battle with a mixed army of Christian and Muslim soldiers. Furthermore, while our hero usually fought Moors, he sometimes fought Christians if he had to, in order to defend such Muslim allies as the poet-king al-Mu'tamid of Seville. Again, the threshold of loyalties appears somewhat blurred in Spain's first Castilian epic.

Few critics deny the Arab elements in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*. Recent studies have continued the explorations along this path marked out earlier by Américo Castro and by Dámaso Alonso, whose highly amusing essay "La bella de Juan Ruiz, toda problemas" ("Juan Ruiz's Beauty—Nothing but Problems")⁵³ shows the Archpriest of Hita's aesthetic ideal of femininity to be an Arab one: a woman "somewhat broad of thighs" and "with gapped teeth". His ideal lady must furthermore have thin lips—*labios angostillos*—this again being, as María Rosa Lida has accurately observed,⁵⁴ very much in accordance with Semitic taste, and very contrary to the constant praise of thick lips, or *tumenta labia*, so common in European literature.

Juan Ruiz's beauty must further be graced with deep red gums; his ideal woman is in fact so Arabised that Dámaso Alonso and Emilio García Gómez have been able to document her exact counterpart in the love treatises of such experts on the subject as al-Tijānī (*Tuhfat al-'arūs*) and al-Tifāshī (*Kitāb rujū' al-shaykh ilā šibāh*). What previous critics have overlooked, however, is Juan Ruiz's description of the archetypal lady's big Oriental eyes: besides their thick eyelashes and long, graceful eyebrows, they must be *reluçientes* ("shining, glittering"). Nothing is said about the eyes' colour, just that they must "sparkle"; in all probability, however, Juan Ruiz's 14th-century Mudejar audience would have understood the poet's curious aesthetic requirements—which are "curious" only for Western readers. The Spanish bard coincides with numerous Arab aestheticians such as Nefzāwī, who want their lady to have "shining", "sparkling" eyes: that is to say, *black*, so as to contrast with the pure white of the eye. This striking contrast of colours is precisely the translation of the Arabic word *hūr*, and from this comes the word *hūriya*, or *hourī*, which was applied to the black-eyed maidens of Paradise. It is moving to consider that Juan Ruiz's ideal of beauty was an Arabic hourī!

I have commented elsewhere on the Archpriest's predilection for a short maiden. He cautions the reader that a short woman is always to be preferred to a tall one—she is better in bed—and his arguments (sometimes joyfully ironic) closely follow those of such Muslim experts in love as *Shaykh* Nefzāwī.⁵⁵

The same might be said of Juan Ruiz's astrological sign: he claims to have been born under the "sign of Venus", a planetary circumstance that supposedly explains his penchant for women.⁵⁶ Although he claims Ptolemy as his astrological authority, a careful reading of Ptolemy soon shows that Juan Ruiz misrepresents his "erudite" source. The *Tetrabiblos* (or *Quadripartitum*) allows for no such interpretation—people born under the influence of Venus are extremely refined and artistic, but never lewd. One must look elsewhere, to the Arabised (and popularised) versions of Ptolemy's treatise that were so well-known in medieval Spain: astrologers such as al-Bīrūnī, 'Alī b. Abī Rijāl (Abī Abenragel), and even the Arabised Spanish Jew Ibn Ezra, all claim that Venusians are lustful, and not at all the delicate souls which Ptolemy portrayed those influenced by this planet as being. Juan Ruiz's concept of the Venusian was, in fact, so Arabised that I have even been able to trace it to late *aljamiado* literature. But if the Archpriest was so conversant with this Arabised astrology, perhaps we could decode his best and most cryptic joke along these lines: From Ibn Ghālib to al-Bīrūnī to Abū Ma'shar to Ibn Ezra, most Islamic experts affirm that the Arabs and the people of al-Andalus were born under the sign of Venus; Ptolemy, on the other hand, never makes such a claim. If we continue to read the *Libro de buen amor* from the point of view of the Mudejar culture in which the Archpriest was so immersed, we must conclude that the poet, in so insistently declaring that he was born under the sign of Venus, is in fact obliquely stating that he is an Arab. Whether or not this "claim" is unconscious on his part, it is immensely ironic that—if we take into account the Arabic literary contexts for his work—we might well interpret his planetary genealogy in this fashion. It is also surprising to note that the witty Archpriest is making the same oblique, ominous statement Cervantes was also to make some centuries later, when he identified so closely with his alter ego Cide Hamete Benengeli: somewhere deep in his personality lies a masked, unacknowledged Arab identity. The suspicion may seem far-fetched, but it is really not so: Juan Goytisolo makes the same claim in the 20th century when he defiantly ends one of his novels in Arabic.

In his *Realidad histórica de España* Américo Castro also commented upon the delightful and disconcerting complexity of the Archpriest of Hita, who simultaneously praises "mad love" and "good love". This contradictory love must, so Castro affirmed, be understood from the Muslim point of view, which made erotic love perfectly compatible with religion. Castro took the Archpriest of Hita to be a writer with one foot in Christianity and one foot in Islam, having probably been influenced by the erotic treatise writer Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba (who lived in the 5th/11th century) or, more probably, by one of his less sophisticated disciples.⁵⁷

Nor are these, of course, the Archpriest's only incursions into Islamic culture, about which he appears to have intimate first-hand knowledge. With no

intention of entering into the various interpretations to which the *Libro de buen amor* has been subjected, we can nonetheless state that the Archpriest of Hita's day-by-day contact with Islam is clear and unquestionable. This enigmatic author (whether or not born in a Muslim region of southern Spain, as has been recently proposed by Emilio Sáez in an essay which far from proves the contention)⁵⁸ rhymes in impeccable Arabic, creates plays on words using words of Arabic origin, and even gives us a little wink of complicity when he makes Don Ximio magistrate of Bougie, now Bejaia, a town on the north coast of Algeria—because, as Juan Ruiz well knew, it was from there that monkeys were exported to European cities for use by puppeteers and jugglers in the entertainment of kings and courtiers.⁵⁹ This daily, personal, spontaneous closeness may go far towards explaining the fact that Juan Ruiz was more comfortable with the popular astrological "science" of the Arabs than with that of the highly sophisticated Ptolemy. Francisco Márquez Villanueva meets the phenomenon with admirable common sense: "We must not lose sight of the fact that what we have is a light-hearted and playful piece of writing, and that everything that is decisive in it is marked with the stamp of the popular. The origins of his ideas on *buen amor* must be sought—precisely because they are so basic—in what he absorbed spontaneously and inevitably during the days of a life in intimate contact with Muslim culture."⁶⁰ Rodríguez Puértolas likewise stresses the fact that Oriental culture formed an integral part of the life of 14th-century Castile. For the Archpriest, then, Islam (and perhaps the Jewish culture as well) was a current that, "unlike the Latin, medieval-Latin, and Western knowledge that came purely from books, [was] not strictly and solely cultural, but in most cases also, and quite literally, 'in the air', real, for Juan Ruiz. This fact is fundamental for a correct understanding of the *Libro de buen amor*".⁶¹ There is no intention here of making Juan Ruiz an *idiot savant*, or of denying the wide reading which, as a probable university student, he had to undertake in order to produce a work of the obvious intellectual stature of the *Libro de buen amor*. It is clear, nonetheless, that our priest, however educated he may have been, lived and moved in the popular, Islam-influenced atmosphere of 14th-century Spain, and that he was strongly influenced by that atmosphere.

We are just beginning to understand the full extent of the debt owed to Islam not only by Spanish literature but even by Spanish mysticism. The case of St John of the Cross offers an instructive example.⁶² St John of the Cross is Spain's most sublime poet, yet at the same time one of its most mysterious. His *oeuvre inclassable*, as Roger Duvivier deems it,⁶³ has literally "terrified" such eminent scholars as Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Dámaso Alonso.⁶⁴ Readers and critics have been at pains to understand the *Spiritual Canticle's* delirious mystical stanzas since the 16th century, and almost all of them have been struck by the "foreignness" of St John's poetry.

Changes of speaker, audience, tense, location; large numbers of unrelated images; paradox, logical nonsense, constant uncertainty on the reader's part as to the exact meaning—the whole poem is constructed in this extraordinary manner. In parts it is almost impressionistic in feel, in other parts, it seems to be using a sixteenth-century equivalent of modern cinematographic technique: flashbacks introduced without warning, events implied rather than stated, characters introduced in passing ... such a technique is wholly out of keeping with the predominant classical and Renaissance ideas about poetry.⁶⁵

St John of the Cross lucidly defends his rapturous poetry: the mystical experience totally transcends language, and is best expressed by his mirage-like verses, which he calls, in a bold statement, *dislates*, or “nonsense”, “absurdity”. He goes on to compare his mystical outbursts with water which overflows its bounds, and in so doing is curiously close to the Sufi concept of *shatt* which means precisely that. The term was applied to the nonsensical ecstatic outpourings of the God-intoxicated Muslim mystics, but was unheard-of in European spiritual poetry. Also unheard-of was the poet's total disregard for linear argument in his bucolic poem, whose stanzas must be enjoyed as isolated poetic units. Again, the *Spiritual Canticle* is at odds with Renaissance poetics, but very much in line with what Gustave von Grünebaum⁶⁶ and Wolfart Heinrichs⁶⁷ have called the “molecular concept of poetry”. Typical of both Arabic and Hebrew poetry, this literary technique gives greater attention to the beauty of the isolated stanzas than to the coherence of the verses as a poetic whole. St John of the Cross's literary debt to the *Song of Songs* is immediately obvious, and many of his literary problems or oddities can be traced to this ambiguously passionate (and passionately ambiguous!) Semitic literary paradigm. But not all: it is clear that most of the *Spiritual Canticle*'s literary mystery also corresponds closely to that of inebriated poems of mystical love such as Ibn 'Arabī's *Tarjūmān al-ashwāq* (“Interpreter of Desires”) and Ibn al-Fāriḍ's “Al-Khamriyya” (“In Praise of Wine”). Yet the most striking parallel of all is the way St John of the Cross and his Islamic counterparts comment on their frequently unintelligible mystical verses. St John sets aside the obvious Western tradition of systematic poetic glosses (Christian Biblical exegesis, for example, with its well-structured three or four levels of meaning; the allegorical commentaries of a Dante or a Campanella; Raymond Lully's self-exegesis), and shows no qualms about constantly breaking the “system” of allegorical correspondences, assigning different and often contradictory meanings to his verses and thereby producing a “discontinuity” very much in keeping with Ibn 'Arabī's system of self-exegesis, and with the Sufi literary tradition in general (witness al-Bīrūnī's and al-Nābulusi's commentaries to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's “Al-Khamriyya”). St John completely disregards the possibility of a “logical” or allegorical gloss, and ends up with a prose commentary as enigmatic as the mysterious poem he set out to explain. And again, the Spanish mystic, like Ibn 'Arabī,

claims (with evident satisfaction) that the true ecstatic experience cannot be explained, but only communicated to those who have begun to experience it. (It is no wonder that my colleague Annemarie Schimmel told me, many years ago, that St John of the Cross never struck her as a "strange" poet because she read him "as if he were a Sufi".)

But the similarities between St. John of the Cross and his Sufi counterparts do not end here. Several decades ago, the renowned Spanish Arabist Miguel Asín Palacios began exploring the possible influences of Islam on the 16th-century Spanish mystics. He traced St John's famous symbol of the dark night of the soul to Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda and traced the *alumbrado* (or *illuminati* spiritual movement) to the *Shādhilis*.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Asín was able to document St Teresa of Avila's famous symbol of the seven concentric castles of the soul in the anonymous treatise called the *Nawādir*. Asín was indicating, for the first time, that the presumed and extreme "originality" of the literary symbolism of these two Spanish mystics was in fact due in part to the influence of Sufism. I have been fortunate enough, following up this eminent scholar's investigations, to trace to Islam quite a number of other symbols previously attributed solely to the originality and creativity of St Teresa and St John. The resulting list of mystical symbols of probable Sufi origin is quite impressive: the dark night of the soul; the wine of mystical intoxication (St John even alludes to the liquor of the pomegranate, which symbolises the unity underlying the multiplicity of the fruit's grains); the lamps of fire that illuminate the ecstatic soul and which stand for God's attributes; the alternate spiritual states of straitness and breadth (*qabḍ* and *baṣṭ*, or *apretura* and *anchura*); the interior fountain where the Beloved's eyes appear just prior to the transformative union (in Arabic, '*ayn* means simultaneously "eye", "fountain" and "identity", and St John seems to be in on the secret); the lock of hair that hangs upon the Lover's neck and serves as a hook to "trap" the Beloved; the foxes (*raposas*) or cattle symbolic of the soul's sensuality; the silkworm that metamorphoses into a magnificent butterfly (symbolising the soul's spiritual development); the garden or orchard of the soul that must be irrigated with the spiritual waters of rain or of a fountain; the solitary bird of the soul in ecstatic flight, which possesses all colours and at the same time is colourless, because it is not attached to any created thing; the symbolic lilies (*azucenas*) of mystical abandonment or "letting go" into the hands of God—and many other *topoi* which we had thought exclusive to the Sufis' secret *trobar clus*.⁶⁹ Perhaps one of the most important symbols shared by Spanish mysticism and Islam is that of the seven concentric castles of the soul, which, as I have said, Asín documented in the *Nawādir*. Nevertheless, the problem of the origin of the castle symbol was not altogether solved by Asín, because the documentary evidence in his possession was a manuscript dating from the end of the 16th century, and therefore contemporary with or following St Teresa. It has been my good

fortune to resolve the doubts left by Asín, for I have discovered documentary evidence which was not available to him in his posthumous 1946 essay.⁷⁰ The mystical tract in question, the *Maqāmāt al-qulūb* ("Stations of the Hearts"), by Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Nūrī of Baghdad, pushes the date of the seven concentric castles back to 2nd/9th-century Islam; Paul Nwyia has edited this text and I have translated it from the Arabic. In the eighth chapter (or "station") of the *Maqāmāt* Nūrī illustrates the path which the soul must take in order to reach God, employing the symbol of the seven concentric castles: this is, then, a passage virtually identical to that which Asín found in the *Nawādir*, and it does not seem incautious, in view of this document, to suspect that we are in the presence of a metaphoric motif recurrent in Islamic mystical literature. The two examples which Asín and I have been able to document—with so many centuries' difference between the manuscripts (between, that is, the 3rd/9th and the 5th/11th centuries)—argue, we can fairly assume, for a long literary tradition for this symbol, replaying itself across the centuries. Let us briefly see how the Sufi master Nūrī foreshadows the *Nawādir* and draws—a full eight hundred years before the mystical saint from Avila—the image which St Teresa considered personal and inspired:⁷¹

Know thee that God—praised be He!—created in the heart of believers seven castles surrounded by walls. He commanded that believers dwell within these castles and He placed Satan without, barking at them as the dog barks. The first enclosed castle is of corundum [*yāqūt*, a crystalline stone which may have several colours; here, probably "ruby" or "sapphire", perhaps "emerald", or perhaps even a clear crystalline stone that resembled a diamond], and [this castle] is mystical acquaintance with God—praised be He!—; and about this castle there lies a castle of gold, which is faith in God—praised be He!—; and about this castle there lies a castle of silver, which is faithfulness in word and deed; and about this castle there lies a castle of iron, which is surrender to the Divine will—blessed be the Divinity!—; and about this castle there lies a castle of brass, which is carrying out the commandments of God—praised be He!—; and about this castle there lies a castle of alum, which is keeping the commandments of God, both the positive and the negative; and about this castle there lies a castle of baked clay which is the mortification of the sensitive soul in every action...

As the word of God—praised be He!—states, "Against my servants thou shalt have no power" (Quran XII, 40). The faithful man is thus within these castles; and him who is within the castle of corundum Satan has no manner of reaching, so long as the faithful man observe the rules of the mortification of the sensitive soul. But if he once fail to observe them and say "it is not necessary", then Satan wins the castle from him which is of baked clay; and he covets the next. When the faithful man grows negligent in keeping the commandments of God both positive and negative, Satan wins from him the castle which is of alum; and he covets the third. When the faithful man abandons surrender to the Divine will—praised be God!—then Satan takes from him the castle of brass; and he covets the fourth, and so on until the last castle.

It is obvious that the symbolic schema is of the same family as the 16th-century *Nawādir* and that it also contains (though perhaps only embryonically)

all the principal elements of St Teresa's figure. The soul—or, better, the soul's mystical path—is conceived of as seven successive and concentric dwellings or rooms, represented by concentric castles. Satan lurks about the first castles, awaiting his chance to seize them, while the faithful man who manages to penetrate the most inward castle achieves union with God. Elsewhere I have published a detailed comparative study of Teresa's and Nūrī's symbols,⁷² so it will suffice here simply to underline the magnitude of the literary debt which Spanish mystics seem to owe Sufism.

Perhaps the most palpable evidence of this fading but still operative Spanish Semitism is Moorish *aljamiado* literature. Still largely unpublished, this clandestine literature, written by dissidents forced underground, allows us to glimpse the slow process of extinction as the last Muslims in Spain themselves experienced it. It was, then, in the 16th and 17th centuries that the Spain which Otis Green considers so "solidly Western" finally choked out the last traces of its Orientalism.

Aljamiado literature was not discovered till long after the expulsion of 1609: 1728, saw the emergence of several manuscripts which had been hidden inside a column in a house in Ricla; then, in 1884, a substantial collection was discovered under a false floor in a demolished house in Almonacid de la Sierra, in Saragossa. The first thing one notes about this literature—still largely unpublished, and dispersed in libraries in Spain, the East, and across Europe—is its hybrid and therefore cryptic nature,⁷³ the manuscripts being written in the Spanish (that is, Castilian) language, or in other Romance languages such as Portuguese or Valencian, but with Arabic characters. This remarkable phenomenon leads us to a startling first conclusion: that a not inconsiderable portion of Spanish literature in the Siglo de Oro was so Orientalised that one must be an Arabist—or at least know the Arabic alphabet—in order to read it. In the 19th century the first manuscripts began to be deciphered by such pioneers in the field as Pascual Gayangos and Eduardo Saavedra, and at the beginning of the 20th century by Julián Ribera and Miguel Asín Palacios. At present the study of *aljamiado* is receiving much more attention from specialists such as L. P. Harvey, Mercedes García Arenal, Manuela Manzanares de Cirre, Reinhold Kontzi, Ottmar Hegyi, Louis and Denise Cardaillac, María Teresa Narváez, Antonio Vespertino Rodríguez and, especially, Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes, who has begun a series of transcribed manuscripts for Gredos Publishers.

When the study of *aljamiado* began in the 19th century, there were high hopes for this literature; scholars believed that hidden jewels of Spanish literature might soon be, almost literally, unearthed. L. P. Harvey gives us the words of Seraffín Estébanez Calderón when Estébanez accepted the chair of Arabic at the Ateneo de Madrid in 1848:

It [*aljamiado* literature] is, one might say, the Indies of Spanish literature, virtually undiscovered and unexplored, and offering great riches to those first men and women who visit it.⁷⁴

The great American Hispanicist James T. Monroe still clung to hopes such as these in his *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*, but Harvey has had to admit that "Menéndez y Pelayo's cutting remark ... still remains true today: *el éxito no ha correspondido a tan risueñas esperanzas* ['success has not smiled upon these bright hopes']"⁷⁵. I too have had to admit the justice of a somewhat less optimistic outlook; my researches into unpublished *aljamiado* manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, the Biblioteca Real, the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia and the Biblioteca del Departamento de Estudios Arabes del Instituto de Filología in Madrid, the National Library in Paris, the Library in Aix-en-Provence, and the Cambridge University Library, combined with my examination of the fundamental bibliography of this literature, have shown me that, taken all in all, *aljamiado* literature has given us no towering figures of literature, history or religion, but rather consists largely of utilitarian or proselytising texts. In general, the manuscripts tend to be of two sorts: they either record Muslim rites and doctrines which were beginning to be lost, or they indulge in fiercely anti-Christian polemics, and in both cases they show, as Louis Cardaillac notes,⁷⁶ a considerable decline from the sophisticated writings of the medieval Arabs—al-Hāshimī, Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba, Fr Anselmo of Turmeda. But the deciphered manuscripts do reveal other interests of the Moorish community: there are legal tracts, treatises on magic and sorcery, recipes, prophecies of the future, instructions as to how to proceed should the Inquisition surprise their authors and readers, testimonial writings which chronicle the Moors' persecution, *azjāl* in honour of Muḥammad, and poetry in imitation of Lope de Vega. But while *aljamiado* literature was generally pedestrian from a strictly aesthetic point of view, and even more so if we compare it with the overall literary production in Spain during the Siglo de Oro, it sometimes offers literary pieces of real and indisputable beauty, such as some of the epico-romance narratives (especially the *ḥadīth*, or legend, of the Golden Fortress (the *Alcázar de Oro*) transcribed by Galmés de Fuentes in his *Libro de las batallas* in 1975) and certain poems by Mahomed Rabadán and a few other poets studied by Manuela Manzanares de Cirre.

For all my reservations as to the aesthetic value of most Moorish *aljamiado* literature, I do believe that these tragic and hybrid anonymous writers merit a special place in the literature of the Spanish Renaissance, to which they undoubtedly belong. The manuscripts display a very significant literary quality if we read them attentively, and perhaps from a slightly different perspective: through them we can see—and feel, with singular pathos and sorrow—the disappearance, or extinction, of an entire people, and see as well their efforts to hold back the inevitable historical forces which were about to descend upon them and crush them.

The *aljamiado* authors were the chroniclers—or perhaps anti-chroniclers—would be more accurate—of a guttering world. The first tragedy of these Moorish "chroniclers" is that they can produce neither literature, nor religious

proselytism, nor narratives of their historical misfortunes in the language of their Peninsular forebears; Classical Arabic, and even the most "common" run of Arabic, was rapidly slipping away from the Moors. The Arabic characters in which the latter wrote their Spanish, and which represented virtually the full extent of their knowledge of the holy tongue, testify to a terrible tragedy. The loss of the language of the Quran was grievous to the Muslim believers not only from the point of view of culture, but more particularly from the point of view of religion, for in Islam praying in the sacred tongue of the revelation is an essential part of the religious ritual. This fact leads O. Hegyi⁷⁷ to observe that the authors of these texts clung to their Arabic characters more from considerations of secrecy than for any sacred dignity the Arabic characters held for them and their clandestine readership. And thence came the particular indignation and vitriol of one of these crypto-Muslims, who had to translate his tract "from Arabic to *aljami*" and who complained that

not one of our religious brothers or sisters knows the Arabic in which our holy Quran was revealed, nor understands the truths of the religion, nor can appreciate its refined excellence, unless these things be conveniently stated to them in a foreign tongue, which is that of these Christian dogs, our tyrants and oppressors. May Allah confound them! Thus, then, may I be pardoned by him who reads what is written in the heart, and who knows that my only intention is to open to the faithful of the Muslim religion the path to salvation, even if it be by this vile and despicable means.⁷⁸

From the literary and human standpoint, what is most important and moving about these *aljamiado* manuscripts is the revelation of the daily concerns of their authors and their protagonists. The Moors—these desperate chroniclers of the Indies *à l'envers*—were acutely aware of what they were trying to accomplish: the impossible task of stopping history, of violating it, of continuing to be Oriental in the middle of 16th-century Spain and in the midst of an Inquisition in full swing. Moorish *aljamiado* literature is a monument to that pathetic effort to rescue and save the knowledge—or what was left of the knowledge—of the religion and culture of Islam now reduced to clandestine nests of the persecuted. "There was never a higher *jihād* than to expand our religion into the lands of *gribegax* [sin?, desolation?]", exclaimed la Mora de Ubeda,⁷⁹ and her fervent words, read now in the 20th century in the light of the extinction of her people, are truly moving. The Young Man of Arévalo's impossible optimism takes on echoes of the tragic when, in the prologue to his *Tafçira*, he declares with sincere faith that he will write another *Tafçira* (or "Exposition") "when this land is free"⁸⁰—that is, when Spain is "liberated" from the Christians. One of the crudest and saddest examples of the resistance of the Moors to their fate is some anonymous person's practising the Arabic alphabet, which the Moors refused to forget, in the margins of the final folios of so many *aljamiado* manuscripts: MS 5380

of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and MS 774 of the National Library in Paris, to name just two instances.

The Moors are not always so affirmative and naively optimistic when they explore their own emotions as a people in decline. The predominant note of the manuscripts, in this regard, is anguish and pessimism. The Hispano-Arab world was simply disappearing, and the clandestine, persecuted community knew it. The Moorish "chroniclers" over and over again insisted on this dolorous spiritual "X-ray", this inward examination, scorning the description of nature and outward geography which obsessed the explorers of the New World.

The crypto-Muslims reveal how persecuted they felt in some of the most moving folios of their tragic literature. La Mora de Ubeda, who lost her family at the fall of Granada, wept with the Young Man of Arévalo at the collapse of her people in these wrenching prophecies:

... weeping at the fall of the Muslims ... she said to me: Pray to his immense kindness, my son, that this event shall not pain us for so long a time as I foresee!... Pray to his immense kindness that so great as his power be, so great shall be his loving of the Muslims of this golden island, and that he shall turn the minarets into fixed tall peaks!⁸¹

The world of the saintly old crypto-Muslim woman is literally coming apart before her eyes, and in another heartbreaking passage of the *Breve compendio*,⁸² she grieves at the destruction of the holy Muslim books: "I saw [*The Exalted Heavenly Book*, according to Harvey] in the hands of a merchant who made a child's papers out of it, and I picked up these folded papers, to my great sadness ...".⁸³

Another moving plaint is heard from the lips of Yüse Banegas, the "great Arabist",⁸⁴ who also weeps at the fall of Granada, and has a feeling that worse is yet to befall the Muslims with whom he lives. Because of the revolt which occurred in 1500-1501, Ferdinand and Isabella had had second thoughts about the favourable capitulations granted to the conquered Moors, and the mass baptisms had been multiplied; Yüse writes to the Young Man of Arévalo, who is living in Avila and therefore ignorant of what has happened and is happening in Granada, and tells him of his concrete suspicion that "if the King of the Conquest"—that is, Ferdinand—"has not kept his word, then there is little to be hoped from his successors". This is Yüse's lament:

My son, I know that of the things of Granada your understanding is void; and you should not be frightened when I tell you of them, because there is no moment when they do not echo within my heart, and there is no while nor hour that my entrails do not grumble with it ... My son, I do not weep for the past, for from the past nothing returns, but I weep for what you will see if you have life [long enough], and are present in this land, and in this Island of Spain. Pray to his kindness, that for the sake of the nobility of our honoured al-Koran, this thing that I say fall into oblivion, and not be heard as I have foreseen it, especially with our

religion so scorned and despised that the people will say: Where did our preaching go? What has happened to the religion of our fathers? And all will be crudeness and bitterness for the man with sense [to feel it]. And what most hurts is that the Muslims will imitate the Christians, and will not refuse their dress nor dodge [spurn] their food. Pray to his kindness that there be dodging [spurning] of their works, and that they pay no attention to their law with their hearts ... You will clearly see that I say all this passionately, pray to his kindness and out of his ineffable love that my saying be as farfetched as I say it, for I did not desire to come to such weeping ... For if now in such a short space it appears that we sustain ourselves by confrontation, what will there be when the last autumns [the last days] come?: if the fathers belittle and defame the religion, how will the great-great-grandchildren praise it?: if the king of the conquest keeps not his word, what awaits us from his successors? I still say, my son, that our fall will grow only worse, pray to his holy kindness that his pity come down to us once more and that he sustain us with his divine grace.⁸⁵

These were hard times. Hundreds of *aljamiado* folios whose publication was unfairly suppressed testify, over and over again, to the tension and anguish experienced by the embattled Moors of the dying Moorish community. The Young Man of Arévalo achieves one of his most dramatic and moving pages when he tells in minute detail of a secret meeting of "Muslims and wise men" in Saragossa (it was out of this meeting that the Young Man's *Tafçira* was born). In this passage he tells us of the desperation and anger of these Muslims, many of whom could not deal with the situation and who therefore became very pessimistic about the difficulties involved in keeping Islam alive:

... they [the gathered Muslims] began to speak of our sorrows and each one gave his harangue: and among so many things there was one who said our loss was indeed great and lamented at how little essence our work had: and another *alim* [wise man] said that the work which we had to do, and the work which every day lay ahead for us, would be to our greater merit; but they repudiated his speech, saying that the work was to no avail as far as precept [or orthodoxy] is concerned, because it was lacking the principal thing, which is the [official] call to prayer, and thus the work could not be pleasant [spiritually acceptable to God] ...

And among all these disgusts, another wise man said another high and angry piece: like all the rest, he said that every man should tie up his skirt about his waist,⁸⁶ and those who desired salvation should go out and seek it. Everyone took his speech very ill, because it caused great sadness [?: *fiçça*] and did not give the example of a good Muslim. There many different sorrows were told; and as each of those men felt the general harm as his own, I was not surprised that each one should speak his mind, because we were not in any mood to jest, nor to utter improper words.⁸⁷

Their straits appeared so desperate that the Moors had recourse to a fascinating subterfuge in order to meet the situation and give themselves a little cheer: they indulged in prophecies, or *aljofores*. This is one of the most curious and moving dimensions of *aljamiado* literature, and a pathetic example of collective wishful thinking. Written apparently in the 16th century,

the *aljofores* pretend to be ancient manuscripts which (generally, because there do exist exceptions to this rule) foretell a glorious and triumphant future for the Muslim in Spain.

By means of these *aljofores* (so difficult to classify by genre, for they combine aspects of fiction, literature and history), the Muslims attempted nothing less than the total rewriting of their history and the manipulation of their future. This literary and human experiment by the Moors to "unlive their lives"—as Américo Castro suggestively defines it—has seldom been paralleled.

I am aware that the Moors hardly hold the monopoly on prophetic literature (which has often been the subject of research and criticism), although they do exploit it in a singular way; the Christians, too, including Raymond Lully, used this desperate "literary" genre throughout the Middle Ages and down into the Renaissance. But the most spectacular example of the genre is, unquestionably, Moorish: namely, the incredible *affaire* of the lead books of Sacromonte and the parchment of the Tower of Turpin in Granada.

When the Tower of Turpin, the old minaret of the mosque, was demolished in 1580 in order to expand the cathedral, a lead box was discovered, containing "prophetic" inscriptions in Spanish and Arabic dealing with the end of the world. These inscriptions were attributed in part to none other than St John the Evangelist. The proper proceedings were initiated to determine the authenticity of the relics, and Darío Cabanelas⁸⁸ tells us that among the theologians, jurists and scripturists appointed to study the discovery, there was one St John of the Cross, at that time prior of the Discalced Carmelite convent in Granada (unfortunately, we know nothing of his thoughts about the "prodigious" discovery). Fifteen years later, in 1595, a much more remarkable discovery was made: lead tablets were found in Sacromonte in Granada, written in angular Arabic characters (so as to look antique) and in crude Latin. We are told that there were nineteen of these circular plates made of lead, all very thin and about the size of a communion wafer (Darío Cabanelas saw some of these tablets, which still exist in Granada).⁸⁹ The tablets had been made to appear to belong to the first century, and they included several books—*The Great Mysteries Seen by St James, Enigmas and Mysteries seen by the Virgin, On the Venerated Essence, Maxims of the Faith*, and others—attributed to Tesifón Ebnatâr or to his brother Cecilio Enalrabí, putative disciples of St James the Apostle (in the figure of Santiago Apóstol, patron saint of Spain). The Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Vaca de Castro, enthusiastically ordered the *plomos* (as they are universally known) to be excavated, and the find caused, according to Harvey, as much uproar as the Dead Sea Scrolls have caused today. These *plomos* give us a physical description of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, who is snatched up into heaven on a mare (a coarse version of the ascent of Muḥammad to the seventh heaven on a *burāq*), and who, to St Peter's questions, gives answers (in Arabic!)

as to the conditions and vices under which 16th-century Granada will suffer and as to the importance of the Muslims of those years. A long theological dispute followed the discovery of these tablets, and although the "relics" were actually authenticated by Peninsular theologians in April 1600, there were many objections, from, among others, the rigorous Benito Arias Montano and even from the Moorish-descended Granadian Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas. The tablets were at last moved to Madrid, and from there to Rome. They were discredited once and for all by José Godoy y Alcántara in the 19th century⁹⁰, and they are still denounced as heretical by the Church.

This hoax served a utilitarian purpose for the Moorish population on the eve of its final expulsion in 1609: the "prophecies" forestalled events which could well have been as theologically distressing to the Christian church as to the Muslims, and they were a diplomatic (and truly desperate) attempt to reach a synthesis of the two cults. Here is one example of the *plomos*' singular religious syncretism (one, in fact, of only a few examples which may be found in either of these two very confrontational communities during this period): the Islamic set phrase "there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His prophet" becomes *Lā ilāha illa Llāh, wa-Yasū' rūḥ Allāh*, or "there is no god but God and Jesus is the spirit of God"—very Catholic and very Quranic at once, as Harvey aptly observes⁹¹. There is some suspicion that the controversial pair Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna, who took part in the "official" translation of the lead tablets, were in fact their authors, aided in their singular and utilitarian theological venture by persons with some interest in the opposing religion. The false chronicles and the Tower of Turpin manuscript appear today as pathetic in their theological naiveté and tragic in their total failure to halt the Moorish expulsion and to lend dying Spanish Islam some last prestige, yet they are of interest to us as a "literary" precedent for the genre of prophecy in *aljamiado*. Although they were written in other languages (Arabic, Latin and Spanish), both the *plomos* and the Tower of Turpin manuscript would appear to belong to the same tradition—that of a literature which aims to manipulate the future, and which in *aljamiado* versions (somehow familiar to Cervantes and Lope de Vega) was widespread throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Some prophecies, quite seductive from the literary point of view, would have it that the fate of Islam was foretold by Muḥammad himself, or by 'Alī Ibn Jābir Al-Fārasī (Ibn Yumayr), or by St Isidore. The Moors were offering a literary interpretation of their own existence, and they tended to dignify and exalt their historical fate with mystical earnestness. Fantasy—a phenomenon all too familiar to all of us—prevented their fully seeing this painful truth. Muḥammad himself bemoans the fall of Spanish Islam in the folios of MS 774 in the Bibliothèque National in Paris:

[Ibnu] 'Abbāṣ, *raḍīya al-Lahu 'anhu* ["may God have mercy upon him"], recounted to us that one day Muḥammad, the messenger of God, *ṣal-la al-Lahu 'alayhi wa*

çal-lam ["may God bless him and give him salvation"], was praying the evening prayer, and when he had done with his prayer he leaned over the pulpit and he looked toward the setting sun [the West] and he cried and cried very greatly.

[Ibnu] 'Abbāc *raḍīya al-Lahu 'anhu* ["may God have mercy upon him"], then said:

"Oh, messenger of God! Why have you cried until you have wet the hairs of your beard with your tears?"

The prophet Muḥammad, *ṣal-la al-Lahu 'alayhi wa ṣal-lam* ["may God bless him and give him salvation"], then said:

"I have wept because my Lord has shown to me an island which is called Andalusia, which will be the most distant Island which will be populated of all of Islam, and will be the first that Islam will be thrown from."⁹²

In the same manuscript, one "St Isidore" (this is no doubt an appropriation of the name of the eminent 6th-century doctor of the church St Isidore of Seville), in a prophecy curiously favourable to Christianity called "Plaint of Spain[,] taken by St Isidore, most excellent doctor of all Spain, from a very old book called Secret of Secrets of Spain"⁹³—this is very close to the wild falsifications of Sacromonte—assumes a most eloquent and oracular tone:

Pity on the Agarenes [Muslims] of Spain! for the pride of their Alhambra, by the highest it will be taken, and the most lovely chivalry of Ronda, which it was wont to be called, and the great beauty of Malaga, and the fortress of Gibraltar, and the most delightful orchards and mountains which were their solace, all of it they will abandon. And so great will be their sorrow that they will not know where to flee nor what consolation to take.⁹⁴

But the Moorish predictions are also, and perhaps especially, optimistic. Their intention in these cases seems to be to raise the spirits of the oppressed Moors and to lessen somewhat the pains of the world in which they now find themselves living, all this by an act of the imagination which sometimes becomes truly delirious. St Isidore, in the Parisian-manuscript *aljofor* mentioned above, wherein he foretells the final victory of the Moors over the Spaniards, seems quite familiar with certain historical events which he then manipulates so as to favour the cause of the Muslims. His words still have a certain solemnity about them: "the wheel of one thousand five hundred and one will have arrived, and then the peoples of Spain will have such tribulations and will be so trampled down that they will not know where to go, nor what is to become of them... And good fortune for the Moor which in that time will become friend of the Christian ... for ... there will not be found in Spain one man who will read the al-Koran";⁹⁵ the Moors "will be made to take the holy oil [of baptism] by force" and will have "very great injustices" done to them.⁹⁶ Indeed, in this "wheel of 1501" the forced baptisms did begin. But the collective tragedy would turn against the Christians very soon, according to St Isidore:

... when the wheel of two comes, or before, Christianity will be so strongly abashed, and in such a way worn and tattered, that good fortune in that time will

be had by the Christian man that shall have a Moor as a friend. And if he shall have done good or ill, then he shall see: for there comes over the Christians a most corrupt illness and evil, which the fortress of evil will never stop, until the end of [their sect] ... it will be stopped by Moors who shall win all the land of Spain.⁹⁷

Finally, the Turks will come to the aid of the Spanish Moors, and the *aljofor* closes with an apotheosis of Islam:

The first thing that will return to the religion of al-Islam will be the Island of Cecilia [Sicily], and afterward the Island of the Olives, which is Mallorca, and the Island of the Salt, which is Ibiza ... and the great Island of Spain ...⁹⁸

The triumph could not be more complete, and the details of the description of it are surprisingly minute:

And the king of the Christians will be captive, and be sent to the city of Valencia. There he will become a Muslim. And when the Christians see that, they will gather in the city of the river. Over them will come three Muslim kings, and they will enter into the city by force of arms, and all three shall eat at one table, and afterwards they will bless one another; one will move into the area of Monkayo [sic], the other into the area of Çuera [sic], and the other into the area of Hımça [which I believe signifies Seville].

And when the Christians see that their king is captive they will turn Muslim a large part of them. And the Muslims shall be conquerors, with the power of Allah *ta'ālā* [praised be He] ...⁹⁹

History, of course, proves this moving optimism wrong, as it also shows how fertile yet finally fruitless was the imagination of the *aljofor*-writers, who had to invent their survival as a people out of whole cloth and whose manuscripts, read by us today, are so much the more pitiful because we know the path their history finally took. The Moors were subjected to a gradual historical silencing, to a cultural assimilation, and often to banishment from their "precious Island of Spain", as the following most curious *aljamiado* text testifies. This "guide to the road", a virtual map of a vanishing identity, sprang out of the impending cultural and personal extinction of the Moors, and it pretended to lead them, or those of them who wished to flee to Islamic lands, out of the desert of their once-precious homeland:

Information for the road: in Jaka you will show gold; if they should ask you something about where you are going: —[say:] because of debts. And that you wish to withdraw into France. And in France, [say] that you are going to Santa María de Lorito. In León [Lyon], you will show the coin, you will pay forty-one, in silver or gold, you will demand the road to Milan; from there onward you will say that you are going to visit Samarko [St Mark's] in Venice. Embark in Padua and in a river with destination Venice, you will pay half a *real* per head, you will disembark at the plaza of Samarko, you will enter in an inn, [but] first before entering a room with a bed [there], you must arrange the price, you will pay half a real per day, and take [eat or drink] nothing from the inn, for you will pay for one thing three times. Go out to the plaza to buy whatever thing you need. There, those that you see with white headgear are Turks, those with yellow headgear are

Jews, merchants from the Grand Turk, and from those you should ask whatever it is you wish, for they will lead you aright to it. Tell them that you have brothers in Salonica and that you wish to go there; you will pay one ducat per head and for the passage you will also give for water and firewood. Purchase provision for fifteen days, buy stew and rice and vinegar and olives and garbanzos or other white beans and fresh bread for eight days and cake at ten pounds per man.¹⁰⁰

In spite of their harangues, their secret meetings and their optimistic yet falsifying prophecies and *aljofores*, the chroniclers of Moorish-*aljamiado* literature, an epic in reverse, were unable to halt their destiny. But they do offer us an invaluable vision of their gradual, painful disappearance as a living culture. These mysterious authors, who were now becoming cultural and religious hybrids, and therefore, for all their fanatical posturing and their fervid defence of a now-impossible Islam, entering into decline, deserve to be included in any study of the Peninsular literature of the Renaissance era.

The final chapter of this hybrid literature was written not in the Peninsula but in the Islamic countries where the last Muslims of Spain took political and religious refuge. We have been able to trace the footsteps of some of these exiles. The most fascinating author by far is an anonymous 17th-century Morisco whose tragedy as a refugee gave him a name—*el refugiado de Túnez*, or the Tunis exile. This mysterious author left for posterity a detailed account of his experiences both in his native Spain and in his adopted country of Tunisia (I have edited fragments of his text and will be editing the entire manuscript, catalogued as S-2 in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia [*BRAH*] in Madrid).¹⁰¹ The refugee's identity crisis is truly heartrending. We must remember that in Spain the Moriscos had been subjected to a long process of deculturation: their Arabic language, religion, customs, names and clothing were prohibited by successive legal edicts during the 16th and 17th centuries, and by the time of the 1609 expulsion they had been virtually absorbed into the mainstream of "official" Spanish culture—this in spite of their clandestine activities and their secret practice of the last remnants of their Islamic religion. When exiles arrived in Tunisia, Morocco and the other Islamic countries, they were received as veritable Europeans, for they almost invariably lacked the most basic elements of their ancestors' Islamic culture. Like many of his fellow exiles, the Tunis exile suffered this violent double process of cultural absorption in his lifetime: he was forcibly integrated into the Spanish cultural mainstream as a child, and then back into his forgotten Islamic culture as an adult exile in Tunisia. The autobiographical chapters of his dramatic text reveal the inner conflict of a soul perpetually without country. He had tried very hard to be a Muslim in Renaissance Spain, yet was now trying to remain a Spaniard in Muslim Tunisia. He hated Spain's oppressive establishment,¹⁰² yet longed for his Spanish language and especially his Spanish poetry—Garcilaso, Lope de Vega, Góngora—whose verses he lovingly quoted by heart. He was grateful to the Islamic authorities in Tunisia—'Uthmān Dey and Abū 'l-Ghayth

al-Qashshāsh (Citibulgaiz)—for the merciful and generous reception the exiles were given,¹⁰³ but resented the fact that many native Tunisians made the Moriscos' acculturation extremely difficult with their envy and their emotional callousness.

Interestingly enough, it is precisely to this anguished refugee that we owe one of the most important pieces of all Morisco literature: the erotic treatise I have called the "Spanish *Kāma Sūtra*". This astonishing love manual, extant in the same BRAH MS S-2, is a true "happening" in Siglo de Oro literature and even in Spanish literature *per se*: we simply had not known that early Spanish literature was capable of celebrating sexual love with such openness and reverence. The anonymous author, far removed from the pornographic attitude which characterises most of the Spanish literature dealing with sexual matters, succeeds in writing an edifying and highly religious treatise in which he not only describes coitus in detail—foreplay, the most appropriate sexual positions, simultaneous orgasm—but also the ablutions that are to be performed when the act is finished. It is moving to see how the Exile, for the first time in the Spanish language, joyfully celebrates sexual pleasure, which he interprets, spiritually, as an anticipation of the delights of Heaven. But it was not a sensual Heaven with black-eyed houris that he foresaw; he was symbolising the contemplation of God Himself. Sexual love was for the Tunis exile a foreshadowing of the moment when we will all be "contemplating our Lord night and day [forever]" (fol. 96v). His erotic instructions, totally guilt-free, are interspersed with prayers and Quranic suras. We never heard it said before in the Spanish language: sex leads us to God. It is also surprising to find a fervent defence of the right of women to live a full sexual life and to express their libido freely. Let us briefly quote the Morisco:

When the husband is ready for penetration, he should introduce his member and rub it against the vagina, so as to further excite both himself and [his partner]. He should say *biḥmi ylahi* ["in the name of God"] when proceeding to introduce his member. The penetration [says Zarrūq] has to be performed lovingly and gently [to avoid premature ejaculation]. [The husband] should delay his climax until he is sure that both partners reach it at the same time: much love is attained when [the sexual union] is performed in this way.¹⁰⁴

The profound novelty of the treatise in the context of Spanish literature is due to the fact that the author, a true Spaniard and at the same time a true Muslim, explores the reproductive act from the point of view of Islam—that is to say, as a religious obligation that the Quran itself imposes. The hybrid cultural nature of the text is very marked indeed: the modern reader cannot help being baffled by this celebration of sexual love according to Islamic canons—but expressed in perfect Castilian. But another dramatic surprise awaits the reader of Spain's first love manual.¹⁰⁵ The Morisco quotes the most important Islamic erotologists—al-Ghazālī, Nefzāwī, Aṣṣbagh, and, especially, Aḥmad Zarrūq's *Sharḥ al-waghlisiyya* and *Al-Naṣīḥa 'l-kāfi-*

ya¹⁰⁶—but, much to our surprise, he intermingles these masters with an unexpected Spanish “authority” in love matters: none other than Lope de Vega, whose sonnets grace and even provide a dramatic end for the Spanish *Kāma Sūtra*.

It is immediately obvious that we are dealing here with a text of the utmost importance for the history of ideas in Spain. For the first time the Spanish language is used to defend the spiritual propriety and holiness of sexual love, with no admixture of pornography, satire or religious guilt. The anonymous Morisco has unexpectedly enriched Spanish literature with this wonderfully hybrid text that we have delayed four hundred years in daring to publish.

The last Muslims of Spain ceased to be a living historical reality in the 18th century, but to this day Spain's culture continues to acknowledge a rich, complex past which owes a very great deal to Islam. It is fascinating to see the emotion with which modern Spanish writers adopt the literary attitude that Georges Cirot called *maurophilie littéraire*. When Manuel Machado, in his *Adelfos* (1898-1900), says that *yo soy como los hombres que a mi tierra vinieron/ -soy de la raza mora, vieja amiga del sol-/ que todo lo ganaron y todo lo perdieron./ Tengo el alma de nardo del árabe español*, he is making a somewhat surprising statement: he belongs to the “Moorish race” and he has “the spikenard soul of the Spanish Arab”. The passionate acknowledgement of a masked Arab identity was repeated by Federico García Lorca, who sometimes posed in Arab garb for posterity, and who warned that “the sepulchres of the Catholic Monarchs have not prevented the crescent moon from emerging in the souls of the finest sons of Granada. The war goes on ... the Alhambra and the Palace of Charles V continue a duel to the death that throbs in the conscience of the modern-day Granadian.”¹⁰⁷ Lorca claimed that as a poet he possessed *duende* (literally “fairy” or “elf”, and so by extension “wizardry, spark”; in Arabic, *jinn*). The enigmatic concept of the magic, sacred, mysterious aura that surrounds his verses and even his own person is very difficult to translate into European languages, but coincides perfectly with the Arabic concept of *baraka*. No wonder Lorca titled his last book of poems *Diván del Tamarit*—that is to say, the *Tamarit Dīwān*.

This subliminal intimation—that somewhere, hidden deep inside the caverns of consciousness there lies an Arab identity—is repeated again and again in Spanish literature (and even in Spanish scholarship). The phenomenon, which we have seen in the Archpriest of Hita's and Cervantes' texts, is startling, and it needs further study. The most important contemporary author in this regard is the novelist Juan Goytisolo, who has dedicated most of his fiction (and even many of his scholarly essays) to exploring Spain's relationship with its Islamic past. *Señas de identidad* presented us with a conflict of identity on the part of the author, and this conflict soon exploded in *Don Julián*. In this book Goytisolo recovered the figure of the “traitor” Don Julián, who, legend has it, played an important role in helping the Arabs

invade the Peninsula in 92/711. Don Julián/Goytisolo goes to the extreme of inviting the Arabs to undertake a metaphorical second invasion: what he is actually doing is asking Spain to accept its Semitic past, unacknowledged for so long. All of Goytisolo's other novels deal with this conflict of national identity in one way or another: his *Maqbara*, which means "cemetery" in Arabic, is inspired by the *halca* or market-place of Marrakesh; his most recent *Las virtudes del pájaro solitario* celebrates the tutelary figure of a deeply Arabised St John of the Cross.¹⁰⁸ And we should remember that Goytisolo daringly finished his *Juan sin tierra* in Arabic (the author, by the way, speaks fluent dialectal Arabic and lives half the year in Marrakesh). It is fascinating to compare Goytisolo's anguished, deeply personal brand of Orientalism with that of Latin American writers. Octavio Paz and Severo Sarduy, to name just two important authors conversant with the subject, have a more balanced perspective on Oriental texts, with which they feel very much at ease; this is not so in Goytisolo's case, nor in the case of his Spanish counterparts. It is to be regretted that Edward Said did not explore Spanish Orientalism in his famous book *Orientalism*. Spanish Oriental studies are indeed unique. To begin with, the discipline is a latecomer in the context of European scholarship: Eduardo Saavedra, Julián Ribera, and Miguel Asín Palacios, whom we might consider the first important scholars in the field, were, in contrast with the 18th-century Orientalists of France, England and Germany, active only in the 19th and 20th centuries—and this in spite of the fact that Spain had a rich Oriental past and literally hundreds (if not thousands) of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts in its libraries. Again, we have not yet explored in any depth the troubled personal attitude which these Spanish Orientalists brought to their subject of study, which was an important element of their own national history; this latter fact must have been so disturbing and so difficult to acknowledge that it is small wonder Spanish Orientalists were so late in making their appearance. Even the great Arabist Asín Palacios sometimes had trouble with his subject: a conservative priest, he tried, in many of his books, to "lend prestige" to Islam by proposing a Christian influence on its Sufi mystics—hence the titles of some of his works: *El Islam cristianizado* ("Christianised Islam") and *Algazel y su sentido cristiano* ("The Christian Meaning of al-Ghazālī's Work"). It is not until his posthumous *Sādhlies y alumbrados* ("Shādhilīs and Illuminati") that the great scholar feels free to give precedence to the Islamic influence on the Christian mystics, both orthodox and heterodox. Asín's probable sense of discomfort and wonder at the revelations he himself was making is still very much alive today: I was moved when I read María Angeles Durán's opening essay in the book *La mujer en al-Andalus* and came across the question she asks so sincerely about these Hispano-Arabic women: "Are we dealing with a 'them' or an 'us'?"¹⁰⁹ This question was asked in 1989.

It is clear that coming to terms with Spain's Oriental past, which is grafted so mysteriously deep into the national consciousness, is a complex task indeed. I am conscious that I have here dealt only with the tip of the iceberg: exploring the full scope of the legacy of Islam in Spanish literature must of necessity be the task of future generations.

¹ Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Sobre la occidentalidad cultural de España", in *Relecciones de literatura medieval*, Seville, 1977, pp. 167-68.

² Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*, London, 1968.

³ Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.* In my brief historical and cultural outline of Muslim civilisation I have employed this study, which is a classic of its genre.

⁴ According to Juan Vernet (*Estudios sobre la historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona, 1979), the ice and snow industry had existed at least since the Abbasid dynasty. Sherbet made of snow is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights* story "The Messenger and the Three Maidens", and al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1007) in turn mentions wine mixed with snow. Snow was even used for medicinal purposes: the 16th-century Spanish physician Nicolás Monardes includes in his *Libro de la nieve* ("Book of Snow") several prescriptions taken from Ibn Sīnā and containing this ingredient.

⁵ Mystical poets like the Persian poet Rūmī were to reach new extremes of delicacy and preciousness in seeing in the intimate union of the rose (*gol*) and sugar (*shekar*)—that is, in rose jelly, called *golshekar* in Persian—a metaphor for the grace of God joined to our human existence. Cf. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Odes mystiques (Divān-e Shams-e Tabrizī)*, trans. and with notes by Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch and Mohammed Mokri, Paris, 1973, p. 27.

⁶ It may be worth our while to pause for a moment to look at a description given us by Aly Mazaheri of a formal dinner in imperial Baghdad:

A l'heure fixée pour le repas, les invités arrivaient les uns après les autres, et, ayant échangé mille compliments avec leur hôte, s'installaient sur les sofas qui faisaient le tour de la salle à manger, le personnage le plus important ou bien l'ami le plus intime occupant la place d'honneur, à droite du maître de la maison. Les serviteurs déposaient ensuite devant chacun d'eux une petite table recouverte d'une fine nappe en toile de lin brodée ou brochée de fils d'or, garnie d'un plat de fruits choisis, d'une assiette de cristal et d'un couteau. L'on mangeait d'abord quelques fruits, puis les serviteurs apportaient de nouveaux plateaux et le véritable dîner commençait.

Avant la première bouchée, chaque convive murmurait à voix basse: "Au nom d'Allah", et pendant deux heures les plats les plus recherchés se succédaient parmi le brouhaha des conversations, car, si certains soupers intimes ne comptaient qu'une douzaine de couverts, il était fréquent que des repas réunissent cinquante convives, et parfois davantage. Pendant le repas, le maître de maison dirigeait la conversation et, dès que tous ses invités étaient rassasiés, il se levait, donnant ainsi le signal de quitter la table, mais on ne le faisait pas avant que chacun eût murmuré: "Je rends grâce à Allah." ...

C'est à ce moment que des serviteurs porteurs de bassins, d'aiguères et de serviettes de fine toile faisaient le tour de la pièce, se présentant devant chacun pour qu'il se lavât les mains, car on mangeait avec les doigts, l'usage de la fourchette n'étant pas encore répandu. ...

Puis les eunuques offraient de l'eau de rose: chacun en laissait tomber quelques gouttes dans sa main et, d'un geste lent, en imprégnait sa barbe. Tout cela constituait un petit cérémonial; d'ailleurs certains écrivains de l'époque avaient consigné les règles élémentaires du savoir-vivre en des traités dans lequel il était, par exemple, recommandé de ne pas se lécher les doigts, de ne pas tacher la table, de ne pas manger gloutonnement de deux plats à la fois et surtout de ne pas faire usage à table de cure-dent. ...

Le dîner terminé, on passait au salon qui brillait de toutes ses lampes et dont le sol était parsemé de pétales de roses. Sur une table, un brûle-parfum précieux dégageait des fumées d'encens, que chacun allait respirer tour à tour. On s'invitait courtoisement l'un l'autre à s'approcher du brûle-parfum en disant: 'Tuba lakum', ce qui signifie: 'Encensez-vous', exactement comme aujourd'hui on dirait: "Prenez donc un cigare." ...

Les convives se groupaient par affinités sur des somptueux sofas, tandis que des échantillons couronnés de roses emplissaient les coupes de cristal; car était venu le moment des vins généreux et du café. ...

D'un bout à l'autre du salon, on se portait des toasts en se lançant des fleurs, par deux ou trois. Puis venait l'heure de la musique et des chants. Tantôt un orchestre composé de quatre instruments: harpe, hautbois, luth et tambourin jouait des airs de danses, tantôt un "pianiste" virtuose accompagnait une chanson sur son *qanun*, l'instrument le plus "moderne" de l'époque, dont le clavier comptait trois octaves.

L'amphitryon engageait parfois des bayadères et des musiciens pour distraire ses invités. ... Ils dansaient individuellement ou en groupe. Les hommes vêtus de blouses de soie serrées à la taille et coiffés d'astrakan à la cosaque, les femmes parées d'amples jupes de gaze multicolores ou costumées en amazones, selon le caractère de la danse qu'elles interprétaient. (*La vie quotidienne des musulmans au moyen âge. XIe au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1964, pp. 91-93).

⁷ Cf. Vernet's *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978.

⁸ Cf. Muñoz Sendino's *La escala de Mahoma. Traducción del árabe al castellano, latín y francés ordenada por Alfonso X el Sabio*, Madrid, 1949.

⁹ There is a considerable bibliography on the subject of Muslim medicine. Among the principal works are those by Juan Vernet (*Historia de la ciencia española*, Madrid, 1975) and Luis García Ballester (*Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos XIII al XVI*, Madrid, 1976, and *Medicina, ciencia y minorías marginadas: los moriscos*, Granada, 1976). Arab medical knowledge suffered under the Moors of the 16th century, though the Moors still wrote many pseudo-scientific tracts on the subject. I am currently editing, in collaboration with my student Gladys Pérez Almiroty, a very curious Moorish prescription-book contained in MS T-16 of the Library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.

¹⁰ On these subjects, see Juan Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe, Historia de la ciencia and Astrología y astronomía en el Renacimiento. La revolución copernicana*, Barcelona, 1974. There is also José María Millás Vallicrosa's *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona, 1949.

¹¹ *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, 1492-1616*, New York, 1974.

¹² M. R. Lida, *Dos obras maestras españolas. El 'Libro de buen amor' y 'La Celestina'*, Buenos Aires, 1971.

¹³ His famous poem to the first Eastern date palm transplanted to Spain is reproduced in virtually every anthology of Hispano-Arab poetry. Here is an English version given by A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 18:

1. A palm-tree I beheld in Al-Ruṣāfa
Far in the West, far from the palm-tree land.
2. I said: You, like myself, are far away, in a strange land;
How long have I been far away from my people!
3. You grew up in a land where you are a stranger,
And like myself, are living in the farthest corner of the earth:
4. May the morning clouds refresh you at this distance,
And may abundant rains comfort you forever!

Nykl also gives another version of this poem (*ibid.*):

1. Oh palm, you solitary one, like myself, grow
In a land where you are distant from your kindred:
2. You weep, while your leaves inarticulately whisper,
Not being human in species, not able to speak:
3. Were you endowed with mind, you would weep recalling
Euphrates and the homeland of the palm-tree groves!
4. But you cannot return, and I was driven away
By the Abbasids' hatred, from my kindred!

¹⁴ Cf. Bargebuhr, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Here is the translation of his commentary in the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* ("Classification of the Nations"), Beirut, 1920:

... which because the rays of the sun do not fall perpendicularly upon their heads, their climate is cold and the atmosphere cloudy. For that reason, their temperament has become cold and their humor uncouth; their bodies have stretched, their complexion has become light, and their hair long. They lack, besides, acuteness and intellectual penetration, while, on the contrary, there is great foolishness and madness. (in Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-33).

¹⁶ R. Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1932, II, 184.

¹⁷ Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, Barcelona, 1945.

¹⁸ We owe to Dámaso Alonso a most perceptive essay on the subject, entitled "Poesía árabe-andaluza y poesía gongorina", in *Estudios y ensayos gongorinos*, Madrid, 1960, pp. 31-65. Reading Arabico-Andalusí poetry, which was translated into Spanish by Emilio García Gómez and which caused a furore among the poets of the "Generation of '27" (*Cinco poetas musulmanes. Biografía y estudios*, Madrid, 1959, and *Poemas árabe-andaluces*, also Madrid, 1959) gives the reader a sensation of a piled-up baroque which is startling and surprising. At first glance, it would appear that this is a case of poetic resources that Góngora would only later make famous. We will cite two examples of the ingenuity and imaginativeness found in those poems: The first is by Abū Zakariyyā (d. 647/1249), singing to the bubbles in a glass of sparkling wine:

The glass, when it was filled with wine, burst into flame, and was dressed in a tunic of fire.
And when the bubbles rose in it, eyes had seen no marvel such as this:
Atop glowing coals of fire, hailstones, which existed because of them and from them proceeded.
(*Poemas*, p. 143, English gloss by A. Hurley)

The second finds the poet Ben Sara (d. 517/1123) celebrating an orange:

Are they burning coals which show in the branches their vivid colours, or cheeks peeking out from among the green curtains of the palanquins?
Are those waving boughs, or delicate shapes of the body for whose love I am suffering what I suffer?
I see the orange-tree show us its fruits, which seem tears coloured red by the torments of love.
They are frozen; but should they melt, they would be wine. Magical hands moulded the earth to form them.
They are like balls of carnelian on boughs of topaz, and in hands of the Zephyr there are maces to strike them.
Sometimes we kiss them and other times we sniff them, and thus they are, alternately, cheeks or maidens or vials of perfume.
(*op. cit.*, p. 78, gloss by A. Hurley).

¹⁹ Quoted in Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1953, p. 353. We have used the careful Spanish-language version by Mercedes García Arenal, *Esplendor de Al-Andalus. La poesía andaluza en Árabe Clásico en el siglo XI. Sus aspectos generales, sus principales temas y su valor documental*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 356-57. Let us also look at the heart-rending poem (dated 1 *Shawwāl*, 485/ Thursday, November 4, 1092) written by al-Mu'tamid from exile in Aghmāt (quoted in Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 149-50):

1. In the past you were joyful when holidays came,
This time these days are sad for a captive at Aghmāt
2. You see your daughters in tatters, hungry,
Penniless, they are spinning for other people:
3. They come to you wishing you a happy feast,
With their sad eyes cast down, haggard and sad,
4. Treading in mud, barefooted, humble,
As if they had never been treading on musk and camphor,
5. Their hollow cheeks show signs of lack of food,
They sigh, their tears roll down like copious rain:
6. Thus I broke my fast—may this day never return!
This breaking of fast was heart-breaking for me!
7. Once, whenever you gave orders to your Fate,
It obeyed; now it refuses, makes you obey instead:
8. If after this a king ever rules a kingdom
And finds joy therein, vain dreams indeed beguile him!

²⁰ Trans. from the Arabic to the Spanish by Miguel Asín Palacios, quoted in González Palencia, *op. cit.*, p. 74. English gloss by A. Hurley.

²¹ "Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra", a lecture given before the Real Academia de la Historia, February 3, 1943, Madrid, 1943, pp. 10-103.

²² *The Alhambra*, Boston, 1978.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁴ Quoted in Pèrès, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

²⁵ Cf. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 107. The Spanish version by A. González Palencia reads: "Pongo al que me ama en posesión de los hoyuelos de mis / mejillas, y doy un beso a quien lo desee" (*op. cit.*, p. 68). Cf. also Wilhelm Hoenerbach's study "Notas para una caracterización de Wallāda", *Al-Andalus*, 36, 1971, pp. 467-73.

²⁶ Nykl, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²⁷ "El *kitāb al-sihr wa 'l-shi'r* de Ibn al-Jatīb", *Al-Andalus*, 38, 1973, pp. 393-414. Cf. also his "Notas sobre la poesía amorosa de Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi", *Al-Andalus*, 35, 1970, pp. 355-80.

²⁸ Cf. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "Poemas de Ibn al-Yabbāb en la Alhambra", *Al-Andalus*, 35, 1970, pp. 454-73. On poetry and poetic theory in al-Andalus, cf. also the studies of Amjad Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des arabes. Jusqu'au Ve siècle de l'Hégire (XIe siècle de J. C.)*, Damascus, 1956; James T. Monroe, "Hispano-Arabic Poetry During the Caliphate of Cordoba", in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. G. E. von Grünebaum, Wiesbaden, 1973, pp. 125-54; and E. García Gómez's charming study "El frío de las joyas", *Al-Andalus*, 14, 1949, pp. 463-66.

²⁹ *A History of the Jews*, New York, 1965.

³⁰ *A History of Jewish Literature*, trans. Bernard Martin, Philadelphia, 1972, 2 vols.

³¹ *Literatura hebraicoespañola*, Barcelona, 1967.

³² *Manual de historia de la literatura hebrea*, Madrid, 1960.

³³ *Essays of the Writing of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, London, 1887, and *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah: Edited from Manuscripts and Translated*, New York, 1873.

³⁴ In his recent study *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton, 1984), Bernard Lewis qualifies the hypothesis of the "peaceful coexistence" between Jews and Muslims during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. There was, of course, generally peaceful, pluralistic coexistence, but Lewis interprets this as not so much the effect of "tolerance" as the result of the dominance exerted on their non-Muslim subjects by the Muslims. Still, in spite of the fact that these "marginalised" peoples (subject to fiscal levies and the like) were second-class citizens, they did have a certain degree of citizenship, and held certain rights that were far and away better than those we find today in many modern states. (Cf. also Norman A. Sullivan's review of this work in the *New York Review of Books*, 31/1, October 25, 1984, pp. 3-4.)

³⁵ Bargebuhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

³⁶ Cf. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa's essay, "Probable influencia de la poesía sagrada hebraicoespañola en la poesía de Fray Luis de León", *Sefarad*, 15, 1955, pp. 261-85.

³⁷ Cf. Alejandro Díez Macho, *Mosé Ibn Ezra como poeta y preceptista*, Madrid-Barcelona, 1953.

³⁸ Quoted in Zinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³⁹ *La influencia de la exégesis hebrea en los comentarios de Fray Luis de León*, Madrid, 1966.

⁴⁰ Published Buenos Aires, 1948.

⁴¹ *Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles. Historia de una polémica*, Madrid, 1975, p. 198.

⁴² "La polémica suscitada por Américo Castro", *Razón y Fe*, 157, 1959, p. 343. Quoted in Gómez Martínez, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99.

⁴³ A Harvard colleague of mine, Wasma'a Chorbachi, told me that at a concert in Ba'albek by the singer Fairuz (a performer much beloved by the Lebanese), Fairuz was greeted when she came out onto the stage by cries of *Allāh, Allāh*; this is precisely the *Olé!* of the Spaniards. Arabs still today make this exclamation at the sight of a beautiful woman or a favourite performer, or as a recognition of an act of bravery. Thus Juan Goytisolo, attempting in *La reivindicación del Conde don Julián* (Mexico City, 1970) artistically to rescue the Arabic origins of many words in the Spanish lexicon, says with perfect rightness "Don't forget the *Olé!*" (p. 99). Cf. also the lovely linguistic "arabesques" of Julián Ríos ("Algarabía") in his recent novel *Larva. Babel de una noche de San Juan* (Barcelona, 1984).

⁴⁴ In his "El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de estado", *Personajes y temas del Quijote*, Madrid, 1975.

⁴⁵ "Some Doubts About the Reconstruction of the *Kharjas*", *BHS*, 1973, pp. 109-19.

⁴⁶ *Quixotic Scriptures: Essays on the Textuality of Hispanic Literature*, Indiana, 1983, p. 12.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁸ "Cancioncillas 'de amigo' mozárabes", *Revista de Filología Española*, 33, 1949, pp. 297-349, reprinted in *Primavera temprana de la literatura europea*, Madrid, 1961.

⁴⁹ *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Barcelona, 1975, p. 145.

⁵⁰ *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 299-346.

⁵¹ Cf. his early essay "Some Doubts About the Reconstruction..." and his "The Interpretation of Romance Words in Arabic Texts: Theory and Practice" (*La Corónica*, 13, 1985, pp. 243-54). Articles such as these were contested by some scholars: we should remember, to take just one example, S. Armistead's rebuttal "Pet Theories and Paper Tigers: Trouble with the *kharjas*" (*La Corónica*, 14, 1985, pp. 55-70). Professor Hitchcock collects the *kharja* bibliography through 1977 in his *The Kharjas: A Critical Bibliography* (London, 1977) and is currently working on an updating of this bibliography.

⁵² Published Madrid, 1973, Barcelona, 1978, and Madrid, 1971, respectively.

⁵³ In *De los siglos oscuros al siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 86-99.

⁵⁴ "Notas para la interpretación, influencias, fuentes y texto del *Libro de buen amor*", *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 2, 1940, pp. 1142-43.

⁵⁵ Cf. my article "Juan Ruiz y el Seyj Nefzāwī 'elogian' a la dueña chica", *La Torre*, I, new serial numbering, 1987, pp. 461-72.

⁵⁶ Cf. my essay "Sobre el signo astrológico del Arcipreste de Hita", in *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española*, pp. 43-58.

⁵⁷ Francisco Márquez Villanueva also agrees with Castro's interpretation. Richard Kinkade, in turn, associates the language of the Archpriest, who is able to render several levels of meaning simultaneously, with the language employed by the Sufi Muslims in doctrinal (and at the same time high-spirited) works of a similar nature ("Arabic Mysticism and the *Libro de buen amor*" (in *Estudios literarios de hispanistas norteamericanos dedicados a Helmut Hatzfeld con motivo de su ochenta aniversario*, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 51-70)). In my own case, I have often come across the Archpriest's ambiguous attitude toward love—now erotic, now spiritual—in Arabic love manuals like those of al-Tifāshī, al-Baghdādī and al-Suyūfī.

⁵⁸ Emilio Sáez and José Trenchs, "Juan Ruiz de Cisneros (1925/1926—1351/1352), autor del *Buen amor*", in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, ed. M. Criado del Val, Barcelona, 1973, pp. 365-68.

⁵⁹ Cf. Rodríguez Puértolas, *Arcipreste de Hita*, Madrid, 1978, p. 78. The pioneering essays by Américo Castro on the Arabic influence on the *Libro de buen amor* have been succeeded by important contributions by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Juan Vernet, Juan Martínez Ruiz, Joaquín Lomba, Richard Kinkade and others. And one must not forget that scholars of more eclectic tendencies such as Lecoy also accept the possibility of Oriental sources for Juan Ruiz, especially in the stories. These studies, then, only begin to describe the tip of the iceberg of Oriental influence on the Archpriest; there is still much to be done in this field, and one can only hope that future comparative studies will be performed in the spirit of science and not of polemics.

⁶⁰ Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El buen amor", in *Relecciones de literatura medieval*, Seville, 1977, p. 73. Cf. also his "Nuevos arabismos en un pasaje del *Libro de buen amor*", *Actas*, pp. 202-07.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶² Again I refer the reader to my book *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam*.

⁶³ *La genèse du "Cantique spirituel" de Saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris, 1971, p. 285.

⁶⁴ See their respective *Estudios de crítica literaria* (Madrid, 1915, pp. 55-56) and *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz. Desde esta ladera* (Madrid, 1966, p. 18). Menéndez Pelayo confesses that he felt "religioso terror" and Alonso "espanto" ("terror" or "great fright") when dealing with St. John's poetry.

⁶⁵ Colin Peter Thompson, *The Poet and the Mystic: A Study of the "Cántico espiritual"*, London, 1977, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁶ *Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1955.

⁶⁷ *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik*, Beirut, 1969.

⁶⁸ Cf. his "Un precursor hispano-musulmán de San Juan de la Cruz", *Al-Andalus*, 1, 1933, pp. 7-79, his *Huellas del Islam*. Santo Tomás de Aquino, Turmeda, Pascal, San Juan de la Cruz, Madrid, 1941, and his posthumous *Šādīlies y alumbrados*, with an introductory study by Luce López-Baralt, Madrid, 1990.

⁶⁹ Cf. my *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam*, my *Huellas del Islam*, and especially my essay "Simbología mística musulmana en San Juan de la Cruz y Santa Teresa de Jesús", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 30, 1981, pp. 21-91.

⁷⁰ Published now in his *Šādīlies*: "El símil de los castillos y moradas del alma en la mística islámica y en Santa Teresa".

⁷¹ I translate from P. Nwya's "Textes inédits d'Abu-l-Hasan al-Nuri", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, Vol. 44, pp. 135-36.

⁷² In my "El símbolo de los siete castillos concéntricos del alma en Santa Teresa y en el Islam" (*Huellas del Islam*, pp. 73-98). My colleague Catherine Swietlicki explores the possibility of Cabalistic influence on Spanish mysticism, and studies the symbol of the concentric castles too: cf. her *Spanish Christian Cabala: The Works of Luis de León, Santa Teresa de Jesús, and San Juan de la Cruz*, Columbia, Missouri, 1986.

⁷³ Ottmar Hegyi, a specialist in the subject, says that in his opinion (and I fully agree with him) the writers used Arabic characters in *aljamiado* writings not out of a desire for secrecy (the Inquisition had experts in Arabic and therefore in the Arabic script), but rather out of a need or desire to cling to the religious and cultural implications and associations that the holy language of revelation contained for them. In his brilliant essay "El uso del alfabeto árabe por minorías musulmanas y otros aspectos de la literatura aljamiado, resultantes de circunstancias históricas y sociales análogas", *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca*, Madrid, 1972, Hegyi explores *aljamiado*, or the use of the Arabic alphabet, in languages as diverse as Persian, Hindi, Turkish, Chinese, and Sanskrit. Secrecy, then, was not the only motivation for the practice. We should also recall that on the Peninsula *aljamiado* had been used (though not with such frequency) since the Middle Ages: cf. A. R. Nykl, "Aljamiado Literature: *El Rrekontamiento del Rrey Alisandere*", *Revue Hispanique*, 172, 1929, pp. 409-611.

⁷⁴ "El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada", p. 22.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ In *Morisques et Chrétiens*, Paris, 1977.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* See note 75 above.

⁷⁸ George Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, IV, Madrid, 1881-1885, p. 420.

⁷⁹ Julián Ribera and M. Asín Palacios, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, Madrid, 1912, p. 224.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

⁸¹ Ribera and Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁸² Cited by Harvey in "El Mancebo", p. 19. Cf. his articles "Un manuscrito aljamiado de la Universidad de Cambridge", *Al-Andalus*, 23, 1958, pp. 49-74; "Castilian Mancebo as a Calque of Arabic 'Abd, or How El Mancebo de Arévalo Got His Name", *Modern Philology*, 65, 1967, pp. 130-32; "Yüse Banegas, un moro noble en Granada bajo los Reyes Católicos", *Al-Andalus*, 21, 1956, pp. 297-302. See also María Teresa Narváez, *En defensa del Mancebo de Arévalo*, M.A. thesis, Univ. of Puerto Rico, and her 1988 doctoral dissertation on El Mancebo's *Tafqira*.

⁸³ Fol. 225r.

⁸⁴ Cf. Harvey, "El Mancebo", p. 300.

⁸⁵ Harvey, "Yüse", pp. 300-02.

⁸⁶ Here, the meaning of the text is that the men should "roll up their shirt-sleeves"; they used long "skirts", and so to be able to move freely and vigorously, to "get down to work", they had to tie up the skirts around their waists.

⁸⁷ Ribera and Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19.

⁸⁸ *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*, Granada, 1965. Miguel José Hagerty has transcribed and published the leaden tablets: *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte*, Madrid, 1980.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁹⁰ *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, Madrid, 1868

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁹² Mercedes Sánchez Alvarez, *El manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París*, Madrid, 1982, p. 252.

⁹³ Fol. 294v, *ibid.*, p. 246.

⁹⁴ Fol. 300v, *ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

⁹⁵ Fol. 290v-291r, *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁹⁶ Fol. 291v, *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁹⁷ Fols. 291v-292r, *ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

⁹⁸ Fols. 283v-284r, *ibid.*, p. 241.

⁹⁹ Fols. 285v-286r, *ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁰⁰ Fols. 38v-39r, *ibid.*, p. 154. Pascual Gayangos (*op. cit.*, p. 81) offers another English version of this text, with interesting variants. Cf. L. López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios moriscos secretos del siglo XVI: el ms. 774 París y el ms. T-16 RAH", *Homenaje a Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 547-82.

¹⁰¹ Cf. my "La angustia secreta del exilio: el testimonio de un morisco de Túnez", in *Hispanic Review*, 50, 1987, pp. 41-57.

¹⁰² His denunciation of the Inquisition, seen for the first time from the point of view of one of its victims, is a document of the utmost importance for the history of ideas in Spain. At long last the persecuted minority speaks in *propia persona* about its own historical situation. Here is a fragment of the Exile's testimony:

Let thanks be given to the merciful Lord, who took us away from these Christian heretics ... We were forced to pretend to do as they wished, for, if we did not, we were taken to the Inquisition, where, for no more than following the truth, we were deprived of life, of property, and of children. Suddenly we would find ourselves to be in a dark prison, as dark as the Inquisitor's intentions, where we would be left for many years, until our property was totally consumed ... And the children, if young, were given in adoption, to force them to grow up as heretics; and if already grown, they would try to escape. Besides all this they [the Inquisitors] taxed our property, in order to finish off our nation ... some of them said that we should all be put to death; others, that we should be castrated; still others, that we should be given a button of fire in that part of our body so that we could not procreate again ... And this is why we prayed God our Lord night and day to deliver us from so much tribulation and danger, and we wanted to be in the lands of Islam even if it be naked. (MS S-2 BRAH, fols. 11v-r.)

¹⁰³ The Morisco's description of the reception that the exiles were given in Tunis is as picturesque as it is historically important:

In these lands of Islam we were received by Usmanday, King of Tunisia [ʿUthmān Dey], of fierce condition but for us a gentle lamb; by Citibulgaiz [Abū Ghayth al Qashshāsh] with his holiness[;] and by the people with their Islam; and all tried to help us, treating us with love and friendliness. Uzmanday eliminated a tax that each incoming ship had to pay, consisting of a hundred *escudos*, so that we would take heart ... and on top of this he permitted us to choose the place where we wanted to settle. Those who had to go to the Mahdia region went against their will, and still he helped them with wheat, barley, and guns ... I knew from a close friend of his that when he fell ill he said, "As soon as I recover my health we will both go to all these places to see what they need and to procure it for them." ... Citibulgaiz, for his part, helped us with nourishment and took us into the city's *zāwiyas* [sanctuaries], especially to that one belonging to Citi al Zulaychi, where a large contingent of poor women and children took refuge. As is usual in children, to defecate without knowing where they do it, the [children] soiled the *zāwiya* to the extreme, so much so that the *wākil* [the man in charge] told Citibulgaiz that the whole *zāwiya* was a dungheap. And he [Citibulgaiz] responded: "Let them be, and let them soil wherever they want and do whatever they want, because if the place they are in could speak, it would say: 'may this blessed people, perfect Muslims and dear brethren, be welcome to this happy place. All who love them are true believers, and all who despise them are hypocrites.'" (MS S-2 BRAH, fols. 12-13r.)

¹⁰⁴ Fol. 98v.

¹⁰⁵ This "Spanish *Kāma Sūtra*" is indeed the first love treatise ever to be written in Spanish that we know of, but it must be said that the *Speculum al foderi* or "Mirror of Coitus", written in Catalanian by an anonymous physician, contains some chapters that also might be seen as constituting a love manual in the Oriental fashion. The text has recently been edited in a bilingual English-Catalanian edition by Michael Solomon, Madison, 1990.

¹⁰⁶ In my recent book *Un "Kāma Sūtra" español: el primer tratado erótico de nuestra lengua (MS. S-2 BRAH Madrid)*, I include the Arabic translation (done in collaboration with Hossein Bouzineb) of the passages in Zarrūq's works that the exile took into account in his love treatise. Zarrūq's manuscripts are extant in the Library of the University of Rabat, where I worked on them with the aid of a Fulbright Fellowship.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Mario Hernández, "Huellas árabes en el Diván del Tamarit", *Insula*, 370, 1977, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. my essays "Hacia una lectura 'mudéjar' de Maqbara" (in *Huellas del Islam*, pp. 181-209) and "Inesperado encuentro de dos Juanes de la literatura española: Juan Goytisolo y San Juan de la Cruz" (in *Escritos sobre Juan Goytisolo*, Vol. II, Almería, 1990, pp. 137-45).

¹⁰⁹ M. J. Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus*, Seville, 1989, p. 14.

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MUSIC

MUSIC IN MUSLIM SPAIN

OWEN WRIGHT

Consideration of the nature and history of music in Muslim Spain, and the question of its possible influence on Christian Europe, whether in the domain of instruments, repertoire, structures or concepts, had best begin with a review of sources. What dominates the picture, it should be admitted from the outset, is the stark fact that the music itself can not be disinterred. Central to any study of music in medieval Europe is the extensive corpus of surviving notations, whatever the difficulties of interpretation that surround it; but for Muslim Spain, in contrast, just as for the Middle East, there is no equivalent corpus: the exclusively aural transmission of the repertoire meant that even if techniques of notation were known to theorists, for the practising musician they were superfluous, and consequently no notated record remains. Doubtless certain legitimate inferences can be drawn from the modern successor traditions in the Maghrib, but it would be vain to expect these to contain, as if mounted behind exhibition glass, perfectly preserved specimens of the Andalusī music of five or more centuries before. The material from which any conclusions must be drawn is therefore essentially secondary and falls broadly into three categories: documentary—historical, literary, even legal works in which music or musicians are discussed or incidentally referred to; lexical—the vocabulary of music, including Arabic loan words in European languages; and iconographic—paintings or carvings containing depictions of musical instruments and activities.

Our principal source is, inevitably, the written word, of especial importance being references to music in literary and historical works. For the parallel (but quite separate) history of music in the Middle East such references, valuable as they are, are essentially ancillary: for technical matters it is to the extensive theoretical literature produced by such major figures as al-Kindī (d.c. 252/866), al-Fārābī (d.c. 339/950), Ibn Sīnā (370/980–428/1037) and Ṣafīyy al-Dīn 'l-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) that we turn in the first instance, while for information on repertoire, transmission, and social context the vast riches of the *Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (284/897–356/967) can be ransacked. For Muslim Spain, however, such scattered and incidental materials are virtually all we have. Theoretical works certainly existed—that by Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139) was said to rival al-Fārābī's monumental *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-kabīr*—but if we discount two chapters of a 7th/13th century encyclopaedia by al-Tifāshī, to be considered below, those few that survive are late, brief, and not very informative.¹

With such exiguous sources it is hardly surprising to find that next to nothing is known of the early history of music in Muslim Spain. There can be no firm answers to a number of key questions concerning its development during the 2nd/8th century, only conjectures. Given the ethnic composition of the first Muslim wave of settlement, it would have been of interest to know, for example, whether Berber styles were influential, or whether the more purely Arab culture symbolised by the importation of various musicians from the *Ḥijāz* was to dominate from a very early stage. Connected with this would be the question of the alacrity with which the emerging art-music tradition of *Meḍīna* was adopted, occasioning an at least incipient stylistic cleavage between the pre-existing folk-song traditions and that of the court. There is, further, the more general and perhaps more important question of the extent and rate of cultural exchange between the immigrant communities and the much larger (and also ethnically mixed) indigenous population, whether Christian or convert.

During the first half of the 3rd/9th century the picture becomes, apparently, rather clearer, at least as far as court music is concerned, the period being dominated by the key figure of *Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāfi'*, nicknamed *Ziryāb*. But despite the various innovations attributed to him and his reputed prominence as a court favourite, his significance is by no means easy to determine. Both Arab and Western scholars have been happy to accept as authoritative the full and detailed account of his career presented by *al-Maqqarī* (986/1578-1041/1632), whose source is the historian *Ibn Ḥayyān* (377/987-8-469/1076), quoted, we are to assume, verbatim.² But *Ibn Ḥayyān* is still at a considerable temporal remove from his subject, and it would be prudent to regard his account as in certain respects exemplary rather than factual.

Ziryāb's biography, as related by *al-Maqqarī* from *Ibn Ḥayyān*, can be summarised quite briefly. Incurring the jealousy of his eminent teacher *Ishāq al-Mawṣilī* (150/767-235/850) as a result of his brilliant debut recital given before *Hārūn al-Rashīd* (170/786-193/809), he was obliged to leave Baghdad and seek his fortune elsewhere. On his arrival in North Africa he was invited to the Umayyad court at Córdoba, where he swiftly established himself not only as the leading performer and teacher of the day, but also as a general arbiter of taste who was to have an enduring influence in such areas as dress, hair-style and even culinary habits. Successful both materially and artistically, he taught in addition to his own children many competent pupils who survived him to perpetuate and disseminate his distinctive musical style and repertoire.³

On the surface there is nothing controversial or incoherent about *Ibn Ḥayyān's* narrative, and we may add that the historical importance of *Ziryāb* was still recognised in the 7th/13th century by *al-Tifāshī*, according to whom he introduced a style that was to dominate until the 5th/11th century.⁴ Never-

theless, on closer scrutiny a number of the statements made about him appear less than convincing. For example, the circumstances of his supposed contretemps with Ishāq al-Mawṣilī are somewhat curious, to say the least. We are expected to believe that Ishāq was startled and dismayed by the quality of Ziryāb's performance, but it is difficult to credit either that he could have been so unaware that his pupil possessed gifts outstanding enough to make him a potential rival or, alternatively, that Ziryāb should have wished to conceal his talent (and, presumably, his technological improvements to the lute) and succeeded in doing so for so long, even though he came to Ishāq having already had lessons with his father, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. It is the latter explanation that is offered by the text, Hārūn excusing Ishāq for not having brought Ziryāb to his attention before on the grounds that he accepted that he had kept his abilities secret, but, not surprisingly, no convincing motivation for such strange behaviour is forthcoming. The inherent implausibility of the whole episode is reinforced by the final touch of Ishāq's appeal, in the course of explaining away Ziryāb's disappearance, to the motif of inspiration through supernatural visitation that had earlier—as al-Maqqarī's text explicitly recognises elsewhere—been associated with his own father.

Suspicion is sharpened by the existence of a parallel anecdote reported about him by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (246/860-328/940), at least a century earlier, therefore, than Ibn Ḥayyān's account.⁵ Here we are presented with essentially the same thematic core: a performance provokes anger resulting in the musician being told to flee or face death. For Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, however, the person issuing the threat is not Ziryāb's teacher but a patron, the Aghlabid Ziyādāt Allāh I (201/817-223/838); and he, together with this whole episode, is conspicuously absent from Ibn Ḥayyān's narrative, which, we may conclude, is most probably an artfully embellished transplant. Support for this interpretation may be drawn, further, from the existence of an intermediate stage in the evolution of the story. This is provided by Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977), whose brief notice on Ziryāb's background retains the motif of princely displeasure but incorporates the crucial transfer of locale to Baghdad.⁶ There is, however, no Hārūn al-Rashīd: Ziryāb is said, rather, to have been an intimate of al-Amīn (193/809-198/813) but to have incurred the enmity of his brother al-Ma'mūn (198/813-218/833), so that on the death of al-Amīn he fled to Spain. According to the chronology of this relocated version the Hārūn/Ishāq plot would have to be a later fabrication and there is, accordingly, no reference to it. Nor is there any mention of either plot in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's original version, where the story is framed by the bald information that Ziryāb had been a slave and pupil of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and that he subsequently went to the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206/822-237/852).⁷ In the light of the above it will come as no surprise to find, in the major source for the biography of Ishāq, the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, that there is no mention of Ziryāb.

To draw attention to such likely transformation and embroidery of earlier narrative in the account reproduced by al-Maqqarī is by no means to show that the crucial importance ascribed to Ziryāb as performer, teacher and setter of cultural standards is without historical foundation. But if we leave the more obviously literary elements aside and turn to technical matters, it is equally the case that not all the particular musical innovations attributed to him are to be given uncritical acceptance. The changes he is said to have introduced to the structure of the lute, for example, involved not merely the use of thinner wood for increased resonance but also rather unusual substitutions in the materials chosen for the plectrum and strings: the previous wooden pick was replaced by an eagle's quill and, alongside the two upper strings of silk (no longer prepared in the traditional way), the lower two were now made of the gut of a lion cub. Wild life may well have been abundant, but even for the connoisseur market one can imagine supplies of commodities such as these being rather hard to come by. Nevertheless, if the details are hardly credible we may still reasonably give assent to the underlying notion of a move towards improvements allowing enhanced sonority, increased durability and, perhaps most important, greater technical finesse.

Ziryāb is further credited with the addition of a fifth string to the lute. But to the immediate question of what the practical function of such an innovation might have been there is no answer. It certainly does not appear that the intention was to extend the range of the instrument, one of the usual reasons for such additions, for the extra string was inserted in the middle and, as no mention is made of any change in *accordatura* to accommodate this interloper, it is difficult to see how the melodic resources of the instrument might have been enhanced. What is referred to, rather, is the colour (red) of the string and what it represents: the soul. It is a further development of the integration of music into cosmological schemes being elaborated at the same time in the East by al-Kindī, and articulated in terms of the four strings of the lute, with which various standard four-fold sets were associated. The fifth string thus has a purely conceptual, symbolic value, complementing the equally colour-coded representation of the four humours by the other strings.⁸

The importance of Ziryāb himself, it might be argued, is also primarily symbolic. According to this view he embodies the introduction, establishment and diffusion of a certain tradition in a way that confirmed the nascent cultural equality between Córdoba and Baghdad and the increasing self-confidence that went with it—even if still expressed partly in terms of covert comparisons with the East. We may note that he is seen on arrival eclipsing such gifted performers as Qalam, who represented the Eastern tradition in its earlier Umayyad Medinese form;⁹ and he further embodies not merely the introduction of the current Baghdad style but also implied parity with the East, or even, in that he is depicted as someone who might have bested the

supreme exponent of the early Abbasid school, potential superiority. The innovations he is credited with introducing as an arbiter of taste, whether vestimentary or gastronomic, run parallel to his technical improvements to the lute, reflecting as they do the increasing material prosperity and sophistication of Cordoban life during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. Finally, implicit in his fame as a teacher renowned for developing new methods of voice training is the notion of encouraging access, thereby promoting the diffusion of the tradition beyond the immediate confines of the performer's own family circle.

Whatever their semiological import for cultural self-assertion, a number of the innovations ascribed to Ziryāb thus appear to be either exaggerated or fanciful. But one that has not yet been mentioned points to a genuine historical development (even if, quite likely, of later origin): the emergence of the *nawba*, the suite form still characteristic of the classical traditions of the Maghrib. However, as Ibn Ḥayyān does not use the word in this context it would be more precise to speak in relation to Ziryāb of a proto-*nawba*. This consisted of a conventional sequence marked by a progression from initial slow pieces (*nashīd*, which appears in Spanish as *anaxir*, then *basīṭ*) to final fast ones (*muḥarrakāt* followed by *ahzāj*) and, even if now more elaborate, the same basic plan is retained in the modern *nawba*.¹⁰ But whatever the date of the institutionalising of the form, it is clear that the general progression from slow to fast is an ancient feature, and certain specifics may be traced back to early Abbasid practice. Thus the sequence *nashīd*, *basīṭ* is already mentioned in connexion with Ziryāb's teacher Ishāq al-Mawṣili,¹¹ although rather than being two separate types of song they appear to be contrasting sections within the same song, and the mention of an internal transition from one to the other by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kātib (late 4th/10th to early 5th/11th century) indicates that such was still the case at the end of the 4th/10th century.¹² In addition to referring to this particular sequence al-Ḥasan also mentions that the beginning should be in slow tempo, with a *nashīd* or *istihlāl* (which differs from the *nashīd* in being based on even smaller fragments of the text, possibly no more than a single word—thereby, it may be conjectured, providing an opportunity for the singer to demonstrate skill in improvisation). The lighter, quicker rhythms *ramal* and *hazaj*, in contrast, come towards the end of the performance.¹³

Even if we have here no specification of the total sequence, and no mention of the *nawba* as such, the typological resemblance is clear. Nevertheless, unless we are to suppose that the crystallisation of the *nawba* into a suite form consisting of a specific number of movements, each with particular conventional musical (and possibly also textual) characteristics, took place considerably earlier in Spain than elsewhere, it may be concluded that it is unlikely to have reached a stable, well-recognised form before the 5th/11th century. In the earliest surviving description of a contemporary

nawba, that of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (580/1184-651/1253), we encounter not the *muḥarrakāt* and *ahzāj* attributed to Ziryāb but *muwashshahāt* and *azjāl*, that is, song-types relating to the strophic verse forms which emerged most probably during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries,¹⁴ and we must suppose either that these newly introduced forms eventually ousted older ones from a pre-existing *nawba* structure or, rather more likely, that it was only after their ready entry into a looser slow to fast sequence of pieces that others were shed, allowing the *nawba* to emerge as a stable entity.

According to al-Tifāshī, the *nawba* consists of the sequence *nashīd*, *ṣawt*, *muwashshah* and *zajal*, the *nashīd* incorporating an *istiḥlāl*, the *ṣawt* not.¹⁵ These first two movements evidently incorporate for al-Tifāshī, who has a keen sense of differing regional styles and an equally clear conception of what is ancient and what modern, the oldest layer of the contemporary music of Muslim Spain, and he is in general keen to stress the conservative core of this tradition, contrasting it with that of the East, which he stigmatises as having become so indebted to Persian modes and styles that its singers are generally incapable of performing the ancient Arab repertoire. Indeed, they are said to be unable to pronounce Arabic properly, and even when they can cope with the text they are unable to sing it in the old style which, it is implied, was more complex.¹⁶ Differences between East and West in the ability to perform ancient songs (or song texts) are matched (and, presumably, reinforced) by differences of melodic habit, in relation to which al-Tifāshī again stresses the modernity of the modal and compositional procedures (*tarā'iq talḥīn*) in the East. Although, unfortunately, no technical details are given, he makes it clear that in his day East and West had evolved separate modal systems. That of the East provides in its nomenclature clear evidence of the incorporation of Persian elements, and is already organised into the two sets of 12 and 6 modes which will receive their canonical form in the 7th/13th century descriptions of Ṣafiyy al-Dīn,¹⁷ and which are prefigured in the works of earlier Eastern writers.¹⁸

For the West, however, al-Tifāshī mentions no more than four modes: *khusrawānī*, *muṭlaq*, *mazmūm* and *mujannab*.¹⁹ Traces of this nomenclature may still be found in later Eastern theoretical treatises, but it is evident that it is there considered both marginal and ancient.²⁰ Further indications to support al-Tifāshī's claim that the tradition to which these terms relate is more conservative than the Eastern one may be found in al-Ḥasan's treatise, which cites three of them and implies that two, despite certain innovations affecting their structure, are essentially survivals from the early modal system that received its definitive codification at the hands of Ishāq al-Mawṣilī.²¹ It is also of some interest to note that for al-Ḥasan the beginning pieces of a sequence (i.e. those occupying what for al-Tifāshī are the *nashīd* and *basīṭ* slots) should be in either *mazmūm* or *muṭlaq*, and if this association between forms and modes were later extended to cover *khusrawānī* and *mujannab* as

well it could be that al-Tifāshī's list is incomplete and that, as comparisons with both earlier and later practice would suggest, there were other modes in existence at the time, for the passage in question is not designed as an exhaustive account of the modal system, but rather as an anthology of song texts specific to the *nashīd* and *basīṭ* forms: there are no examples of *muwashshah* and *zajal* texts and, consequently, no mention of any modes that might have been particularly associated with these forms.²² But whatever the range of modes employed in Muslim Spain in the 7th/13th century, it is certain that the modern Maghribi system is considerably different. Indeed, of the four mode names mentioned by al-Tifāshī only two, *mazmūm* and *mujannab*, survive into the modern period.²³ It is true that discontinuity of nomenclature should not necessarily be interpreted as indicating discontinuity of structure or repertoire, but the present set of mode names certainly includes later additions, some of them imports from the East introduced during the period of Turkish ascendancy. Of the 25 modes recorded by al-Ḥā'ik, and current therefore in the 12th/18th century, at least six may be adjudged to be of Eastern provenance, and it follows that little or nothing of Andalusī origin is likely to survive in these.

Sketchy as the material may be that relates to form or mode, it is at least greater than that for rhythm. On this topic al-Tifāshī is unfortunately silent, and the history of the rhythmic cycles employed in the Maghribi tradition, the majority of which are peculiar to it, remains obscure. Integral to the early Abbasid system codified by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī were the rhythmic cycles described, with varying degrees of precision and complexity, first by al-Kindī and then by al-Fārābī, and it is these that would have been introduced into Muslim Spain by Ziryāb and the other musicians who came from the East.

But how they might have developed there is impossible to say. Even in the East, where several later theorists provide definitions of the rhythmic cycles in use in their day, the historical changes affecting them are by no means easy to determine. The rhythmic cycles described in the 7th/13th century by Ṣafīyy al-Dīn are explicitly stated to be those used by the Arabs, contrasting therefore with others favoured by the Persians,²⁴ but there is no evidence to suggest that they should also be considered representative of the rhythms of court music in the West, and there is certainly little that could link them to the cycles now found in the Maghrib, most of which are considerably shorter, i.e. have fewer time units per cycle.²⁵ If we consider *khaff*, the one instance of the survival of an early cycle name, we find that whereas in Tunisia it now has the form 6/4 **INSERT PIECE OF MUSIC**,²⁶ in Turkey it is a cycle of no fewer than 32 time units, and it is of this latter form that the versions provided by earlier theorists are precursors.²⁷ It is thus by no means unlikely that by the 7th/13th century, if not before, there were differences between West and East in the rhythmic cycles used as well as in the modal system. The emergence of quite distinct repertoires that such separate lines

of development would encourage is further reflected in the fact that by the time of al-Tifāshī the East also differed from the West in the identity of the movements that made up the *nawba*, so that in virtually every aspect of style and structure it provided a contrast with what he sees as the retention of the old style (*al-ṭarīq al-qadīm*) in Muslim Spain, thereby rendering unlikely any continuation of the diffusion eastwards of *muwashshah* and *zajal* songs that had been witnessed in earlier centuries.²⁸ It may be noted that al-Tifāshī further distinguishes an intermediate style in Tunisia (Ifriqiya) which is lighter than the Spanish but melodically more florid (*akthar naḡhaman*) than the Eastern.

But what is meant by the heavy, complex Spanish style? Evidently, we are not dealing with a generalisation covering all genres. The characterisation almost certainly refers in the first instance to the slower, more solistic *nashīd* and *ṣawt* forms—the only ones for which al-Tifāshī identifies texts and composers—and it is again primarily to this segment of the repertoire that his remarks about performance features and the training of performers must be deemed to relate. Thus, having listed the first lines of the songs of the ancient (and evidently, for him, prestigious) repertoire, he emphasises that such songs were designed for court performance,²⁹ and proceeds to mention anecdotes underlining their technical difficulty and potentially enormous duration. In the performance of a single line by one Andalusī singer he claims to have counted no fewer than 74 *hazzāt* ("vibrations", meaning presumably something like a shake), while on another grand occasion at which he was present a singing girl spent no less than two hours on one line. With all due allowance for exaggeration, we have here an indication that in this area at least the expert performer operated towards the improvisation end of the improvisation-composition continuum. For al-Tifāshī such expertise was concentrated in Seville and, more interestingly (another contrast with the East), was in the hands of elderly female singers who had established a monopoly, transmitting their arts to slave-girls who would then be sold at a price, we are assured, determined solely by their musical accomplishments. Their value (from 1000 Maghribi *dinārs* upwards) was underwritten by an accompanying catalogue of the repertoire they had mastered, thus demonstrating that skill in improvisation had at least to be matched, if not exceeded, by the ability to memorise a vast number of compositions.

These normally comprised not just the difficult classical songs for competent performers of which the wealthy cultured élites were prepared to pay such high prices, but also whole *nawbas*, sometimes as many as 500, it is claimed, and included therefore the *muwashshah* and *zajal* repertoire also. Now, it is clear that although certain complex forms required the skills of highly trained experts who, in all probability, would only be appreciated by a sophisticated minority, there is no reason to suppose that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* fell into this category, and we are faced therefore with the question

of whether there was a significant gulf between court music and folk music and, if so, of the extent to which the *nawba* (and its specialist performers) might bridge it. Certainly there is no particular problem in positing an audience part sophisticated, part popular nor, indeed, in accepting the possibility of what may have been originally a folk-music form, characterised by alternating solo and chorus sections, gradually gaining acceptance at court. We are not, it may be assumed, faced with a contrast as stark as that between highly virtuosic coloratura arias and the simplest of hymn tunes: a more reasonable analogy could perhaps be found in the modern Iraqi *maqām* tradition, where in the typical performance context of a family celebration the expertise of the solo singer would be listened to attentively only by the cognoscenti, while the whole audience would enthusiastically join in the lighter *pasta* which rounds off each group of *maqāms* (*faṣl*).

If we now edge towards the question of how Arab musical styles might have been accepted or indeed adopted by the Christian population, and vice versa, we may note, first, that there is some evidence, in anecdotes of singing slave-girls adorning Christian courts or households,³⁰ to point to the most sophisticated style of Arab singing finding enthusiastic reception. But such evidence is by no means conclusive: anecdotes of this kind may be preserved because they represented the exception rather than the rule, and where such singers were acquired through conquest they may have resembled mounted trophies, tokens of victory indicating ostentation rather than comprehension. In any case, it may be assumed that the kind of cultural contact that would lead to significant and durable exchange was more likely to have involved popular styles and to have occurred at the popular level.³¹ That such contact, and exchange, may have begun at a very early date is suggested by al-Tifāshī, whose historical perception—even if unbuttressed by source references—is striking in its clear acceptance of the confluence of two cultural streams. For him the old Andalusī song, that is, the music of the first decades of the Muslim conquest, before even Ziryāb's predecessors from the East arrived, was either Christian in style or was the song of Arab camel-drivers, the *ḥudā'*. It is reasonable to suppose that the primary purpose of this reference to the *ḥudā'* was to reflect the quite commonly expressed view that it was the earliest genre of singing known to the Arabs, antedating the emergence of *ghinā'*, the ultimate forebear of court music, and consequently to imply that the only genres the first immigrants brought with them were those of folk song.

The reference to a Christian style is less easy to interpret. But on the assumption that al-Tifāshī would hardly dwell on indigenous forms that were unknown to the Muslim population we may detect here the first signs of cultural influence, probably in the form of contrafact songs resulting from the adaptation of Arabic words to tunes that originally had Latin or, more likely, proto-Romance texts.³² Al-Tifāshī goes on to tell us that the style of

Ziryāb then held sway for some two centuries until, in a crucial new stage of cultural interaction, Ibn Bājja "fused Christian song with Eastern song, thereby creating a style found only in Spain",³³ and further refinements to this base resulted in the final apotheosis of the compositions of Abū 'l-Husayn b. al-Ḥāsib al-Mursī (fl. ca. 600/1200). The reported fact of Ibn Bājja's innovation is of considerable importance, for such integration can only be possible in the context of a degree of similarity between the types of music practised by the two communities rendering them mutually permeable. But concerning the nature of the resulting changes we can, unfortunately, only speculate. Ibn Bājja is noted as a composer of distinction as well as a theorist, and texts for several of his songs are recorded by al-Tifāshī, who also states that he refined (*tahdhīb*) the *istiḥlāl* and *'amal* (thus demonstrating, incidentally, that the former was now viewed as a fully composed section).³⁴ Of his individual style, however, nothing is said, so that the nature of the Christian component remains elusive.

But equally elusive, in many respects, is the nature of the Eastern, Muslim component. It is therefore hardly surprising to find, just as with the cognate question of whether Arabic models influenced the development of troubadour poetry with regard to both thematic resources and strophic structures, that attitudes towards the possibility of significant Arab musical influences on medieval Europe have varied between ardent espousal and unyielding rejection. Discussion of the degree to which such contrary conclusions have been shaped by cultural bias had perhaps best proceed within the context of a critique of orientalism, and will not be pursued here; but what is abundantly clear is that differing, indeed diametrically opposed, hypotheses can best flourish where, as has sadly been shown to be the case with regard to music, the ground is uncluttered by significant amounts of evidence.

In certain areas, nevertheless, it is possible to be more specific, and we may consider first the domain of theory. With regard to the core topics of sound, intervals and their various combinations (approached in a way that justified the inclusion of music among the mathematical sciences, the medieval quadrivium), rhythmic analysis, and the classification and discussion of instruments, it appears that the debt of Western Europe to Muslim Spain is negligible. For all the considerable amount of translation from Arabic into Latin that survives in technical fields such as medicine and philosophy, there is no evidence that any of the major musicological treatises of al-Kindī and al-Fārābī were ever translated. Of al-Kindī there is no trace, while virtually all that we have of al-Fārābī is a general classificatory work, the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, which happens to contain a brief section on music.³⁵ Borrowings from this appear in the *De Divisione Philosophiae* of Gundisalvi (fl. 1130-50), and also in 13th- and 14th-century musical treatises such as the *De Musica* of Jerome of Moravia and the *Quatuor Principalia Musicae* of Simon Tunstede, but as a contribution to the development of musical thought it does

little more than supply (or resuscitate) a conceptual distinction between theory (*musica speculativa*) and practice (*musica activa*).³⁶ Of the elaborate theories of mode and rhythm nothing was transferred to Western Europe, and it would be reasonable to speculate that the cause, straightforwardly, was not that the existence of such a literature was wholly unknown to the translators but rather that its subject matter did not engage them sufficiently to merit attention, particularly when aspects of the Greek theoretical heritage were already available in the form given them by Boethius.³⁷ What filters through from al-Fārābī is thus not only minor but incidental, and results from a general intellectual indebtedness rather than a specifically musical one.

Instances of Arabic elements of vocabulary derived from other sources may also be encountered, but again without necessarily indicating a musical influence. A particularly striking case is that of the terms *elmuarifa* and *elmuahym*, of evident Arabic origin even if the etyma are not immediately apparent, which occur in a passage of Anonymous IV dealing with mensural notation. From their presence in this context the conclusion was drawn (with hindsight one can fairly say jumped to) by Farmer that they provided evidence of an Arab influence affecting, if not indeed inspiring, the emergence of the medieval rhythmic modes.³⁸ Closer inspection reveals, however, that these terms relate not to notational function but to note design, and that they are derived from the Arabic terms for the relevant geometric shapes—*al-munḥarif* ("trapezium") and *al-muʿayyan* ("rhombus"). The influence, therefore, lies in the field of mathematics, and the appearance of these terms in a musical text is fortuitous.³⁹

If imported concepts here impinge on a musical text, we may find elsewhere instances of notions relating to music appearing in generally non-musical contexts. The musical influence of Ibn Sīnā, for example (whose large-scale chapter in the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* was, like the other major theoretical treatises, evidently unknown in the West), is confined to the medical dictum "inter omnia exercitia sanitatis cantare melius est" behind which lurks an interesting and complex set of ideas on musical therapeutics linked to notions of physical and psychic equilibrium and, through them, to cosmological schemata. A further, if rather mysterious, instance of these—reminiscent, conceptually, of the representation of the soul through Ziryāb's fifth string—is the set of *chordae* recorded by Odo of Cluny, among which we find the evidently Arabic-derived *scembs*, *caemar*, and *nar*. While some of the other terms may also reasonably be considered of Arabic origin it must, however, be conceded that no model is known for the set as a whole: its precise origin, and hence the significance of Arab musical cosmology as an influence, is unclear.⁴⁰ Such cosmological ideas, it should be stressed, were not just the recondite playthings of specialists, but part of the general intellectual climate within which the performance of music was comprehended. A theory of appropriate times of day for the performance of various modes

has still not been entirely lost from the Islamic world today, and one may note that in the Maghrib the modes are known not as *maqāmāt* but as *ṭubūʿ*, a term that implies the notion of affective character and, through that, potentially, the broader concept of ethos and the ramifications of cosmological associations.

The most tangible evidence for Arab influence lies, however, neither in the realm of concepts and attitudes, nor in that of modal and rhythmic structures, but in the wide range of instruments that medieval Europe acquired from Islamic sources. Here lexical and iconographic evidence comes to the fore. The extensive vocabulary of Arabic origin found not only in Iberian languages but also in French and even English is itself a sufficient indication of cultural indebtedness: lute (*ʿūd*), rebec (*rabāb*) and nakers (*naqqāra*) are only the most obvious of a whole series of linguistic borrowings demonstrating that a significant proportion of the medieval European instrumentarium was made up of instruments either directly of Spanish-Arab provenance or sufficiently affected by contact with similar types used in Muslim Spain for the Arabic name to be adopted in place of the indigenous one.

The historical importance of the introduction of the *ʿūd* to Europe is clear: it was to become the major vehicle of domestic music making throughout the Renaissance. But that of the *rabāb* was perhaps even greater, for although the characteristically boat-shaped vertically held form still used in the Maghrib was to survive in Europe only as a folk instrument, the new concept of bowing that it introduced was enthusiastically applied to other types of lute, often now braced against the chest, thus leading to the emergence of the viol family which would later challenge the dominance of the lute. Terms such as *guitarra morisca* show that the *ʿūd* was not the only plucked lute of Arab provenance, while a further type of string instrument that was to prove influential is represented by the *qānūn*, psaltery.

Percussion and wind instruments also figure prominently in the list of borrowings. Among the former we find, in addition to nakers, cymbals (*ṣunūj* > *sonajas*), frame-drum (*al-duff* > *adufe*) and drum (*al-ṭabl* > *atabal*), and among the latter trumpet (*al-naḥr* > *añafil*) and hornpipe (*al-būq* > *albugue*). The list could be continued,⁴¹ and the degree of cultural indebtedness it indicates can hardly have been restricted to the mere acquisition of the instrument itself: we are dealing not with exotic objects mysteriously deposited at the end of a trade route but with ones that centuries of close contact had rendered thoroughly familiar, and it is sensible to assume that along with them were adopted for the most part their characteristic sounds and playing techniques. In this connexion we may mention the celebrated 7th/13th-century miniatures of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* which, in addition to providing invaluable information about the form, dimensions and sometimes even playing technique of various instruments, demonstrate that Christian and Moorish musicians played together at the court of Alfonso el Sabio, king of

León and Castile (1252-1284).⁴² There must have been, therefore, either a common repertoire or, failing that, at least sufficient similarity of musical language to ensure mutual appreciation and acceptance, and that being so it is difficult to resist the conclusion that a certain amount of melodic material—if not whole pieces then at least commonly used and idiomatic phrases—must have been taken over with the instruments.

It is here that we reach the most difficult area of the debate on influence. It concerns the core problem of the extent to which the early secular music of Europe may have been indebted to Muslim Spain not only for certain aspects of what might be called its mentality—ideas about the nature, power and associations of music—and, more importantly, for many of the instruments on which it was played, but also for part of its melodic substance. Not surprisingly, given the paucity of evidence to hand, the question has provoked diametrically opposed responses, as witness on the one hand the claims of Ribera that the rhythmic structures of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* bear unmistakable signs of Arab inspiration,⁴³ and on the other the denial of any such influence by scholars such as Ursprung.⁴⁴ It is, further, in this area that we approach, through the parallelism of musical and poetic forms, the equally contentious and intractable issue of possible literary borrowings. In short, given that we are dealing with poetic genres that were normally sung, if there were literary influences should we expect there to have been musical influences also; or, indeed, could cultural interchange have operated initially at the level of the song, musical material even acting as a conduit for the transfer of literary motifs? Alternatively if, despite the considerable weight of circumstantial evidence, the case for literary influences cannot be established, should we regard it as more likely that any melodic borrowings that took place should have been without textual trammels?

The main genre in relation to which arguments for literary influence have been articulated is the troubadour *canço*. For this a number of melodies have survived, and the evidence they supply is further reinforced by that derivable from the much larger number of songs that have survived for its North French counterpart, the trouvère *chanson*. Further, setting aside in the present context any consideration of the possible origins of the topoi of courtly love to examine only the musical dimension, we may add to the above a further corpus of melodies originating within Spain itself, that of the thematically quite distinct *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, many of which are in *zajal* form, providing therefore further evidence of a strophic song type characteristic of 13th-century Christian culture. But for Muslim Spain there is no equivalent evidence. We may accept that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were normally sung, and can reasonably presume that the formal structure of the song coincided with that of the verse, the most characteristic feature being the recurrence, at the end of each strophe, of a refrain, while at least partially contrasting material would be used to set the intervening verses of each strophe.⁴⁵ But any

claim about the melodic nature of the setting can only be based on inference, appeal being made either to the evidence of theoretical and other writings or to that provided by the possible survival of parts of the Andalusī musical repertoire in North Africa.

The former, as we have seen, is of little help. With regard to the latter, we may note first that the tradition itself lays claim to be Andalusī, even making very specific connexions, so that the style of Seville, for example, is said to be perpetuated in Tunis, that of Granada in Fez and Tétouan, and that of Córdoba in Tlemcen. But more important than any such hypothetical twinings—which are to be treated with the greatest reserve—is the general phenomenon of several centuries of mutual contact reinforced by the frequently itinerant way of life of the professional minstrel and, in particular, by the diffusion of the Spanish court repertoire throughout the urban centres of the Maghrib brought about by the agency of slave girls such as those described by al-Tifāshī. In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries contact would have been further facilitated by the creation of political union at the hands of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties and, as the *reconquista* gained momentum during the following centuries, would have been given fresh impetus by the influx of Spanish Muslims caused by emigration and, finally, expulsion. There is more, therefore, to the claim of Andalusī origins than the possibly recent elaboration of a psychology of cultural nostalgia; and insofar as this element is present it would, in any case, have helped to preserve whatever residue of Andalusī material may have survived by reinforcing the prevailing conservative attitudes, noted by 19th- and 20th-century observers, which place considerable emphasis on the faithful reproduction of an inherited corpus to which no fresh additions may be made.⁴⁶ In addition to this defensive ideological framework we may note the conservatism of the Maghribi tradition, when compared with its Eastern equivalent, with regard to technical features such as the accordatura of the lute⁴⁷ or the retention of a more ancient modal nomenclature.

But potentially far more significant than such essentially circumstantial evidence is the fact that certain texts have remained within the musical repertoire over long periods of time. A 7th/13th century *muwashshah*, for example, is cited by al-Maqqarī as still current in his day, appears again in the 12th/18th-century song text anthology of al-Ḥā'ik, and survives in the present day Moroccan repertoire.⁴⁸ This appears to be a powerful indication of continuity within the tradition which, when read against the background of the conservatism previously observed by al-Tifāshī, suggests that it is not unreasonable to hope that the melodic properties of the setting now current might provide some insight into the practice of earlier centuries. Any such hope must, nevertheless, be entertained with extreme diffidence, for continuity is not to be equated with lack of development and change. The historical evolution of the *nawba*, within which these pieces occur, has already

been mentioned: it is today a more complex structure, with a greater number of parts, than its medieval precursor. Performance practice has also changed in certain respects, for even if solo singing still occurs, the dominant alternation is now that between chorus and orchestra, and although *‘ūd* and *rabāb* remain prominent, the great variety of instruments mentioned in medieval literary sources and illustrated in miniature paintings is no longer to be found. The instrumental palette of modern Maghribi art music is relatively narrow, and one of its primary colours, in an interesting reversal of instrumental borrowing, is that of the violin. For al-Tifāshī, in contrast, one of the most popular instruments, held in high esteem and frequently used to accompany dancing and singing, was the *būq*, a form of hornpipe, and that it was also used in court performances is shown by its being depicted in one of the miniatures of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. But there is no trace of this instrument in the art-music ensembles of today. Thus certain changes can be documented, however sketchily, and there is every reason to suppose that the repertoire was similarly affected, not merely by loss and substitution, but by developments of a more general order. Indeed, comparison with the traditions of the Islamic Middle East would suggest that stylistic and structural change could on occasion be quite rapid and far-reaching in its effects.

There can thus be no certainty that the settings of ancient texts now current preserve ancient features. However, if such features survive anywhere it is in these songs that they are most likely to be found, and we may note that the current repertoire contains ten pieces that have been identified as settings of classical *muwashshahāt*.⁴⁹ But accepting that they are most unlikely to be essentially unaltered survivals of Andalusī originals, the immediate issue is one of considering whether there are any available criteria that might enable us to evaluate the extent to which they could derive from early pieces or, failing that, at least be paradigmatically representative in that they exhibit certain of the melodic and formal properties of the songs of the medieval period.

In seeking indicators of period more precise than subjective impressions we may turn first to features of modal and rhythmic structure. Thus one of the two *muwashshahāt* that al-Ḥilw considers to be authentic Andalusī pieces, *man ḥabbak yaṣ‘ub ‘alayh al-tajāfī*, is, encouragingly, in *al-dil*, one of the core ancient modes. But at the same time it is in the rhythmic cycle *samā‘ī ṭhaqīl*, and it is clear from the evidence of Eastern theorists of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries that *samā‘ī ṭhaqīl* only emerges towards the end of this period. Further, it is equally clear from the examples of notation of ca. 1110/1700 made by Demetrius Cantemir that early pieces in this cycle do not exhibit the melodic patterns—that is, the particular ways in which the melody matches the rhythmic articulation of the cycle—which are now typical of *samā‘ī ṭhaqīl* pieces and which are exemplified by this *muwashshah*. The contrast is made apparent in fig. 1, which presents the first sect-

(i)

Ah _____ man - ھا - bak yaş - 'ub _____ 'a - layh _____
— ah - 'a-lay- hi t-ta - jâ - - - fi _____ ah _____ şil şab -
- bak mā-'ād _____ yâ _____ layl _____ ah _____ yuş-li- [i]h hi-lâ - - -
- fi _____

(ii)

1. 2.

(iii)

Figure 1

ions of (i) the *muwashshah*,⁵⁰ (ii) an Ottoman *samā'i thaqīl* piece attributed to an 11th/17th-century composer, and (iii) a *samā'i thaqīl* piece notated by Cantemir. Now, a number of the instrumental compositions recorded by Cantemir have survived in the repertoire, but very considerably altered: their modern forms are characterised by significant accretions of melodic material, that is, they have a considerably higher number of pitch changes per rhythmic cycle.⁵¹ The difference between (iii) and (i) is analogous, the average figures being 5.4 and 12 respectively, while (ii), with 7.5, shows an intermediate stage of development (note, however, the close resemblance in the melodic-rhythmic profile of cycle 2 between (ii) and (i)). From such general stylistic criteria, therefore, we may determine that *man ḥabbak* must be assigned to the second half of the 12th/18th century at the earliest, and it may be added that the layout of the melody is atypical in that it begins not at the commencement of the cycle but half way through, an innovatory feature suggesting that in its current form it is essentially a 13th/19th century composition: what it most assuredly is not is an ancient piece of Andalusi provenance.

Stylistic evidence of such a conclusive kind is, unfortunately, only rarely forthcoming and with the other pieces we are on less firm ground. Nevertheless, modal identity may be considered a sound initial indicator, especially when we find that the Andalusi *muwashshahāt* identified by Stern in late collections are all in modes that predate the Ottoman period.⁵² Thus although the possibility of a piece being reassigned in the course of its history to another mode cannot be discounted altogether, we may accept that those in modes known not to be ancient are in principle unlikely to preserve authentic Andalusi material. Of the pieces under consideration, no less than five fall into this category: the four in *ṣika* and the one in *kurdī*. These are late additions to the Maghribi mode stock, being first mentioned in Eastern sources, *ṣika* (< *segāh*) in a Persian work of c. 700/1300, *kurdī* in theoretical treatises of no earlier than the 9th/15th century, and their arrival in the West was probably posterior to the extinction of the kingdom of Granada (and certainly some centuries later than the period of potential Arab musical influence in Spain).

Setting these five pieces aside as dubious we are left with just four. One of them is first attested in al-Ḥā'ik, and has since undergone considerable textural reformulation, while the others are settings of texts by two poets of the 7th/13th century (al-Shushtari and Ibn Sahl) and one of the 8th/14th century (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). Consequently, even in the most unlikely eventuality of the present form of these songs preserving, miraculously, the original setting in all essentials, there would still be no guarantee that they were stylistically representative of those earlier centuries during which Arab musical influences might, hypothetically, have affected the early formulation of troubadour and trouvère art-song; and that they do not in fact preserve the original form of the setting is indicated not simply by stylistic analogy with the piece discussed above (it could be contended that there is insufficient uniformity to

adduce this as a conclusive argument) but, crucially, by the textual erosion that they exhibit. Of the three or (normally) five strophes of the original only one or at most two survive, and the most convincing explanation for such dramatic truncation is that loss of text occurs as a result of melodic amplification causing a gradual increase in the duration of each strophe. The total length of the song can then only be kept within reasonable bounds by sacrificing one or more strophes.⁵³ Accordingly, we must consider unrealistic the hope that the current repertoire might provide the key to the specifics of compositional practice in Muslim Spain.

In consequence, influence at the level of melody can be neither demonstrated nor disproved: the evidence is simply insufficient. No doubt the possibility might be entertained the more readily if the melodic character of these Maghribi songs, despite the process of elaboration which, it has been suggested, they have undergone, still evinced similarities (beyond formal properties relatable to common strophic structures) to that of known troubadour, trouvère and *Cantigas* melodies. But that any similarities there may be are inadequate to form the basis of a case can be shown by a brief consideration of two crucial, interrelated aspects, melodic-rhythmic structure and techniques of word-setting. As previously indicated, the history of the rhythmic cycles of the Maghribi tradition cannot be traced with any certainty. The vital point is not, however, that the names of most of the cycles occurring in the pieces in question are not attested in early sources but rather that each piece is throughout in a stable rhythmic cycle, a feature that must also be considered typical of medieval practice in Muslim Spain. Such rhythmic regularity is less easy to detect in the troubadour/trouvère songs, however. Indeed, it has been argued that their melodies are not subject to a particular rhythmic cycle at all, but are essentially isosyllabic, single notes or ligatures being associated with each syllable of the text without being subjected to the strait-jacket of a uniform metre.⁵⁴ (With regard to the *Cantigas*, Ribera's attempt to discern Arab rhythmic structures has been, rightly, rejected: apart from anything else it relies on unjustifiable interpretations of Arabic sources.)⁵⁵

In word setting we also encounter marked differences. However elaborately melismatic vocal styles might be in other genres, the troubadour melodies rarely exhibit more than two pitch changes to a single syllable, while in the modern *muwashshah* six or seven may be encountered and, furthermore, a significant proportion of the whole may be taken up with internal repetitions and, equally characteristically, strings of nonsense syllables inserted between the various segments of the verse text, features alien to the *cançolchanson* or *cantiga*. It is true that if the argument for melodic accretion through time is accepted such features may well have been equally absent from the medieval *muwashshah*, but all we could then presume is that there were fewer stylistic contrasts, leaving a number of broad (and bland) similarities—a predominant diatonicism, analogous melodic procedures, pre-

ference for stepwise melodic movement usually within the range of an octave or less—indicative of nothing more precise than the existence of a common area of musical discourse within which influence (in either direction) might readily be exerted. In any event, even if the negative arguments marshalled above are dismissed as extravagant extrapolations from the flimsiest of evidence, to maintain the case for an Arab musical influence affecting the medieval European strophic song one still has to answer the question of what might have been not only the nature but also the cultural roots of the music to which the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were sung, and, in view of the simple fact that there is no indication of the emergence of strophic songs in the Umayyad and early Abbasid court music to which that of Muslim Spain was heir, we must conclude that, like the verse form, the song form is likely to have been a local innovation. In the absence of specific evidence to the contrary it might well be thought that the fusion of Eastern and Christian elements to which al-Tifāshī refers in relation to Ibn Bājja could also serve as a reasonable encapsulation of the musical processes giving rise to these forms. Indeed, given that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* replace, in the *nawba* as described by al-Tifāshī, the earlier *muḥarrakāt* and *ahzāj* associated with Ziryāb and therefore presumably representative of the purely Arab inheritance, it might well be considered that it was here that the Christian contribution would have been felt most strongly. If so, we may assume that it was not only the *rondeau* and *virelai* song forms that were taken over, but also, at least in the early stages, a number of existing tunes, so that the early Arab examples were likely, accordingly, to have been contrafacts.

It must be emphasised, however, that what is being put forward here is no stronger than reasonable conjecture. What musical evidence we have is essentially neutral, and although it certainly does not run counter to the hypothesis that the *zajal* (and through that, subsequently, the *muwashshah*) was calqued on a pre-existing Romance strophic form with refrain, equally it cannot provide strong support. We are dealing, at the end of the day, with nothing more specific than a balance of probabilities. Comparison with the (admittedly much later) complex song forms that are recorded in Eastern anthologies shows that text sections were often repeated in ways that could have been adapted without difficulty to provide a refrain in a strophic structure, and there is no reason to suppose that such a structure could not have evolved in response to the invention of a new verse form, but if it is accepted that the emergence of the song form was not consequent upon that of the verse form it seems more convincing to suppose that it was taken over from some pre-existing model, evolving thereafter as part of what may well have been a common musical heritage.

At a certain point it is obviously proper—but at the same time comfortably (and comfortingly) vague—to speak of a degree of cultural symbiosis involving Muslim, Christian and Jew. But in the realm of music it is difficult,

apart from the undeniable evidence for a strong Arab impact on the medieval instrumentarium, to evaluate their respective contributions. Miniature paintings may provide additional visual confirmation of the collaboration and mutual comprehensibility that documentary evidence implies, but for Muslim Spain the music that lies behind picture and page remains as elusive and enigmatic as ever.

¹ An annotated list may be consulted in M. Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, (La Bibliothèque Arabe), Paris, 1980, pp.181-82. For broader bibliographical coverage see H. G. Farmer, *The Sources of Arabian Music*, Bearsden, 1940, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1965 and A. Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900)* (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: B X), Munich, 1979; and for a survey of Islamic iconographical materials (including some examples from Spain) see H. G. Farmer, *Islam* (Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lieferung 2), Leipzig, 1976.

² *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, ed. M. Maḥdī, Beirut, 1968, III, 122-33. Ibn Ḥayyān is not mentioned by name, but the whole lengthy passage is introduced by *qāla fi 'l-Muqtabis*.

³ There is no mention of dates of birth or death. For Farmer ("Ziryāb", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first ed., supp.) these are unknown, while Muḥsin Maḥdī (*Nafḥ*, III, 122n.), on the authority of *Al-Muqtabis*, states that he died 40 days before 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (although the year given is not 237 but 238).

⁴ M. b. T. al-Ṭanjī, "Al-Ṭarā'iq wa-'l-alḥān al-mūsīqiyya fi Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus", *Al-Ab-ḥāth: Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*, 21/2,3, 4, 1968, pp. 114-15. Al-Tifāshī calls him *al-imām al-muqaddam*, and states that he *jā'a bi-mā lam ta'hadhu 'l-asmā' wa-ttukhidhat ṭariqatuh maslakan wa-nusiya ghayruhā*. Save to note his origin as a *ghulam* of Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣili and his arrival at the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II no biographical information is given. A translation of the text of al-Tifāshī's two chapters included by al-Ṭanjī may be consulted in B. M. Liu and J. T. Monroe, *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition* (Modern Philology, 125), Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1989, pp. 36-44.

⁵ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*, ed. A. Amīn et al., Cairo, 1949, VI, 34.

⁶ J. M. Nichols, *The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus by Ibn al-Qūṭīya the Cordovan: Translation and Study*, Ph.D thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1975, pp. 148-50. (I am indebted to Mr F. al-Qaisi for drawing my attention to this source.)

⁷ Farmer, "Ziryāb", produces a composite narrative deriving from both al-Maqqarī and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi. Ibn al-Qūṭīya is ignored, despite being included in the references.

⁸ For further details see Guettat, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-13. He notes that the central fifth string would not extend the range, and suggests that the accordatura was *embrassé*, i.e. of the type (for four strings) C-A-D-G. But this is unlikely. If an Eastern accordatura had been introduced (whether or not by Ziryāb is immaterial) it would have been in ascending fourths: D-G-c-f, and this is the type noted by al-Tifāshī in relation to Ibn Bājja (with some variation for the lowest string: al-Ṭanjī, *op. cit.*, p. 115). "Ziryāb's" fifth string is not necessarily purely notional in origin, however. It should be regarded, most probably, as a symbolic reinterpretation of a real fifth string added above the highest pitch string which it would either reinforce (following al-Tifāshī), being the first step towards introducing the now standard double courses, or exceed by a further fourth in order to facilitate extension of the range to a full two octaves.

⁹ Although herself of Spanish (Basque) origin (*Nafḥ*, III, 140), so that she can be seen as a combination of Eastern polish and Western talent.

¹⁰ For details of the main regional variations see Guettat, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-231.

¹¹ Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣḥābānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Cairo, 1932, V, 427.

¹² Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī 'l-Kātib, *Kamāl adab al-ghinā'*, ed. Gh. 'A. Khāshaba and M. A. al-Ḥifnī, Cairo, 1975, p. 28; trans. in A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris, 1972, pp. 55-56.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126/176; 82-83/128-29.

¹⁴ For the relationship between music and verse in the *muwashshah* and *zajal* see Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, the most up to date survey of the field. It also (pp. 8-9) advances the thesis that

the *muwashshah* was derived from the *zajal*. The argument is pursued in J. T. Monroe, "Which Came First, the *Zajal* or the *Muwaššaha*? Some Evidence for the Oral Origins of Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry", *Oral Literature*, 4/1-2, 1989, pp. 38-64 which (like the present chapter) tries to build a case from disconnected and unpromising fragments. If its conclusions are accepted, the emergence of the *zajal* must be dated earlier. Less convincing is the suggestion by I. 'Abbās ("Akḥbār al-ghinā" wa 'l-mughannīn fī 'l-Andalus", *Al-Abḥāth: Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*, 1963/1, pp. 10, 13) that the melodic/formal diversity (*al-tanwī' fī 'l-alḥān*) within the *nawba* may have been one of the causes of the emergence of the *muwashshah* verse form.

¹⁵ This Western *nawba* contrasts with an Eastern one consisting of five movements: *qawl*, *ghazal*, *tarānā* (sic), *zamanāh* (?) and *qawl(-i) dīgar* (al-Ṭanjī, *op. cit.*, p. 97). This will later be reduced to four, the last two being replaced by a movement called *firūdashṭ*. It may also be noted that the Eastern *nawba*, at least as described by the theorists, does not exhibit a clear slow to fast progression.

¹⁶ *Fa-ammā annahum yughannūn fī shay' min al-ash'ār al-aṣriyya al-ajamiyya aw al-'arabiyya aw al-dūbaytī bi-ghinā' qadīm wa 'amal kabīr fa-dhālik ayḍan ma'dūm* 'indahum (al-Ṭanjī, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

¹⁷ Ṣafī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'mīn al-Urmawī 'l-Baghdādī, whose two treatises, the *Kitāb al-adwār* and the *Risāla al-sharafiyya* (both including definitions of these modes), may be consulted in R. D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, Paris, 1938, Vol. III. As al-Tifāshī's mode names differ in certain respects from those of Ṣafī 'l-Dīn we may suspect a degree of local variation within the Eastern tradition at this period.

¹⁸ Kay Kā'ūs, *Qābūs-nāma*, ed. R. Levy (E. W. J. Gibb memorial series, new series, 18), London, 1951, pp. 112-13; Nizāmī (J. C. Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh*, New York-London, 1988, p. 97). One or two are already mentioned by Ibn Sīnā.

¹⁹ Al-Ṭanjī's text has *mujtathth* but (as pointed out by Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 41) this is a misreading. To judge from the number of texts listed, the repertoire for *mujannab* was significantly smaller than that for the other three modes.

²⁰ See O. Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music A. D. 1250-1300* (London Oriental series, 28), Oxford, 1978, pp. 249-52. However, they are also cited in a 6th/12th- or 7th/13th-century Geniza fragment, in which there is no suggestion of their being marginal: see H. Avenary, "Paradigms of Arabic Musical Modes in the Geniza Fragment Cambridge, T. S. N. S. 90, 4", *Yuval*, 4, 1982, pp. 11-25.

²¹ *Mujannab* is essentially not an independent mode but a process affecting already existing modes whereby for the note produced by the first finger fret another, somewhat lower in pitch, is substituted. But *muḥlaq* and *mazmūm* (al-Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Shiloah, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60) are fully independent modes. Of *khusrawānī* there is no mention.

²² Certainly, the existence of more than four modes may be suspected: Guettat (*op. cit.*, p. 169) cites an 8th/14th-century poem in which 13 are mentioned. It should, however, be noted that although al-Ḥasan may be cited in support of the notion of particular modes being preferred for beginning and ending a song sequence, the contrast of emotional effect involved is not quite the same as al-Tifāshī's slow/serious followed by fast/gay: the movement is rather from activity (*nashāt*) to repose (*rāḥa*, *sukūn*) (al-Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27; Shiloah, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-77).

²³ The latter only in the combination *mujannab al-dīl* (see the mode lists quoted in Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26).

²⁴ Of which just one is listed. D'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-76.

²⁵ A list of these cycles may be consulted in Guettat, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-95.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ The earliest (c. 700/1300) being that of Qūṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who defines it as a cycle of 16 time units.

²⁸ Ibn Quzmān, for example, speaks of his *zajals* being sung in the East (Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 2). But in the later Eastern *nawba* there is no *muwashshah* or *zajal*; nor are any included in Eastern song-text collections. On the diffusion of the *muwashshah*, including later literary developments, see in general S. M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, ed. L. P. Harvey, Oxford, 1974, pp. 72-80.

²⁹ *Fī majālis al-mulūk wa 'l-ru'asā' 'alā 'l-sharāb wa-ghayrih* (al-Ṭanjī, *op. cit.*, p. 102).

³⁰ A. Y. Mansoor, *Die arabische Theorie. Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des abendländischen Minnesangs*, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 162-63.

³¹ Insight into this area may be gained from the materials relating to performances at festivities and ceremonies assembled in J. Ribera y Tarragó, *La música de las Cantigas*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 75-95.

³² Cf. Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 6. For a further, explicit indication of musical borrowings from Christians see I. 'Abbās, *op. cit.*, p. 18 (citing *Masālik al-abṣār*, I, 385).

³³ *Mazaja ghinā' al-naṣārā bi-ghinā' al-Mashriq wa-khtara' ʿariqa lā tūjad illā bi 'l-Andalus* (al-Tañjī, *op. cit.*, p. 115).

³⁴ He is also, incidentally, reported as having added to the *istihlāl* and 'amal of a piece that Ziryāb had sung.

³⁵ See H. G. Farmer, "The Influence of al-Fārābī's 'Ihsa' al-'ulum' (*De Scientiis*) on the Writers on Music in Western Europe", *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 561-92. A similar but slighter work, the *De Ortu Scientiarum*, has also been attributed to al-Fārābī. On this see H. G. Farmer, "A Further Arabic-Latin Writing on Music", *JRAS*, 1933, pp. 307-22.

³⁶ For further information on the diffusion of this material see E. R. Perkuhn, *Die Theorien zum arabischen Einfluss auf die europäische Musik des Mittelalters* (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orient's, 26), Walldorf-Hessen, 1976, pp. 38-45. This work provides the most thorough and judicious assessment to date of the evidence for and against Arab influences.

³⁷ See the entry in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

³⁸ H. G. Farmer, "Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory", *JRAS*, 1925/1, pp. 61-80.

³⁹ See Perkuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66 and C. Burnett, "The Use of Geometric Terms in Medieval Music: Elmuahim and Elmuarifa and the Anonymous IV", *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 70/2, 1986, pp. 198-205. Further areas in which (generally unconvincing) claims have been made are solmisation (Perkuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-72), alphabetical notation (*ibid.*, pp. 46-58) and lute tablature (*ibid.*, pp. 59-61).

⁴⁰ For a more extensive discussion of this area see Perkuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-82. For the similar situation resulting from the parallel Arab-European contact in Sicily see C. Burnett, "Teoria e pratica musicali arabe in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale in età normanna e sveva", *Nuove Effemeridi*, 11, 1990, pp. 79-89.

⁴¹ For a fuller catalogue, including cases where Arabic etymologies have been suggested which have failed to find general acceptance, see H. Hickmann, "Die Musik des arabisch-islamischen Bereichs" in *Orientalische Musik* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Ergänzungsband IV), Leiden-Cologne, 1970, pp. 129-33. See also the discussion and detailed evaluation in Perkuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-213.

⁴² A point confirmed by the identity of the musicians employed, nine years after his death, at the court of his son, no less than half of them being non-Christian (Sadie, *op. cit.*, art. "cantiga") With regard to the miniatures, it may be observed that although due account must always be taken of both conventions of representation and influences (and that one or two show clear compositional parallels with the Ḥarīrī *maqāmāt* miniatures (Paris MS f. ar. 5847) has been shown by G. Menéndez Pidal ("Los manuscritos de las cantigas", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 150/1, 1962, pp. 25-51)) there is no obvious reason to think that the instruments are depicted in other than a realistic manner.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-121.

⁴⁴ O. Ursprung, "Um die Frage nach dem arabischen Einfluss auf die abendländische Musik des Mittelalters", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 16, 1934, pp. 129-41, 355-57. But what is essentially denied is the existence of evidence.

⁴⁵ Modern examples are mainly of the *rondeau* type: see J. S. Pacholczyk, "The Relationship between the Nawba of Morocco and the Music of the Troubadours and Trouvères", *The World of Music*, 25/2, 1983, pp. 5-16.

⁴⁶ See e.g. A. Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, Paris, 1939, p. 98.

⁴⁷ But the present tuning (e.g. C-A-D-G) is a Maghribi feature not, as al-Tifāshī notes, an Andalusi one.

⁴⁸ The textual sources are given by Stern (*op. cit.*, p. 71), the music by Liu and Monroe (*op. cit.*, p. 95). The former speaks justifiably of continuity, the latter (p. 3), with more enthusiasm than accuracy, of "an unbroken chain of earwitness accounts".

⁴⁹ Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-101.

⁵⁰ Copied from Liu and Monroe, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ See O. Wright, "Aspects of Historical Change in the Turkish Classical Repertoire" in R. Widdess (ed.), *Musica Asiatica*, 5, 1988, pp. 1-108.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁵³ Liu and Monroe, who provide a most valuable review of sources, and are generally sound in their conclusions, are here left with the unreconciled juxtaposition of the embellishment already noted by al-Tifāshī on the one hand, and on the other what they call "melodic erosion" (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33). Embellishment may lead, rather, to eventual formal erosion.

⁵⁴ J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge (England), 1986, pp. 500-04.

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Perkuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-32. However, the solutions of his chief critic, Anglès, the doyen of Cantigas studies, have not themselves found universal acceptance.

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ART AND ARCHITECTURE



TWO PARADOXES IN THE ISLAMIC ART OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA

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Introduction

Of all the lands of the earth which have preserved masterpieces of Islamic architecture, or from which unique monuments of craftsmanship attributable to Muslim artisans or to Muslim patronage have come, two are no longer ruled by Muslims. They are India, the home of the Taj Mahal and of Fatehpur Sikri, and then there is Spain. Of the numerous sub-cultures which shaped European Christian civilisation in the Middle Ages and in pre-modern times, two were for several centuries in close connection with and at times even subjugated by the world of Islam. One is the Eastern and South-Eastern European world of, for the most part, orthodox Christians and the other is a major portion of the Iberian Peninsula, more specifically that part of the Peninsula which has been called al-Andalus, the southern section of which has become the contemporary province of Andalucía; for, in the Middle Ages, al-Andalus was to Arab Muslim writers every part of the Peninsula under Muslim rule and control.

I shall not, in the context of this essay, pursue the parallels between the intercultural contacts of the Iberian Peninsula and those of other parts of the Eurasian and African worlds, though I shall refer to them toward the end of my observations, as they may well provide a useful interpretative framework within which to see and to explain the art of Muslim Spain. What I shall try to show is that the art of Islamic Spain can be seen in two ways. It can be part of a large body of monuments known as "Islamic", that is to say as made by or for people who professed the Muslim faith; or else it can be seen as Spanish or Hispanic, that is as the creation of a land with traditions which would have been, in part at least, independent of the religious, ethnic or cultural allegiances of rulers of the moment.

Good arguments can be made, and have been made in the past, in favour of either one of these positions or approaches toward the arts of Muslim Spain; for indeed each one of them is justified by some at least of the factual characteristics of the monuments involved, but especially by reference to two diametrically opposed ideological positions. I and others in this volume will deal with the monuments. The ideologies are less easy to define. On the one hand, there lies the achievement of a land remote from the centres of Muslim power and creativity; and that achievement can be interpreted as a demonstration of the divinely inspired power of a Muslim ethos or of the

brilliantly superior cultural bind that tied together, through a single faith with many variants, as diverse a crowd as Turkified Iranians from Central Asia and the descendants of Arabised Berbers and of Hispanic women. But there is an alternative position to what may be called a pan-Islamic ideology explaining culture through the forceful mediation of the faith and of the ethic attached to it. From this other point of view, the qualities of a land's art are explained through the permanent operation of a national spirit, of an indefinable attribute of a land and of its past, through the presence of the "earth" and of the "dead", as theoreticians of nationalism defined the nation in the early years of our century.

The debate between these ideologies is not one in which someone who is neither a Spaniard nor a Muslim should intervene, but it is proper to wonder why it is that apparently incompatible attitudes of interpretation have emerged around the art of Islamic Spain, as they had also grown around its culture and indeed its very existence. I shall explore this question by identifying two apparent paradoxes concerning the art of Islamic Spain and by weaving various thoughts and observations around these paradoxes. The first is the apparently unique character, both typologically and aesthetically, of so many works of Spanish Islamic art. The second one is the unusual fit between forms assumed to be Islamic and patrons of art or settings for art which are not. In conclusion I shall return to some of the broader issues brought up at the beginning.

I. *The monuments of Spain*

The Great Mosque in Córdoba is acknowledged as a major masterpiece of Islamic architecture, and many scholars have used it as a prototypical exemplar of the hypostyle mosque which creates large spaces for the whole community by multiplying a single support, in this instance the column with arches, in a flexible manner adjusted to increases and decreases in the population of believers. And it is true that, at a very simple and elementary level, the mosque of Córdoba is planned and designed according to principles comparable to those which created the mosque of Qayrawān in Tunisia, the Azhar or the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, the Aqsā mosque in Jerusalem, and, in slightly different ways, the large brick mosques of Samarra in Iraq and of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo. All these are buildings earlier than the Cordoban one or roughly contemporary with its latest phase in the 4th/10th century. After the 4th/10th century thousands of mosques, especially the ones in the Muslim West, would continue this hypostyle tradition.

But to see the mosque of Córdoba as "just" another example of a well-known type is to misunderstand the peculiar qualities of the building. As several present-day architects and architectural critics have pointed out, it combines a number of unusual features: a subtle harmony of proportions be-

tween elements like thin columns and horse-shoe arches which are not themselves original; a geometry of the arch which gives it a feeling of repose rather than the strain of being a carrier of thrusts; an equilibrium between single supports and mass ensembles like naves; occasionally the conscious breakdown of nuclear forms like arches into segments which can then be recomposed in alternate ways; and, finally, the stunning *mihrāb* with the three domes in front of it, an ensemble glittering with rich mosaics for the representation of highly composed vegetal motifs and for the copying of long written messages, and yet mysterious in the deep niche of the *mihrāb* itself, which is like an empty chamber, or else the gate toward another realm than that of man.

Some of these features, like the mosaic technique or the expensive *mihrāb* area, can be explained by specific local contingencies, namely the politico-cultural relations with the Byzantine world which explain the mosaics themselves and the existence of more elaborate ceremonies than was usually the case around the daily prayers required of all Muslims. In Córdoba, perhaps in imitation of Christian practices, the muezzins came and prayed in front of the *mihrāb* before calling for prayer. There was in the mosque a gigantic copy of the Quran which required two men to move it, and in which were included four leaves from a Quran attributed to the caliph Uthmān, a hero of Umayyad tradition, who had allegedly been assassinated while reading the Holy Book; drops of blood were in fact found on these pages, which had obviously become symbols for something much greater than pages of text. This Quran was carried around at prayer time preceded by an acolyte with a candle, just as the Gospels are carried in a church.

But, even beyond such specific details, which are original to the mosque of Córdoba but which are typologically not different from objects associated with other mosques, two features differentiate the mosque of Córdoba from nearly all other Muslim congregational buildings. One feature is that so much about it has been recorded and maintained even by historians and geographers who wrote much later, after the city had been taken by Christians. It is as though collective memory, Muslim, and probably also Christian since that particular mosque has been preserved, recognised something unique about the Cordoban monument. The second feature is the consistency of aesthetic purposes in the building, that is to say of creating visual effects which would affect the senses, which would give pleasure to the visitor or to the user. Few other mosques (Ibn Ṭūlūn's in Cairo is a major exception) are designed in such a way that everything in it, even later additions like the Christian chapels and the church, has to be done in the harmonic key of the constructions of the early 3rd/9th century. A concern for sensory effectiveness and for visual beauty is a hallmark of Córdoba's mosque in ways that are more consistent, more fully anchored and more gripping than in most examples of congregational buildings within the medieval Muslim tradition.

An even stranger case is that of the ivory objects of the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries. Some twenty small boxes have remained, which were probably used for the storage of precious items, kerchiefs of different types or unguents. Many of them are dated and localised either in Córdoba or in the royal city of *Madīnat al-Zahrā'* only a few miles from the urban centre itself. Inscriptions often identify the owners of many of them as members of the ruling family or very high officials of the Umayyad state. In itself there is nothing unusual about expensive objects in a rare material being made for members of ruling classes in the Muslim world. Chronicles and other written sources are full of references to the fancy things and the fancy clothes which surrounded the princes and assorted aristocrats in Baghdad, Nishapur, Cairo, Herat, Rayy or Bukhara. But hardly anything has remained from these treasures, and one way of interpreting the Spanish ivories is to argue that they are an accidentally preserved set of princely artifacts of a type which would have existed elsewhere as well. In all likelihood it was the possibility of reusing these objects for church treasures which saved them from being destroyed, or utilised and handled over the centuries to the point of becoming totally worn.

To a certain extent this is probably the correct conclusion to draw. These ivories are indeed aristocratic household objects illustrating the wealth and the taste of the Umayyad court in al-Andalus. But there are several reasons for wondering whether we are not also dealing with a rather unique group of objects reflecting some uniquely local phenomena. I will mention just two peculiarities of these ivories which cannot be explained, at least within our present scholarly capabilities, in terms of a wider Muslim culture. One is that some among this group of objects—for instance the cylindrical casket of 357-8/968 in the Louvre, the 359-60/969-70 one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and an undated one in the Museo Nazionale in Florence—are very deeply cut, so that the decoration on them appears in high relief, almost like the sculpture on antique and early Christian sarcophagi. This sculpted effect is, especially in the Louvre object, carried to the point where the personages, animals and plants of the design appear almost like free-standing sculptures in the round fixed on an object. Nothing like this is known in Islamic art elsewhere, nor, for that matter, is it known in early medieval Christian art. It is likely in fact that some antique model influenced the patron or artisans of these objects, but it is difficult to imagine how and why such an impression would have been sought.

The second peculiarity of some of these ivories is even more unsettling. The Louvre and Victoria and Albert examples, as well as several others in the Cathedral Treasury of Pamplona, the one in Burgos, and once again in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are decorated with personages and animals either arranged formally and symmetrically, as they often are on textiles, or else in what are clearly narrative or symbolic scenes: a prince enthroned,

wrestling, hunting, plucking eggs from a nest, riding elephants, picking dates, and so on. It is, first of all, remarkable that these scenes using personages in a narrative context occur in Spain nearly a century and a half before they become common in Egypt and the rest of the Islamic world. But even more remarkable is the fact that, while some of the representations would eventually become fairly common in Islamic art, most of them are unique. We are thus faced with the strange paradox of being unable to explain images which are easy to describe.

At this stage we can only speculate about the reasons for these peculiarities of the Spanish Islamic ivories of the Umayyad period. They might have reflected, at the height of Umayyad power and wealth, the unusual cultural and artistic depth of the Umayyad court, in which new motifs are invented to give an old look, classical in mode, to the expensive materials brought from Central Africa. A hundred or more years later, under the rule of a Christian king, quintessentially Muslim motifs would adorn the ceiling of the royal chapel in the Norman palace of Palermo in Sicily. This later example suggests that in the Western Mediterranean a cultural mix was perhaps created different from that of places farther east. A couple of minor points would confirm the sense of a difference in the art of Muslim Spain in its earliest and greatest time. The names of artists and craftsmen for objects and for architectural decoration have been preserved from Spain much earlier and much more frequently than from elsewhere in the Muslim world, as though the status of the artisan was higher there. And then it is interesting to note the visibility of the patronage of objects by women, again a phenomenon which is rare elsewhere at that time. The two earliest dated ivory objects were made for daughters of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, and one of the later ones was made for a Princess Şubh.

My third example is that of the most celebrated monument of Islamic art in Spain, the Alhambra. This is not the place to discuss either its archaeology or its stunning features which attract millions of tourists every year. What is important from the point of view I am developing in this essay is that it too is unique in Islamic architecture—even though everyone, from scholars who have written about it to Hollywood or rich Arab patrons from the Gulf who have copied it or imitated it or parts of it a thousand times, regards the Alhambra as so characteristic of Islamic culture that popular as well as sophisticated imagination has, since the early 19th century, woven its orientalist fantasies around it. Yet it is curious that there is no other building, no other part of a known building, which resembles the Alhambra, some later imitations in Morocco in particular notwithstanding. And it requires a considerable stretch of the imagination to see in the Top Kapi Seray in Istanbul, the palace of the Ottoman sultans or the later Safavid palaces of Isfahan and the Mughal palaces of India, more than occasional similarities with Granada's masterpiece. We are less well informed about earlier and contemporary

palaces around the Mediterranean, but what is known for instance about the citadel of Cairo in the heyday of Mamlūk rule bears very little relationship to the Alhambra. It is maybe just possible that a dying Muslim dynasty in al-Andalus did not create a "typical" palace belonging to a set which has disappeared elsewhere, but something adapted to its own specific history and to its own specific needs and expectations.

The mosque of Córdoba, the 4th/10th century Umayyad ivories and the 8th/14th century Alhambra are all unique monuments which fit uneasily within the generic cultural types with which they have usually been associated. And yet all three—as well as several additional ones like a number of silks and bronzes, or the small mosque of Bib Mardūm in Toledo—illustrate functions and tastes which were indeed part of the traditional and classical ethos of the Islamic world: the large congregational mosque, the princely household object of great value, the luxurious setting for the life of rulers. None of these needs, except to a degree the second one, was significant to the medieval Christian world. Their Spanish expression, however, seems to have obeyed other constraints, other forces than those which obtained elsewhere in the Islamic world. Why?

II. *Islamic forms and non-Islamic patrons*

The second paradox I would like to develop is easier to define than the first, but equally difficult to explain. It has long been noted that the forms of Islamic art lingered on in Spain much longer than in Sicily or in the Balkans or Russia, where they had hardly affected the arts of the local population (except in clothes), even during Muslim domination.

Examples abound. Pedro the Cruel's Alcázar in Seville comprises architectural forms associated normally with Islamic art, and, in the decorative cartouches of plaster which appear everywhere, his name is clearly written out in Arabic letters. For several centuries the churches of Toledo and Saragossa utilised real or blind decorative arcades which come out of the facades and minarets of the earlier Islamic tradition. As profoundly Christian a building as the so-called "tempietto" in the monastery of Guadalupe bears unmistakable and obviously deliberately chosen traces of medieval Islamic themes. In Burgos, one of the main centres of Spanish life to escape Muslim rule, and which became one of the centres of the *reconquista*, the monastery of Las Huelgas, in the early 13th century, was designed in part as a commemorative monument for Alfonso VII, one of the main Crusaders against Muslim power in the South. But not only is its stucco decoration entirely taken from Islamic models, but the textiles which had been kept there, often as shrouds, were for the most part either manufactured by Muslims or imitated Muslim types. Ceramic production remained for centuries under the influence of the high lustre techniques developed in the Muslim world and brought relatively late to Spain. And two remarkable synagogues built in

Toledo under Christian rule—one from the 12th century, known today as the church of Santa María la Blanca, the other dated 1357, and transformed into a church under the name of El Tránsito—were decorated in the purest style of Islamic ornament.

This is all well-known, and for over a century now scholars have identified examples of what has been called Mudejar art, an art of Muslim forms within a non-Muslim context. Even its migration into Mexico and Peru has occasionally been noted. What is more puzzling is that this preservation of allegedly Muslim forms often took place while Islam itself and those who professed it were persecuted, often quite brutally, and eventually physically expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. Gothic art coming from the North appeared at times like an outright intruder within a formal system which would have been the accepted genuine local one; and it is only with the Italianate taste of the Renaissance that Islamic motifs began to fade away, as in the lovely House of Pilate in Seville. But, even then, Charles V built his grandiose palace of Granada next to the Alhambra, dominating it no doubt, as a victorious culture would, but recognising something of its values by preserving it. And earlier Alfonso the Wise was deeply imbued with Muslim values and aware of all that went into the making of a cultivated Muslim Arab.

How can one explain the contrast between policies that were leading to the destruction of Islam's presence in the Peninsula and this fascination with forms issuing from Islamic art, which continued quite consciously for several centuries, and, according to some, has remained in the background ever since? What, especially, is it that made Spain so different from other lands?

As most paradoxes do, mine about Islamic art in Spain end up with questions. Both questions imply that something happened in Spain which is different from what happened elsewhere. There does not seem, *a priori*, to be any reason why the Islamic monuments of Spain should be qualitatively and typologically unique within the huge spectrum of Islamic art, even though their functions were not. And it is strange that a land which had invested so much physical and psychic energy in reclaiming from an allegedly alien power what was presumed to be its own would, for several centuries, maintain and carefully nurture the artistic forms of the enemy.

To be able to reach an answer or answers to these questions, we must be willing to explore two propositions which go against well-established assumptions of the history of art, and perhaps of cultural history in general.

The first of these assumptions is that which involves labelling forms with cultural or national identifications. What seem to us today to be valid or even accurate means for the classification of visual evidence from the past, and for the appreciation of that evidence within our own, present-day minds, may not have been the appropriate criterion at the time when the monuments through which this evidence appears were created. If we consider a motif or a type of design as first of all colourful, geometric or vegetal, rather than

Islamic or Gothic or Byzantine, an appreciation of forms emerges which may well correspond more closely to what actually happened than the national and ethnic constructs we have posited. Alternatively, one can consider a motif as "ours", as belonging to a tradition within a land rather than to a system of belief in that land. Analyses freed of prejudices may indeed begin to argue for a complex growth, in medieval Spain, of a common heritage of forms which was, in part if not as a whole, differentiated by its presence in that particular land rather than by its association with religious or national groups in that land. Within that heritage, some specific feature may be charged with an Islamic, Arab, Christian, Castilian or Catalonese connotation, but such distinctions will only be reached after the realisation that there was a common language for the expression of different thoughts and of different tastes and purposes. Perhaps after all it was other factors than those of cultural identification that predominated in the arts of the Middle Ages in Spain, and even elsewhere.

The second issue to be pursued springs not so much from a possibly wrong-headed assumption as from one's awareness of the position of al-Andalus within the huge body of Islamic culture. It was a frontier area, at the outer edges of the *dār al-Islām*, and like all frontier areas it was endowed with a peculiarly paradoxical ethos in which intense identification of differences between groups and allegiances, at times warped by hate and contempt, coexisted with open-minded cohabitation and creative inventiveness. 13th-century Anatolia, 12th-century Sicily, Central Asia until the 16th century, were all frontier areas between opposing and at times warring factions of many different kinds. They were also areas of intense visual (and perhaps other) creativity, in which the desire to show off one's unique qualities went along with competition with others and understanding of various ways of achieving visual effectiveness. With the advent of the rational doctrines issuing from the Renaissance, such tolerance became more difficult to maintain.

It is obvious that these hypotheses and assumptions need elaboration and reflection before they can be fully accepted as explanations for the Islamic arts of the Spanish Peninsula in the Middle Ages. That they can even be raised is a testimony to the extraordinary quality of the centuries which revolutionised a land and expressed some of the best ambitions of a universal religious and ethical system created far away.

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THE MUDEJAR TRADITION IN ARCHITECTURE

JERRILYNN DODDS

Al-Andalus suffered profound changes to its political authority long before the fall of Granada. Christian forces had been making major and irreversible incursions into Muslim-ruled lands since the late 6th/12th century, and this produced, in many cities in particular, a divergence between the new Christian rule and an existing Islamic social and cultural structure. This was in particular the case in Toledo, where a long-standing tradition of architectural and artistic production established under Muslim rule was inherited by Christian rulers of the Reconquest.

Christian attitudes towards arts perceived as Islamic were variable with the political and social climate. But scholarship has not always considered this to be the case. For some time it was assumed that Mozarabic art, the art of Christians who lived under Islamic rule, must be the unwitting bearer of Islamic artistic culture to Christian Spain. There was at one time even the tendency to define Mozarabic art by the intensity of Islamic formal impact on its works. It is clear, however, that Christian patrons under the Emirate—when the Christian cultural identity was in most peril—exercised a resistance to forms recognisably Islamic, while later, more secure periods saw Christians appropriating Islamic forms to suit their own artistic aims.¹

The case of Mudejar art is interesting, for it represents a moment of Christian control: Islamic culture no longer posed a threat to Christian identity and existence. Indeed, the word Mudejar suggests an art of subjected Muslims, though the old-fashioned notion that it was executed by Muslim slaves of Christian masters has no basis in fact. In fact they probably included, in their ranks, Christians and Jews as well, all of whom had worked as craftsmen under Muslim power. Mudejar was, however, a style associated with Islamic patronage. It was only the new position of Christian rulers in the political hierarchy of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries—along with a relaxation of the cultural defensiveness which had characterised the Christian attitude towards Islamic arts in the earlier period—that rendered the new widespread appropriation of Islamic crafts and forms possible, allowing the traditional Islamic crafts of Spain to take on new meanings for its new patrons.

An example can be traced in the small mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm near the city walls of Toledo. Constructed on the ruins of a Visigothic church, and even reusing some of the spolia of that Christian sanctuary, its brick construction tradition exploited the thickness of the brick to create planar reveals and textures that enliven a simple and aniconic exterior to this pavilion-like sanc-

tuary. The stucco domes that copy more monumental forms in the Great Mosque of Córdoba use local materials to evoke a grander monument. But sometime in the 590s/1190s, during the Christianisation of Toledo under Alfonso VIII, a voluminous apse was added to that mosque's nine-bay plan, converting it into an axialised church culminating in an altar.

Though figural paintings had transformed the monument's interior, the entire project was executed by masons working within a continuation of the same tradition as that in which the mosque had been built almost two hundred years before. The entire construction is of brick, punctuated by an occasional saw-tooth course as in the earlier work. Its articulation consists of blind arcades that embrace an occasional window as well, all conceived in a multi-planar style defined by the thickness of the brick itself. There are more lobes to the polylobed, pointed arches of the apse decoration than in the mosque construction, but it reads as a continuation of the similarly conceived decoration of the older mosque flanks.

There are of course practical reasons for such borrowing, not the least of which is the need for an existing work force for the job of reconstructing ruined churches and settings for the newly empowered Christian administrators and churchmen. But there is nevertheless a clear interest in some level of visual continuity on the part of patrons, or at least a curious abstinence on their part from distinguishing their new sacred buildings of Christian reconquest by any change in exterior visual vocabulary. It is the buildings' interiors, their use of narrative imagery and a Christian typology in plan, that declares their new identity, but that is an issue seemingly underplayed in their exterior form.

There is, in monuments like the mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm converted into the church of Cristo de la Luz, a tension between the need to lay claim to and transform a site from mosque to church (as indeed it had originally been transformed from church to mosque), and a desire to appropriate some of the power and validity of the indigenous tradition established during Toledo's Muslim domination. It is the dilemma of a new Christian hegemony which finds itself ruling a population including strong vestiges of an enemy culture which the Christians nevertheless held in some awe. It was an admiration suppressed in the years of Islamic control of the Peninsula, but now it seemed that, in the face of political domination, it was safe to give such cultural indenture free reign.

The early use of the Mudejar style in other parts of the country had similar meanings. In Castile the possession of that style, and its subordination to Christian projects, might have been a coded reference to the progress of the Reconquest. Why else, at the height of the development of the Romanesque style in the Christian north, would the important churches of Sahagún be constructed entirely in an imported, brick-based Mudejar style? Once more the practical considerations were significant. Entire communities of Muslim

masons and bricklayers had settled in Castile, some of them brought there by Christian monarchs as part of the resettlement of frontier areas.² The work they offered was cheaper than the current Romanesque style in vogue. But a curious fact helps us to see the persistent appeal of the style in which they built as well. At San Tirso de Sahagún, a tri-apsed church was begun in ashlar, presumably as a Romanesque church of the pilgrimage road type, a style formed in France and imported into Spain for use in religious establishments like the parochial church at Frómista. However, after six courses of the apse of San Tirso were constructed (and probably the church itself laid out in plan as well), it was completed in an austere version of the brick style of blind arches and cool reveals we associate with Toledo. Though it is possible this abrupt change responded to practical considerations, the resettlement of masons from Toledo in the north was itself a work of propaganda and appropriation.

But further, it is hard to see such a complete divergence in style and technique without positing that there was an appealing meaning to this exotic new type of technique and ornament; for out of the peninsula in which Muslims and Christians lived in constantly shifting tensions came a consciousness concerning artistic styles as bearers of cultural meaning and identification. It allowed both for the gesture of the adoption of Romanesque as a reference to a wholly Christian northern culture, and for an accrued meaning to cling to Mudejar brickwork, a strange imported style and technique associated with Muslim Toledo.

At San Román in Toledo we find another aspect of Mudejar style: its celebration of a shared, indigenous culture, one which at times obscured the original meanings of borrowed form. The church of San Román was constructed in 618/1221 with the same masonry technique that fashioned the apse of Cristo de la Luz, but this time with rather extraordinary figural paintings in its interior. It must have been part of a frenzy of church building following the reconquest of the city. The paintings are large-scale and maladroit, but they contain some fascinating ironies: they are narrative, representing biblical themes, yet they use inscriptions as borders in a manner more typical of Islamic than of Christian monuments. But more surprisingly, the arches of the church's arcades are painted in alternating red and white voussoirs, and Arabic inscriptions are added to the Latin ones. The large-scale narrative paintings were enough to free the church from any possible association with Muslim worship. The use of Latin inscriptions probably represents the absorption of a habit of thinking involving the use of writing in an architectural setting. The alternating voussoirs and the Arabic inscriptions, however, seem to indicate a deeper connection between the builders and users of the church and their context. For there is the suggestion here of a shared culture: certainly of a shared spoken and written language by means of which the city had been administered for years, and a shared language of forms which saw much that began as identifiably Islamic becoming part of a

local visual culture, a decoration that witnessed a history and culture belonging to all Toledans.

This seems in particular to have been the case for Jews, whose synagogues are decorated in a Mudejar style quite close to its Granadan predecessors. The earliest of these, the 6th/12th century synagogue of Santa María la Blanca, has been converted into a church, but vestiges of a dispersed mosque-like plan are still visible, with white octagonal piers crowned by wide stucco capitals covered with pine cones and sensual volutes. There is also a restrained stucco relief that follows the extrados and spandrels of the arches and the upper wall of each gallery. The effect of peering laterally into the hall is very much like that of an Almohad mosque, both in elevation and decoration, though without its original furnishings it is difficult to guess at a complete appearance. But it is clear that whatever similarities we see between synagogue and mosque are due not to a melding of ideologies but to a secularisation of artistic form.

This is more easy to discern in the synagogue built in 762/1360 by Samuel Halevi Abulafia, also known as the Synagogue of El Tránsito in Toledo. A wide, open rectangle with niches to the east to receive Torah scrolls, this synagogue possessed a special passage to its patron's home; for it was not intended for community worship but as a kind of palatine chapel for Abulafia, who was finance minister and adviser to King Pedro the Cruel.

The synagogue of Abulafia is covered with opulent painted stucco relief of the Granadan type, rather than reflecting the more Almohad taste noted at the synagogue of Santa María la Blanca. For though Mudejar represents a dialogue which takes place after the overthrow of an Islamic rule, communications with Islamic arts seem not to have ended. On the contrary, Mudejar was more than Islamic-trained masons looking for work; it was part of a web of cultural interdependencies in lands which had known many different rules, and as such involved an idea about art, one that grew and changed and made renewed reference to the Islamic arts which were at its roots.

The references at the synagogue of Abulafia were very current ones: mural surfaces disembodied by ornament, and upper walls festooned with a line of polylobed arches. The synagogue is also covered with a series of inscriptions in Hebrew and in Arabic. The Arabic inscriptions are innocuous invocations that suggest, once again, a shared language. Indeed, for the Jews of Toledo a strategic power lay in their easy working knowledge of the three languages of the city. But the Hebrew inscriptions are of particular interest because, as rather hubristic poems about the building's patron, they recall the use of ornament and inscription at the Alhambra in Granada, and remind one of the extent to which a court Jew conceived of patronage in the mould, not of his Christian lord, but of a Muslim prince.

But perhaps the situation was more complex still. For Abulafia's lord was Pedro the Cruel, who is also known as a primary builder of the palace of the Alcázar in Seville, as it now appears. There, court after court, room upon

room presents a palace indentured to the image of an Islamic palace like the Alhambra as a setting for royalty. A confusing and disorienting plan; screens of luxurious interlace held aloft on slender columns; dados of tile in geometric patterns and large panels of stucco with Arabic inscriptions: all are our witness that there could be no complete image of kingship in Spain without reference to the myth of Islamic kingship forged at the Alhambra in the last years of the Islamic hegemony.

Perceived not as a reference to religious or political identification, but rather as it was meant to be, as a virtuoso wielding of cultural power which created an image of kingship more powerful than a thousand military conquests, the Alhambra's myth was perpetuated. It is this that Pedro the Cruel sought to evoke at Seville, and something of the same—perhaps the image of a setting for exclusive, aristocratic life—that Abulafia sought in Toledo: the power of a setting that alludes constantly to privilege and authority.

These associations lead to Mudejar constructions in a number of royal foundations. It is not a coincidence that the military banner of the Almohads, the so-called Banner of Las Navas de Tolosa, was given to the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos. Its stuccos, which find elegant birds embedded in intertwining knots, or its marquetry doors, extensions of the same tradition in which the *minbar* of the Kutubiyya mosque was fashioned, all speak of culture captured like booty when it is marked by the arms of the conquering prince. The monarch Alfonso X would build a cathedral in León that copied Reims Cathedral in France—the site of the coronation of French kings; and yet he also personally oversaw the construction of a number of Mudejar monuments in other parts of Spain. The most important is probably the chapel in the reappropriated Great Mosque of Córdoba—now the Cathedral of St. Mary—where he hoped to be buried. There, a tiny cube within a (at that time) largely untransformed mosque space was covered with Mudejar stucco work, polylobed and lambriken arches and geometric designs on mosaic tile dados. It is a work of Mudejar style by Mudejar artists, and it suggests something about Alfonso's ability to use architectural style to express pertinent political moods: the Gothic Cathedral of León expressed his cosmopolitan, imperial concerns, while his Mudejar constructions grow from his constant attempts to create an image of a monarch at home with, and in control of, the vast ethnic and religious diversity which characterised the rapidly growing Spanish Christian kingdoms.

In Aragon the concentration of Mudejar monuments is great, and the style is there swept up as part of a vibrant local tradition. A series of beautiful towers survives from the 8th/14th century, reminding one in many ways of Almohad minarets: simple and geometric in their form, and with the ubiquitous double arched windows and panels of interlace in low, brick relief. But in the tower of San Salvador the motifs are multiplied to include impertinent zig-zags and rosettes, and the whole is punctuated with polychromed

ceramic. The geometry and logic that lay at the heart of such decoration under Islamic rule is lost; instead it has become a vibrant local tradition that saw complex surface ornament as part of an indigenous heritage.

Indeed, on the eve of the Renaissance in Spain, most of the decorative principles which entered the Mudejar vocabulary through Almohad or Naṣrid sources were absorbed into a common language of forms shared by Christian and Muslim alike. In Plateresque art, or the peculiar strain of Renaissance architecture found particularly in Salamanca, classical motifs cover the face of a building, creating a sense of horror vacui reminiscent of Islamic stuccos, but with an entirely new, imported decorative vocabulary. The principle of complex, overall surface ornamentation had become a national one, the terms by which other new architectural styles from the outside were transformed. Today elements of the Mudejar style are recognised as national, but marginal. Appearing in cultural expositions and carnival architecture, they represent something traditional and ancient in Spanish history, but also something which is other than the featureless European face Modern Spain at times strives to assume.

But it is clear that Mudejar architecture bears artistic witness to an intensely creative moment in the formation of Spanish culture; it testifies to the tensions of a shifting political and ethnic identification, through the retention of visual forms which began as Islamic but ended as simply indigenous. In many cases, in fact, its meaning became synonymous with Spanish hegemony; this is why colonial architecture in Central and South America, which came to represent the Spanish Christian presence in those newly discovered lands, is actually often called Mudejar. It embodies—in its use of a skin of complex ornament that becomes abstracted because of the complexity and multiplicity of form—the broad extension over time and space of an artistic tradition which began with the advent of Islamic rule in Spain.

Mudejar arts began as arts involving conscious association with Islamic society according to historical moment, patron and audience. Subsequently, the theme of reconquest and political appropriation reflected in them gave way, gradually, to myths and principles dissociated from their original, Islamic context: princely, opulent, mystical, indigenous, they became, finally, simply Spanish.

¹ For a development of this idea and examples, see J. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*, University Park-London, 1990.

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THE ARTS OF AL-ANDALUS

JERRILYNN DODDS

INTRODUCTION

From the 2nd/8th to the 9th/15th century, the western frontier of Islam was al-Andalus, a rich land poised at the mouth of the Atlantic on a peninsula stretched taut between Europe and North Africa. Far from the centre of Islamic rule, and embedded in a peninsula which would always retain a Christian hegemony as well, the patrons and artists of Spanish Islamic society would rely heavily on art and architecture to create and reassert an Islamic cultural identity. Though the formal structures and conscious meanings behind the many styles emerging in those seven centuries are wildly different, the arts of al-Andalus are strung together by the same underlying tension: the need to create forceful forms both to forge a link with Islamic centres and to defy the presence of an encroaching alien culture and religion.

I. THE EMIRATE, THE CALIPHATE AND THE *MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀIF*

I.1 *The Emirate*

All of al-Andalus was a frontier during the early years of Islamic occupation, and we know of little art other than common ceramics before the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I. But with the arrival of that intrepid young prince, the image of Islamic ruler as patron assured the development of courtly arts. The young Umayyad, who escaped the massacre of most of the rest of the Umayyad family at the hands of their successors to the Caliphate, began a programme of building as soon as his hold on the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula was assured. From the very beginning, these gestures would address the issue of creating for the Muslims of al-Andalus a visual profile that might connect them with the sanctity and privilege of their usurped heritage. We know that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's first palace was a country villa on the outskirts of Córdoba, named Ruṣāfa after a country palace of his grandfather, the caliph Hishām. The name signals for us a recurrent theme in the patronage of al-Andalus for fully three hundred years: a keen nostalgia for Syria, both as homeland and as the seat of a usurped authority; the centre of a culture and polity which were lost to all, yet keen in the memory of the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus.

But 'Abd al-Raḥmān's achievement will always be understood through his foundation of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, a monument whose concep-

tual and formal potency would make it the focus of the entire Islamic community of al-Andalus, and of its most important patrons, for three centuries.¹

‘Abd al-Rahmān I built a wide hypostyle mosque of eleven aisles which ran perpendicular to the *qibla*, in the manner of several important Umayyad mosques, in particular the al-Aqsā mosque in Jerusalem. Its plan, whose repetition is broken only by a subtle widening of the central aisle, corresponded to some of the earliest and most conservative mosque plans of Islam, which subsume the entire community of the faithful into one vast hall that is remarkably free of authoritative architectural forms. While the aisles run in the direction of the *qibla* there is little axis to create an authoritative body, and no privileged space within the prayer hall. These are of course principles that mark much early mosque planning—indeed they are tied to most early Muslim communities in answering the need for a place in which communal prayer can occur without hierarchy or priestly intermediary. But they are worth reviewing here as we form an idea of the tensions that penetrated the building of the westernmost mosques of Islam, for their remote location and strange, indigenous surroundings produced an elevation as unique as the mosque’s plan is familiar.

The repetitive, almost monotonous plan of the mosque of ‘Abd al-Rahmān I explodes in elevation into a carnival of colour and form: the aisles are defined by doubled arcades, each supporting two vertical levels of horseshoe arches. The arches in turn are reduced to their own component parts, as the voussoirs that compose them alternate brick and stone, red and white, an effect which succeeds in breaking the whole interior into parts; transforming it into a complex, abstract design. This complex and surprising solution springs, at the most fundamental level, from the need to create a monumental and impressive interior for a new Emirate, one which did not resort to figural decoration for its rhetorical power. But the abstract designs were not without meaning for ‘Abd al-Rahmān and his followers. Though fashioned of brick and stone, the alternating voussoirs were surely meant to evoke, in available materials, the *opus sectile* decoration of Umayyad buildings of the Fertile Crescent, in particular the Great Mosque of Damascus, and conceivably the Dome of the Rock. Once again, a nostalgia for lost rule and a distant land prevails, but it is encased in a form which might seem quite strange to a native of Damascus.

The horseshoe arch is used consistently here for the first time in an Islamic building: this is the heritage of Spain’s pre-existing tradition of churchbuilding, called “Visigothic”, and it reminds us of the extent to which indigenous craftsmen and traditions of construction must have affected the first appearance of the mosque. The startling piggy-back arches are also without prototype in Islamic architecture. They allow the wooden roof of the hypostyle hall to reach significantly higher than would otherwise have been possible; a kind of monumentality achieved in a different way in the Great

Mosque of Damascus. The prototype, however, was new, and indigenous: Roman aqueducts such as the surviving fragment at Mérida combine both superposed arches and alternating red and white masonry, suggesting the extent to which the new Spanish Emirate appropriated and reused indigenous forms to achieve its goals for its greatest building.

This tension between Umayyad tradition and the appropriation of indigenous form seems to exert a steady hold over subsequent patrons of the mosque. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II extended this prayer hall eight bays to the south in 222/836, elongating the plan but respecting the elevation and decoration of his predecessor. His addition was completed by his son, Muḥammad I, who restored the early door of St. Stephen. Again and again, we have a sense of the reverence for the past: architectural style becomes in fact the embodiment of the nostalgia sensed since the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, and the peculiar disposition of the mosque's elevation is retained carefully by each ruler adding to the mosque, as if his own heritage of authority were encased in that continuity.

1.2 *The Caliphate*

The mosque's first minaret had been constructed by Hishām, but the one which can be viewed today is the work of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered that the original minaret be pulled down. The work of the first Umayyad *amīr* to call himself caliph is aimed at monumentalising the mosque, and yet it retains familiar meanings: his rebuilding of the courtyard in 340/951 gave its pillars and columns an alternation reminiscent of, once again, Damascus—not a surprising gesture on the part of the ruler who re-established his family's link with their ancient Umayyad authority.

It was, however, his son, al-Ḥakam II, who gave the mosque its most authoritative forms: he extended the prayer hall twelve bays to the south, and established an elaborate axis culminating in a domed *maqṣūra* pressed against a *qibla* adorned with three doors that glowed with gold, green and blue mosaics. The organisation of the mosque now seems to form around an exclusive, ceremonial space in keeping with the concerns of a new caliphate. The axial aisle of the *maqṣūra* is announced by a domed bay, supported by an elaborate screen of interlacing and polylobed arches which continue the mosque's tradition of superposed arches and alternating colours, but in a wildly mannered interweaving of architectural form that sets this section of the mosque apart from the rest of the prayer hall. This bay organises the space around the *maqṣūra* into a basilical space like that of the ceremonial rooms of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's palace at Madīnat al-Zahrā', but with the added surprise of the three-doored *qibla* and the domed *maqṣūra* before it, all of which recalls the Salo Rico at Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Both monuments seem unconsciously to reflect the rhetorical power of contemporary Chris-

tian liturgical spaces, in particular the mosque addition, in which three arched openings, a *mihrāb* in the shape of a room and a deep-bayed *maqṣūra* are all organised like the eastern part of a Mozarabic church.

This is probably a good point to remember that a growing proportion of Córdoba's population was composed of Muwallads, or converted Christians, and to recall the extent to which all the inhabitants of the city were aware of the rhetorical power of Christian ceremony and the architecture in which it took place. However, in this curious piece of appropriation, it was clearly the power of a culminatory, directional effect, rather than any direct allusion to Christian worship, which was sought.

Once again the tensions between a new Islamic art and a still struggling but live indigenous tradition help to form that which is distinctive and vibrant in a very traditional building, but the lustrous spectacle of the mosaic-covered *qibla* owes its presence to the axis of meaning that constantly renewed formal and ideological connections with Damascus. According to Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Ḥakam II requested a mosaicist from the Byzantine king "in imitation of that which al-Walīd had done at the time of the construction of Damascus".² The decoration resembles Damascus only in technique and colour, however, for in contrast with the representational mosaics of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus, there appears here a juxtaposition of floral and geometric patterns into which inscriptions are inserted, their presence at times obscured by their own abstract texture. These Quranic citations and fragments of the building's own history are, as O. Grabar has demonstrated, one of the earliest attempts to create a written iconography for a mosque.³

The mosque's dispersed, hypostyle space was reasserted in the last major addition, that of the pretender al-Manṣūr (377-8/987-8). He added eight aisles, this time to the east, deflecting the longitudinal thrust of al-Ḥakam II's plan, but maintaining every other aspect of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I's original sanctuary. The specific concerns of the early Caliphate had subsided, but the tenacious continuity of forms created to serve a new Islamic polity in the name of an ancient claim are carefully cherished and preserved. By the time of al-Manṣūr, indigenous forms like the horseshoe arch had become as much a part of an absorbed, Spanish Islamic style for religious building as the echoes of building from Damascus.

The symbolic importance of the Great Mosque of Córdoba as a visual centre for Islamic Spain is borne out by the studies of Ewert concerning the private mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm in Toledo.⁴ This tiny nine-bay oratory is typical of neighbourhood or private oratories throughout Islam, but once again it is in elevation and articulation that its more immediate and conscious meaning is revealed. Its four columns support an elaborate series of domes whose ribbed decoration evokes the domes of al-Ḥakam II's *maqṣūra*—indeed, the mosque seems to be a reduction of the *maqṣūra* itself, suggesting a reverence for the Cordoban mosque and its meanings.⁵ In this way

we see the artistic taste of al-Andalus turning in upon itself; the styles born of tensions between indigenous form and Islamic tradition are now the strange hybrids by which Spanish Muslims define their own visual world. Islamic Spain now looks to its own centres; Bāb al-Mardūm is a reflection of the Spanish need to create a strong set of visual forms that might serve as a beacon for Spanish Muslim culture.

The great palaces of al-Andalus were the focus of considerable funds and patronly energies in the same years that the mosque was actively growing. In particular, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's patronage was centred on one of the many palatine cities to skirt the edges of Córdoba; Madīnat al-Zahrā', which today is a vast excavation punctuated by a number of intriguing reconstructed buildings, was begun around 325/936.

Madīnat al-Zahrā' can be seen as a continuation of that tradition that saw Umayyad caliphs build palaces outside town, part of the profile of patronage that saw 'Abd al-Raḥmān I build al-Ruṣāfa. It was a sprawling city organised on three terraces cut into the side of a hill about five miles to the west of Córdoba. Madīnat al-Zahrā' consisted of palaces, pavilions, courtyards, gardens, mosques and buildings providing the town fabric that supported a refined and regal life: baths, workshops and military barracks.

This was an opulent, controlled city, which it was necessary to negotiate in all of its complexity to reach the Caliph. His throne room was embedded deep in a confusing fabric of palaces and courts, rooms and passages, which forged a sense of the ruler's power and remoteness within a dense and circuitous architectural plan. Only upon reaching the throne room or reception hall itself would an organised, axial space culminate in the person of the Caliph. In this respect, the plan of Madīnat al-Zahrā' resembles that of Abbasid palatine cities like Samarra, which tended, in their maze-like form, to buttress the sanctified image of their rulers. Such concerns are understandable for 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who, in elevating himself to the rank of caliph, was setting his claim in opposition to that of the Abbasids. This was a case in which the ancient allusion to Umayyad architectural form would not be potent enough to further a political goal: 'Abd al-Raḥmān III saw that it was to this more mysterious, ceremonial image of caliph that he had to respond, in order to lend credibility to his caliphal claim. But this extraordinary city reminds us not just of a grasp at political authority, but of the continuing dialogue with the centres of Islam: with political groups concerning which Spanish Muslims felt both opposition and identification.

Though the planning of Madīnat al-Zahrā' shows the impact of the Abbasids, the decoration grows clearly from an indigenous Spanish Islamic tradition. The famous *Salón Rico*, a three-aisled columnar basilical structure with lateral rooms, reflects this. Its vocabulary is an indigenous Mediterranean one: corinthian-based capitals and relief sculpture based on vine-scroll types; but these have been flattened and their parts miniaturised and equalised, so

that the designs become a complex, abstract skin that hugs the surface of the object to which it adheres, transforming an architectural morpheme into a delicate, precious object of luxury art. Much of the decoration of the *Salón Rico* thus recalls the *maqṣūra* of al-Ḥakam II in the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and with good reason. As 'Abd al-Rahmān III's son, al-Ḥakam was a site supervisor at Madīnat al-Zahrā', and later built his own portions of the royal city. But more importantly, this decorative style that used indigenous forms—horseshoe arches, capitals and columns—and enveloped them in an abstraction of mannered and equalised form, had become emblematic of Umayyad patronage in al-Andalus.

By the time of the Caliphate, then, the artistic tensions had shifted: indigenous Mediterranean and Syrian allusions tended to be absorbed into one Spanish Islamic style, which carried a coded meaning both of Syrian heritage and indigenous tradition, for al-Andalus now had a potent Islamic identity of its own. The third cultural axis was now that of the Abbasid court in Iraq, from which the Umayyads of Spain appropriated a number of cultural ideas in a kind of stimulus diffusion that saw them react to the power and meaning of their rivals' courtly culture. Thus, as early as the rule of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, the Iraqi musician Ziryāb was enticed to the Spanish court, bringing with him a taste for music, furnishings, dress and even cooking in the sophisticated styles of the Abbasid court.

An admiration for developments in the Abbasid court can be seen in the Caliphal ceramic tradition of al-Andalus, which forms part of the created visual identity of Spanish Islam. There are imitations of Abbasid lustreware and a fine white glazed ceramic, often painted in green and black, primarily known as Elvira or Madīnat al-Zahrā' ware, though its manufacture has been demonstrated throughout al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century. The objects and their subject matter have traditionally been treated as banal and trivial in meaning, but I believe they ought to be considered as laden with implications of wealth and sovereignty. The entire field of a plate or basin might be given over to a single subject, such as a fine harnessed horse with a falcon—wings spread—on its back, a subject which points to the possessions and pastimes of an aristocrat or king; and animals such as hare or deer could conceivably provide links with hunting, with implications of land ownership. In a number of pieces a kufic inscription intones *al-mulk*—"the dominion" or "the kingdom"—yet another reminder of the extent to which the patronage of beautiful objects can be tied to royal privilege.

A large bronze deer from Madīnat al-Zahrā' probably served as a fountain head; it still retains in its base the tube by which water was propelled through its body and out of its mouth. Might it be part of one of the fountains of which al-Maqqarī later spoke in his account of the history of Madīnat al-Zahrā'? He recounts that

among the wonders of al-Zahrā' ... were two fountains that constituted the principal ornament of the palace. The larger of the two ... was brought to the Caliph from Constantinople ... as to the small one ... it was brought from Syria ... The Caliph fixed on it twelve figures made of red gold and set with pearls and other precious stones. The figures, which were all made in the workshop of Córdoba, represented various animals: the lion, an antelope, a crocodile, an eagle, a dragon, a pigeon, a falcon, a peacock, a hen, a cock, a kite and a vulture. These were ornamented with jewels and the water poured out from their mouths."⁶

The description and the fountain itself recall the importance of fountains and water in the expression of the palace—not only as a place of pleasure and repose, but as a place where water operating through hydraulic systems was conspicuously present in palace settings as a sign of power.

This elegant, stylised deer, etched with a repetitive rinceau pattern, reminds us as well of the persistent ambiguity of Islamic kingship. Its definition often lies in the symbolic privilege of possessing objects and fashion settings that define kingship in terms of a patronage challenging more conservative Islamic attitudes towards the arts, attitudes more characteristic of Roman and Sassanian rule: the making of figural art, hunting, drinking, and, in this case, the creation of an almost monumental representational sculpture.

But nowhere is the linking of patronage and kingship so strong as in the case of the Caliphal ivories of Córdoba. With the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III came the influx of Sudanese gold, and perhaps ivory as well, for it is in this moment that a series of important ivory boxes is crafted in Córdoba and Madinat al-Zahrā'. Though there are cases of caskets made for other courtly figures, there seems to have been a particular tradition of giving such gifts within the royal family, to figures closely associated with succession.

Two boxes executed for 'Abd al-Rahmān III's daughter in 349/960 and 351/962 suggest a discrete and elegant tradition already in full swing. Their work is miniature and jewel-like, with a delicate undercut rinceau and inscription appearing against a shadowed ground. The interplay between the inscription and the vegetal decoration creates a formal ambiguity that in concept reminds us of the way the word becomes both part of a puzzle-like ornament and conveyer of meaning in the *mihrāb* of the Great Mosque.

The best-known of the boxes date to the reign of al-Ḥakam II, and we see in them a divergent imagery: a pyxis made for Princess Šubḥ, the mother of a son of al-Ḥakam II, is covered with a tangle of delicate foliage, carved in a single plane and undercut so that it seems to hover above the body of the vessel. As one looks closer, however, one notes peacocks, game birds and deer sprouting heraldically from the trees and vines like animate leaves, camouflaged by their formal sympathy with the vegetal forms. One senses a visual puzzle here, as with inscriptions; the mark of an art which, even when it employs figural decoration, creates with it an intellectual challenge to match the sensual representation.

One of the finest of the Caliphal ivories is a casket of Prince al-Mughīra, al-Ḥakam II's younger brother, who would later become a pretender to the throne. Here, in a medallion, is an image of courtly life encased in another myth of princely pleasure: royal personages sit on a dais, drinking and enjoying music. It is accompanied by other images of princely pursuit, like falconry, as well as the more allusive scenes of date harvest, animals, hunting and fighting that can be associated with possession of the land and a kind of authority of rule, together with the very act of patronage of costly ivory objects.

A large rectangular casket made for 'Abd al-Malik, a son of al-Manṣūr, is a last great masterpiece, completed in the last moments of the Caliphate. Carved in slightly lower relief than the earlier examples, its eight intertwined medallions offer similar scenes of princely leisure to the al-Mughīra casket, but these are joined by a frontal, authoritative image of the monarch, a scene of him battling lions like an Assyrian king, and more bellicose images of warriors battling from the backs of camels and elephants. One senses that the profile of an effective prince for al-Andalus had changed significantly since the early Caliphate, and that prowess in battle had replaced much of the more sensual iconography of patronage and leisure—symbolism with roots in Islamic rules in Iraq—that had characterised the earlier period.

Indeed, the great dictator who rose during the minority of Hishām II had become an extraordinary general, and in one spectacular campaign after another kept the growing Christian kingdoms at bay, so nurturing the last moments of the culture of the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain.

1.3 *The Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*

The 5th/11th century saw a political restructuring of al-Andalus. After a succession of caliphs could no longer retain any semblance of authority, the Caliphate was dissolved by the Cordoban aristocracy. For the next fifty years al-Andalus was composed of about 23 small states, ruled by what were called petty kings (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if* or *ṭā'ifas*), each of whom took the title of *ḥājib* to maintain the fiction that he was reigning as a sort of chief minister for a mythical caliph. There was in this period a constant and confusing shifting of alliances between individual *ṭā'ifa* states and of Christian states with their *ṭā'ifa* neighbours, and none of the *ṭā'ifa* states was able to establish an expanding political authority. Their genius instead lay in their mythification and reinterpretation of Caliphal culture, for just as their kings feigned themselves the protectors of a lost Caliphate, so their courts nourished arts which cultivated and yet transformed the Caliphal model.

At the palace of al-Ja'fariyya, in Saragossa, al-Muqtadir built a fortified royal palace, surrounded by a rectangular wall, cylindrical towers and a large rectilinear defensive tower. Within, rooms are organised around patios, in a

plan which culminates in a small mosque. Many details of the design recall Córdoba: the *mihrāb* which has swollen into an entire horseshoe-shaped room is a direct copy of the Cordoban example, which was the earliest one to take that form. The entrance arch is fashioned of alternating voussoirs, ornately carved with a delicate bas relief that characterised Cordoban stucco work and ivory carving as well.

But there is, throughout the palace, a segregation and celebration of that which is the least logical and quiescent of the Caliphal designs: the architects of al-Jaʿfariyya deconstructed the interlacing arches of the *maqṣūra* of al-Ḥakam II, so that the arches on either side of the *mihrāb* opening read like a wild calligraphic profile which dips underneath a string course like a pen-stroke on a page. There is at every impasse an undermining of what architectonic logic these forms had retained in the Caliphal period; a delight in mannered elaboration. The basket shapes of capitals are elongated, their crowns complicated by interlacing foliage or screens of intertwining, polylobed arches; corbels erupt into organic forms at their very centres.

Nowhere is this tendency more evident than in a stucco relief from the palace preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid. The two sides of its arch never meet, but are instead subsumed into a jungle of tiny microcosmic arcades, supported in every direction except that indicated by gravity by tiny columns and capitals, these themselves being consumed by the never-ending pilgrimage of the moulding—now polylobed, now twining into a swirling knot—which represents the course of the mythical arch.

In the face of shifting interdependencies with Christian rules, with neither caliph nor political or military substance to support their claims to continuity, the *ṭāʾifa* rulers of Saragossa cultivated the visual culture of the Cordoban Caliphate: they gave it the sustained gaze of their ardent admiration and indulged a sophisticated taste for its architectonic perversions.

Not all of the architectural vestiges of the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms are so elaborate or mannered. Of the many fortified sites left by these small and insecure rules is numbered the Alcazaba of Almería, its crenellated defensive walls cutting across the countryside, while the Alcazaba of Málaga, constructed around 432/1040, retains an elegant tri-lobed arcade of three horseshoe arches, with alternating voussoirs carved in bas relief that recall entrances to the pavilion-like rooms of Madinat al-Zahrāʾ.

There is a lively continuation of stone sculpture in the period of the *ṭāʾifas*, though usually in less luxurious materials. An exception is a marble font which reproduces the Caliphal theme of lions attacking antelopes, perhaps with rather more energy and density than earlier examples. But the most surprising piece is the Font of Játiva, named for the town where it is now found. It is covered with a frieze of dynamic and inventive figural imagery, and seems to come closer than any Caliphal piece preserved to a kind of narrative. Familiar scenes of courtly leisure and combat of warriors

and animals are accompanied by more directional compositions suggesting perhaps a kind of offering (which in Roman art would be associated with ownership of the land), in addition to a curious medallion with a nude woman nursing a child. Like the conceivable classical prototype for this last scene, the meaning of the font seems to suggest abundance as an idea linked to the person of a landowner. The forms used to express such concerns are here new and inventive, but they relate to themes alluded to on Caliphal objects like the casket of al-Mughīra.

Clearly the idea that the patronage and possession of beautiful objects was a sign of sovereignty had survived the dissolution of the Spanish Caliphate, though the numerous and dispersed courts were not always the focus of the craft traditions that served them. The manufacture of ivory boxes shifted from Córdoba to Cuenca, where a workshop served a more diverse group of patrons. A casket carved in the workshop of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayyān for a governor named Ḥusām al-Dawla shows a shift in imagery and meaning that marks the change in patronage. The fields of decoration here now correspond to the casket shape; gone are the medallions segregating themes of princely life. Instead the heraldic animals and birds remain, but reduced in size; the same scale now as the trees and palmettes of vegetation, they have receded to form part of its pattern, part of an aniconic maze whose attraction to the viewer is intellectual, not symbolic.

But there are also the vestiges of luxurious court arts that remind us of the luxury and refinement typically associated with the *ṭā'ifa* courts. A silver perfume bottle in Teruel made for the ruler of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom of Al-barracín is one of the finest precious metals from any period of Spanish Islamic art. Engraved and decorated in low repoussé, its detail hugs a sensual, glossy form, broken only by tiny animal figures poised impertinently on its handles. With its fine craft, expensive materials and functional implication of personal adornment and pleasure, it characterises much of the myth of the period of the *ṭā'ifas*.

II. ALMORAVID AND ALMOHAD RULE AND THE NAṢRID DYNASTY

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, political and social changes occur in al-Andalus that have a profound effect on the way art serves a court and society. For the first time, implied challenges are made to the artistic privilege of kings, who had seemed to derive a symbol of legitimacy from their licence with luxurious possessions, sensual pursuit and figural art laden with allusion or symbolism. Instead, arts would become precious and treasured crafts which, while worthy of contemplation in their own right, were often disembodied by the abstraction of their ornament; veiled by the impossible multiplication of geometric form and the craft used to create it.

Art in the later rules of Islam became part of the creation of an exquisite setting fashioned by unparalleled craft.

By the last quarter of the 5th/11th century, the Islamic presence on the Iberian Peninsula was threatened by the alarming advances of the Christian monarch Alfonso VI. The *īṣṣā* kings of Granada, Seville and Badajoz appealed for help to Almoravid rulers of North Africa. The deliverance ended in invasion, with Almoravid jurists justifying their usurpation on the grounds of immorality and the kings' undermining interdependence with the Christians. For Almoravids were bound by a highly conservative attitude towards Islam, involving a puritanical observance of Quranic law; they eschewed the courtly pleasures that seemed to have become emblematic of princely life for the rulers of the Caliphate and *īṣṣā* kingdoms. These potent Berber conservatives saw their Spanish counterparts as effete secular cybarites, while they were viewed by the denizens of al-Andalus as rough cretins. Al-Mu'tamid of Seville is thought to have voiced the feelings of his contemporaries when he declared that he would rather herd camels for Almoravids than keep the pigs of Alfonso VI.

It was a juxtaposition of cultural formation and ideological commitment that would change the course of the arts in al-Andalus.

II.1 *Almoravid art and architecture*

Art historians have long struggled with the juxtaposition of Almoravid puritanism—their outspoken criticism of the luxurious and sensual courts maintained by their predecessors in al-Andalus—and their obvious taste for the architectural achievement of Spanish Islamic craftsmen. There is now a growing contention that a shift of patronage occurred during Almoravid hegemony in Spain. During the reign of the ardent reformer Yūsuf b. Tāshfin (453/1061-500/1106), authors see a frugality and simplicity to artistic production which is broken by his son, 'Alī b. Yūsuf. Educated in al-Andalus and Arab speaking, he partook in none of the austere theories of his father, and opened the way for artists and architects from al-Andalus to work in the new North African centres.

These were in fact the great centres of Almoravid art, and it was there that Spanish artists realised their finest works at the end of the 5th/11th and beginning of the 6th/12th centuries, in Tlemcen, Marrakesh and Fez. There we find mosques with hypostyle plans of great simplicity and conservatism: at the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, founded by 'Alī b. Yūsuf in 531/1136, a pillared hypostyle hall of 13 aisles giving onto a small square court features a slightly accentuated *miḥrāb* aisle punctuated by two domes. Like most North African mosques, it would embrace the notion of the *miḥrāb* as a room, first adopted at Córdoba, perhaps as part of the impact of Christian forms. But here that obscure history is forgotten, and it appears as a form

sanctified by its history within the Islamic tradition, and becomes part of a restrained and traditional mosque plan.

On first glance, the decoration of a mosque like that of Tlemcen seems anything but restrained: it possessed a fanciful lantern which hovered over the *mihrāb* bay like a screen of lace, and its slightly pointed horseshoe arches explode at times into complex polylobed profiles and wave-like undulations. But we can see a choice in forms that suggests a shift in taste from the period of the *īā'ifas*: the most sensual and surprising forms are rationed; there is, in the area around the *mihrāb*, an elegant complexity and invention—in the use of *muqarnas*, and the adaptation of a window screen effect for the vault itself—but the vast fields of mannered plastic relief characteristic of a work like the al-Ja'fariyya of Saragossa have not found fertile ground even in the more assimilated period of Almoravid hegemony.

From the Almoravid period on the Iberian Peninsula, only military architecture remains standing, and most of the surviving examples were remade or remodelled by their successors, the Almohads. However an excavation called The Castillejo of Monteagudo, located in the suburbs of Murcia, reveals the residence perhaps of an Almoravid chief like Ibn Sa'd b. Mardaniṣh. The residence is situated in a large agricultural domain that included a substantial artificial lake and a series of pleasure gardens with vistas. It possessed a rectangular enclosure with towers that might have served for habitation, all organised around a patio of some interest: it is oblong, with two raised walks that cross in the centre, dividing its field into a four-part garden plan of a type known throughout the Islamic world. At either short end, however, a rectangular unit cuts into the space of the court—some believe these units to be pavilions but there is still considerable debate concerning the original disposition⁷—revealing a planned space that provides possible typological precedent for the Court of the Lions of the Alhambra. This *riyāḍ* might possibly be related to a smaller one found in excavations of the palace of 'Alī b. Yūsuf in Marrakesh (526-7/1131-2), which in turn might be dependent on a Spanish palace: on a now largely destroyed court in the al-Ja'fariyya in Saragossa. But the key here is a sharing of forms between North Africa and Spain, and the enduring link between garden and privileged residence. It is yet another piece of Western Islamic formal identity depending on a meaning whose roots lie in Abbasid Iraq.⁸

At the Castillejo of Monteagudo traces of stucco decoration remain, together with complex geometric painting, bearing witness to an interest in geometric planning in decoration as well as architectural form, and heralding a period of complex abstraction in ornament. Though geometric ornamentation clearly existed in the early Islamic rules of al-Andalus, and a healthy amount of ornament of Caliphal inspiration survives to the last moments of Muslim hegemony on the Peninsula, the increased interest and development

of geometric decoration in painting, tilework and stucco creates a divergent view of the visual world suitable for an Islamic prince, one which would have distinguished progeny in al-Andalus.

Almoravid North Africa was a consumer, as well, of an extraordinary and lively tradition of wood carving from Córdoba. The *minbar* housed until recently in the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh is the finest of its type, and a witness to an almost entirely lost tradition of Cordoban luxury crafts in wood and ivory. Like most *minbars*, its composition is conservative: a monumental stair flanked on either side by a balustrade, leading to a platform with a pulpit, a disposition that links it with the most ancient *minbars* known in Islam. But in its extraordinary decoration—its marquetry of ivory and precious woods in a complex geometric interlace based on a hexagonal grid—is found the finest and most luxurious work known from the Almoravid and Almohad period in Spain.

A kufic inscription on the higher platform supplies the information that the *minbar* was constructed in Córdoba for the Mosque of Marrakesh. Though the year in the inscription is illegible, chronicles ascribe it to the reign of ‘Abd al-Mu’min (525/1130-559/1163). This places the *minbar* at a significant moment for the study of Spanish arts of the period of the “African Dynasties”. It is to this period of more conservative attitudes towards the religious arts at least that is owed the subtle complexity of the decoration, which engages the intellect, drawing the viewer ever closer to discover the puzzle-like ambiguities of the marquetry.

The *minbar* presents us with an illustration in craft as well as architecture of the way al-Andalus, as an indigenous culture—one which had to alter its artistic traditions to fit an invasive ideology—still exercised considerable cultural influence over its aggressors.

The Almoravids were known in particular for their rich and vivid textiles, which were made in the extraordinary manufacturing capital of Almería (chroniclers marvelled at the quality and quantity of the textiles produced there). This opulent textile production is one of our indications that the Almoravids in al-Andalus soon embraced the richest of the *ṭā’ifa* arts, and fragments like the “Lion Strangler” textile conserved in the tomb of San Bernardino Calvo in Vich reveal the power and vitality of their figural designs. That these textiles were considered—both as signs of exaggerated luxury and as carriers of figural design—to be a challenge to the most rigorous religious values becomes clear when the next fundamentalist sect overtakes al-Andalus; the first Almohad rulers would close down the textile factories of the Almoravids and demand that the contents of their warehouses be sold off. The Almoravids had in fact become patrons in the Andalusi tradition—a deviation from religious conservatism the Almohads did not intend to make themselves.

II.2 Almohad art and architecture

In the year 540/1145, the victorious Almohad Maḥdī 'Abd al-Mu'min led troops into the Almoravid mosque of Fez. There they proceeded to white-wash the ornament, leaving the once ornate mosque bathed in an austere, white light. Such were the concerns of the second, even more serious band of reformers to conquer Spain: the rigorous monotheists called Almohads. They crossed to Spain soon after securing the rule of Almoravid lands in North Africa, taking advantage there of a disintegration in Almoravid rule in al-Andalus, which had been weakened by Christian military incursions, and, also, by the disillusion of those who accused the Almoravids of legalistic Mālikism, and (as in the case of the 7th/13th century historian al-Marrā-kushī) of apathy, obsession with their own comfort and an unrestrained pursuit of women.

It is not a surprise, then, that the most famous textile produced in this moment is the so-called Banner of Las Navas de Tolosa, which is most probably, however, the Almohad military banner captured in the campaigns of Fernando III. It is a bold, completely aniconic design composed of inscriptions, geometric interlace and abstractions. Composed of silks and gold thread, it announces an Islamic presence unsullied by interdependency with Christians: a victory banner for an uncompromised Muslim hegemony.

Once again, military building takes an important position, both because the Almohads were conceived militarily and because of constant tensions with Christians along shifting frontiers. They are characterised by advances conceivably derived from Fāṭimid sources, and refined and perfected in the intense military atmosphere of al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century: second rings of fortification called *barbacanas*, and new types of strategic towers, are but two examples.

That civil and military architects also worked on religious and palatial commissions is clear from the career of one of the few architects known by name from the period of Islamic hegemony on the Iberian Peninsula. Aḥmad b. Bāṣo was a Sevillian who designed a variety of works for his Almohad patrons: lost military and civil constructions in Gibraltar and Córdoba, and an Almohad palace. But we know his work through the vestiges of the Great Mosque of Seville, the only Almohad mosque in Spain of which significant sections survive in elevation.

Built by the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (559/1163-580/1184), the Great Mosque of Seville was constructed in the new Almohad capital by Ibn Bāṣo, who is in fact the only architect whose name and history can be connected with a standing Islamic building on the Iberian Peninsula. Begun in 568/1172 when Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf summoned Ibn Bāṣo together with a number of master masons from North Africa and other parts of al-Andalus, it was completed some ten years later. Today, only the famous minaret, La Giralda, and sections of the *ṣaḥn* survive; the former was altered in its upper

portions during the Renaissance, and the latter encased in the cloister of Seville's cathedral. Originally the mosque extended to seventeen aisles perpendicular to the *qibla*, with a slightly wider aisle aligned with the *mihrāb*, and a single broad aisle hugging the *qibla*. This T-type hypostyle plan, as it is called, had become common in Almohad mosque construction since the mosque of Tinmal was constructed in 548/1153. It provides a structure for the deep, wide plan, an axis which normally becomes the focal point for decoration. From what can be seen at Tinmal or the second Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh, the subtle planes established by the mosque's brick construction would have been entirely whitewashed, while arches of the axial aisle might have taken a polylobed form, or hidden an occasional carved stucco shell or geometric form in the intrados of its springer. The eastern door into the *ṣaḥn* preserves a *muqarnas* vault. *Muqarnas* is a three-dimensional decorative system composed of sections of cones which combine to form a three-dimensional, suspended surface; a complex, plastic geometric grid usually covering the surface of a vault or arch. Its exploitation in the Almoravid and Almohad periods in Spain is fascinating, for it reveals a desire to make the morphemes of the building itself—the intrinsic geometry of its own parts—the basis of its decorative system. This is at once a traditional attitude towards architectural form—the alternating voussoirs of the Great Mosque of Córdoba function formally in the same way—and a new concern. For in creating a mosque style that relied on pristine, whitewashed surfaces, the building's ornamental interest now depended on planar variations and juxtapositions between flat, mural effects and highly complex three-dimensional surfaces like those created by *muqarnas* to create interest. Indeed, the *muqarnas* vaults, like the bits of hidden stucco carving at Tinmal, are rationed, and placed strategically in Almohad mosques to create a decorative hierarchy that reasserted the T-type plan, culminating in the *qibla*.

In the decoration of Ibn Bāso's famous minaret we can see how this more austere attitude toward form transformed an earlier one. The minaret shows great attention to the simplicity and refinement of solid, geometric form. Panels of interlace decoration hug the volume of that form, never breaking its surface or interrupting its flow. Each section possesses an arcade above which is a cool, repetitive pattern of interwoven forms, derived ultimately from the famous mannerist arches of the al-Ja'fariyya in Saragossa. Their pattern, however, is so regular, that they have lost all architectonic irony; indeed, all connection with the diminutive arcades that support them.

Architectural decoration now conforms to the restrained vocabulary of austere patrons. As in the earliest moments of the Muslim hegemony in Spain, there are tensions between indigenous form and the architectural vocabulary of a foreign home; but now the indigenous architecture is an Islamic one as well, and the arts have become coded—not only with political meaning, but in terms of a structure that uses art and architecture as one of the means by which religious ideology is expressed.

Judging by the Patio del Yeso of the Alcázar of Seville, which was an Almohad achievement, the architectural restraint implied by such an ideology was not applied with the same vigour to palace architecture. A rectangular court bordered on one side by seven arches, the patio uses a Caliphal vocabulary of columns and capitals absent in mosque design, and employs reused Caliphal capitals.

The lambriken arcades of the Patio del Yeso do not support walls, but elaborate screens of open stucco work. Here the design is the same as the panels in the minaret of The Great Mosque, but it is, in contrast, subjected to none of the controls that restrained freedom and sensuality in its forms: here it is neither restricted to cool rectangles on a larger mass nor placed at a distance. Instead it is an opulent and fanciful screen that can be permeated and transformed by light and air.

The arts that have dominated these discussions up to now are those of courts and great rulers; such has been the fate of the arts and civilisation of al-Andalus that these are the objects and monuments that survive to this day. However, recent scholarship, much of it based on archaeological research, has also revealed something of the arts and architecture of less empowered groups—showing, for instance, the highly varied nature of domestic housing types in al-Andalus. It is in these homes that we ought perhaps to picture the rich variety of ceramic forms used in more current daily life, from Málaga to Valencia.

One of the architectural forms known to both prince and common man was the bath; it is in fact to the Islamic presence in Spain that the construction and use of civic baths is due. The bath was initially built to provide for the religious requirement of washing before prayer, but eventually became an important social institution, one used by Christians and Jews as well. The basic plan type, which can be seen in Granada's surviving bath of the 5th/11th century, was not adapted directly from Spanish Roman prototypes but brought from other parts of the Muslim world. It includes a frigidarium (cold water room), a tepidarium (warm area) and a caldarium (hot water room), each function in a single room, as in the palace baths of Umayyad Syria.

What is extraordinary, however, is the way the institution of the bath is appropriated by Christians after their conquest of Islamic lands, though documents do suggest some official disapproval. Post-conquest baths like the Christian one in Gerona are a reminder of the extent to which the fabric of Spanish Christian social life was transformed by the presence of Islam.

II.3 *Nasrid art and architecture*

The last Islamic kingdom in Spain grew from the detritus of a failed Almohad hegemony. From the 7th/13th century to its fall in 897/1492, its rulers lived by the politics of tribute and alliances, including a persistent

relationship with the Christian kingdom of Castile—a reflection of their powerless position.

And yet the Naṣrids created some of the most adroit, opulent works of art to emerge from al-Andalus, works that seem to issue from an artistic tradition of extraordinary confidence and resource. This art develops clearly from the Almohad tradition, in its preference for aniconic form and an ornament which creates an abstract field for contemplation by the intellect, but it seems to have been free of many of the restraints concerning luxury and formal sensuality that characterised the Almohad achievement. The famous Alhambra vases, such as those now in Granada and Palermo, bring the ceramic technique of lustreware to a new level of sophistication and monumentality. The vases do belong to a functional type, but, at 1m20 to 1m70, they were surely meant as ornament, to work with low furniture pieces in an architectural setting. Painted either in metallic lustre or cobalt blue, they are covered with delicate designs based on calligraphy, and primarily vegetal interlace, with occasional heraldic animals obscured within the jungle of foliage, as in the example now in Granada. They are coded in their size, their lack of utilitarian purpose and in their lustrous glow with allusions to wealth; indeed, they seem to follow, in their almost rhetorical opulence, a theme that pervades much of the Naṣrid artistic product.

An enamelled sword and sheath in the Museo del Ejército in Madrid, taken less than a decade before the fall of Granada, is in fact the most spectacular we know: of gilded silver, it is covered with filigree, enamel and ivory inlay. Extraordinary silks of enormous cost, such as the curtain from the Alhambra now in the Cleveland museum, or the countless rich fabrics that now line the interior of reliquaries in the Christian north, attest to a production of fine and costly luxury arts in full swing until the last moment of Islamic hegemony in Spain.

The vases, silks and more practical arts—like a beautiful desk of complex inlay and marquetry in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid—all contribute to an elaboration of daily palace life: they are less objects that might have constituted a focus or end in themselves than a working of art into the finest detail of everyday life. Perhaps as part of the attitudes formed under the Almoravid and Almohad rules, they all become part of a highly refined context; and the wider and far more opulent setting of that context is Naṣrid palace architecture.

That context is supplied, of course, by the Royal Palaces of the Alhambra. Built on the site of the “red fortress”, a citadel of long standing, it is believed that the Alhambra was preceded by a 5th/11th century residence of Yehoseph b. Naghrilla, the Jewish vizier to a Berber *īā’ifa* king. Its aspect was clearly totally transformed, however, with the Naṣrid construction of the 8th/14th century, when it became a royal city, containing a garden villa (The “Generalife”), palaces, mosques, schools and various practical functions to support the lofty royal centre.

There is controversy concerning the functions of the various parts of the Alhambra—there are actually as many as seven palaces—with some seeing both a private and a public palace within the same central nucleus of courts and halls of the old royal palace. Two palaces form the nucleus of the old royal palace as it is visited today, and though their construction spans at least two reigns, their planning retains a persistent theme of purposeful ambiguity. As with *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, the approaches to the innermost rooms of the palace are serpentine and oblique. Courts and rooms are set at odd angles to one another, and access is obtained, often, through inconspicuous doors or dark passages. Here as well the ruler's inaccessibility conduces to his power, and it creates a sense of vulnerability in the viewer. That same equivocal attitude, set at undermining the viewer's control of his or her surroundings, is also evident in elevation.

The main precinct as it stands today includes two palaces: the Comares Palace and the Palace of the Lions, and the facade of the Comares Palace was a gateway to the palace itself. There is, further, some indication that the king might have dispensed judgements there, a tradition that extends at least to Abbasid tradition at Samarra. But the setting is disorienting, and does not offer the standard axial forms one might expect in a palace facade or audience hall. The court is flanked by a corridor-like space with windows giving onto the town. This in turn is pierced by arcades that lead to the roofless court itself, contributing to a constant fluctuation of interior and exterior experience, and a subtle sensation of disorientation stemming from the undermining of the viewer's logical expectations.

That this sense of ambiguity is a part of the formal system of the palace as a whole is suggested in a more literal manner in the facade of the court: the one which would have served as a backdrop to the monarch himself. The wall is bilaterally symmetrical, possessing two large doors, with two double lancet windows above and a smaller, single-arched window between them. Every inch of the wall is covered with decoration: tilework dados and door-frames that use colour to create dozens of geometric figures within one repetitive field; stucco carving in extremely low relief that seems to embrace every non-figural motif—vegetal and geometric—from the history of Islamic Spain in one gaudy skin; inscriptions and a band of *muqarnas* at the top.

The effect is an ostentatious one to be sure, but it all aims at enframing the two gaping and identical doors. Do they both lead into the palace? If they are both identical, how can any one lead to the king, whose entrance must be the greatest? The composition of the facade offers no clue; only the query of a choice, unaided by hierarchy, axis or decoration. The first facade of the Alhambra offers the viewer an architectural version of the sort of geometric puzzle often posed by its abstract systems of ornamentation, which present a design in which the primary forms change before one's eyes because of shifts in a figure-ground relationship, or the interdependency of two divergent geo-

metric constructs on a series of intertwined morphemes. The irony of the choice is accentuated when we discover that one door leads back to the palatial anteroom, and another into the private courts and apartments of the Nasrid king. The doors have a clear hierarchy in function, but not in form or decoration, so only those who have been initiated can know their secrets. The notion that the Alhambra's form creates a class of privileged and non-privileged viewers is accentuated when we discover that the superior windows in the Cuarto Dorado gave secluded visual access to the proceedings there to members of the Harem. Indeed, there are many interior passages in the royal palace, and much shifting of levels, as if the notion of the palace as a place of intrigue was actively courted.

The plan, elevation and decoration of the Alhambra combine to create the image of a palace full of complexity and mystery. It is more than the continuation of a spirit that extends to the earliest palaces of the Middle East: it is a conscious evocation of such palaces as places of myth.⁹ Indeed it was a myth of potency and opulence that was needed to sustain the cultural activity of this last Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula, for political realities saw them ever-threatened, and dependent by treaty and tribute on the very infidels who had once been ruled by Muslims in Spain.

The Patio de los Arrayanes, or Court of the Myrtles, provided gracious living quarters for the Sultan and four wives, and the Hall of the Ambassadors is a throne room in which the cupola becomes, with the help of poetic and Quranic inscriptions, the dome of heaven in the long tradition of palaces extending back to Roman and Near Eastern prototypes. This theme is extended in the small rooms arranged around the Court of the Lions. In the Hall of the Two Sisters, a court-like space with a fountain stream flowing to its centre is instead covered with a deep and intricate *muqarnas* cupola set over an octagon. This room was probably a private reception hall, and it contains, in its own decoration, a poem by Ibn Zamrak in which the dome explains itself:

In here is a cupola which by its height becomes lost from sight; beauty in it appears both concealed and visible ...

The bright stars would like to establish themselves firmly in it, rather than continue wandering about in the vault of the sky ...

For it is before your dwelling that it has arisen to perform its service, since he who serves the highest acquired merits thereby.

The notion of a hall in which a monarch sits as in a Dome of Heaven appears here again, but in the more complex, dynamic formal language of the *muqarnas* dome; reminding us of the ways in which architecture can create a persuasive setting that mines both history and myth. The art of that myth has to do with encasing the monarch in a web of caesaropapistic imagery that long antedates Islam, but which might have entered its courtly vocabulary during the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. It is important to remember that

Baghdad was a city of legend: the setting for tales of courtly intrigue and the centre of the memory of an invincible Islamic hegemony. It existed as an allusion, as part of the subconscious meaning of the Alhambra, which is itself a monument seeking to perpetuate the myth in the face of a rapidly eroding power.

We find here, however, not only the notion of the *muqarnas* dome as the Dome of Heaven which gathers around the person of the Sultan, but also a conscious acknowledgement of the effect of the complexity of the *muqarnas* vault for its audience. The principles of architecture and decoration which privileged notions of ambiguity were part of the search for a beauty "both concealed and visible", revealed in their full power only after considerable meditation, and even then not understandable in their full complexity. They were part of a cosmic view which sought solace in belief in a higher order; one perhaps that would somehow avert or explain the imminent collapse of a seven-hundred-year Muslim hegemony in Spain.

The Naṣrids created a palace of mythic style and opulence in defiance of their precarious political power. Almost apotropaic in its ubiquitous catalogue of decorative forms, its litany of poetry and quotations, and its vast inhaling of centuries of Islamic palatial planning and decoration, the royal palace of the Alhambra seems to attempt to defy the precarious plight of Muslims in Spain with a building: with the power of a culture which is old and potent even when the military and political force behind it is weakened. The unseen partner in this exchange is a rapidly encroaching Christian rule.

Grabar in particular has shown one of the themes of the palace inscriptions to be a celebration of the Naṣrid monarchs' military prowess in battle against Christian forces at Algeciras. It makes of that small border skirmish a great victory for an Islamic rule which is rarely able to afford the luxury of making of the Infidel a political other: "and how many infidel lands did you reach in the morning, only to become arbiter of their lives in the evening!"¹⁰ It is, perhaps, a constantly present, always threatening Christian political and cultural hegemony which is denied in the Alhambra, as if that denial might in some way keep Christian Spain from enveloping the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian peninsula.¹¹

The Royal Palace of the Alhambra and the Great Mosque of Córdoba frame any account of the arts of Medieval Spain: the latter representing the establishment of a place of worship that aided the formation of a Spanish Muslim identity in a remote Western land; and the former an extravagant vision of one of the last Islamic palaces built to serve al-Andalus, one that attempts to retain that same Spanish Muslim identity, and its history, in the face of the fall of Islamic Spain. The two monuments certainly represent divergent historical moments, but they also remind us of what is constant in the arts and architecture of al-Andalus: a need to create and retain a cultural identity; a consciousness of the presence and force of the other, of a constant

shifting of Islamic and Christian positions which never let any one of the Muslim Spanish rules rest in assured control of its cultural hegemony on the Peninsula. The Caliphal and *ṭā'ifa* rules used indigenous forms as a means of creating an identity in a far-off land. Almoravid and Almohad rules can be seen as intent on purifying an Islamic tradition considered too interdependent with Christian political life and its Mediterranean cultural traditions—a stated stance that would not have been necessary in a land firmly in the control of Muslim forces. Their attitudes also had the effect of clarifying, and making conscious, attitudes towards artistic production as they related to Islamic cultural identity. This politicising of artistic style and content must surely have had an effect on the Naṣrid arts and their meaning; for the Naṣrids, the most threatened and impotent of the rules discussed here, would mine history and myth to take a final stand against a Christian obliteration of Islamic Spain. They offer, in defence, an amalgamation of the cultural identity of al-Andalus in the opulent, complex identity of a Spanish Islamic artistic tradition.

¹ There is a question as to whether the nostalgia for the Umayyad Caliphate in Syria so characteristic of the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I might have coloured the chronicles that tell us of the foundation of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. It is not clear, for instance, if the church of St. Vincent was originally shared by the Muslims and Christians of Córdoba, or if this is a textual tradition created to align with the experience of the first Muslims of Damascus. But certainly the Muslims of Córdoba prayed in a pre-existing structure in 169/785, when it was agreed that the *amir* 'Abd al-Raḥmān I would purchase its site from the Christians and build a new mosque for Córdoba's Muslim population.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib* (trans. Fagnan), II, 392.

³ Oleg Grabar, "Notes sur le mihrab de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue", in *Le Mihrab dans l'architecture et la religion musulmane*, ed. A. Papadopoulos, Leiden, 1988, pp. 115-22.

⁴ C. Ewert, "Die Moschee von Bab al-Mardum in Toledo—ein 'Kopie' der Moschee von Cordoba", *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 18, 1977, pp. 287-354.

⁵ T. Allen, *Five Essays on Islamic Art*, Sebastopol, 1988, pp. 79-83. See also Ewert, *op. cit.*

⁶ Taken from the translation by P. de Gayangos ("The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain"), London, 1840-43, Vol. 1.

⁷ The excavations presently being conducted under the direction of Julio Navarro Palazón promise to resolve a number of problems concerning the Castillejo and its surroundings.

⁸ These associations are traced by Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, New York, 1977, pp. 104-05.

⁹ The analysis which follows depends on a number of distinguished scholars of the Alhambra, in particular Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge, 1978. See also: J. Bermúdez López, *La Alhambra y el Generalife*, Madrid, 1987; and Fernández Puertas, *La fachada del palacio de Comares*, Granada, 1980.

¹⁰ Grabar, *The Alhambra*, pp. 140-41.

¹¹ For an analysis of the one work of art that clearly shows the impact of Christian culture, in terms of this same set of meanings, see J. Dodds, "Paintings from the Sala de Justicia de la Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology", *The Art Bulletin*, 16/2, 1979, pp. 186-98.

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SPACE AND VOLUME IN NAŞRID ARCHITECTURE

JAMES DICKIE (YAQUB ZAKI)

In the architecture of the Naşrids volume is expressed by the cubiform organisation of space. Not even the most casual visitor to the Alhambra can fail to remark the intrusive character of the hemicyclical bastions introduced by the Christians after the conquest, like El Cubo, or the structures replacing the Alcazaba Baja, all of which proclaim their alien origins in their sphericity. Naşrid (but not Zirid) military architecture used only square defensive towers. Internally the tower defines a cubiform space, frequently part of a palace. This shared cubiformity means that military and domestic architecture overlap. Apart from towers forming part of a palace (Torre de Comares, Torre de Machuca, Torre de las Damas), others comprised complete palaces in themselves (Torre de Homenaje, Torre de la Cautiva, Torre de las Infantas). The Alhambra which, seen from without, appears a jumble of cubiform substructures and pyramidal or prismatic superstructures proves, on closer inspection, to be a sequence of autonomous units individually aligned on axes that relate the architecture to the landscape, blending the natural and the artificial.

The cube or its two-dimensional expression, the square, underlies the basic planning concept of the Alhambra. The Torres de Comares, the rectangular court that precedes it, the façade of the Comares Palace (the south side of the Patio del Cuarto Dorado), the rotated square of the Sala de los Abencerrajes, or the square with chamfered corners opposite, the Sala de las dos Hermanas, all quantify space in a cubic manner.

The nucleus is invariably the courtyard, rectilinear like the pool which sometimes occupies its centre, with, ranged around it, living units axially disposed. The cube as hall or *mirador* (belvedere) terminates a sequence and forms a climax where drama is provided by successive disclosure. Screens, porous to a greater or lesser degree, interrupt the axial progression with a series of receding planes. Arches compose a diaphanous, or transparent, screen, walls an opaque screen. The transparent screen precedes the opaque one, the opacity of which is never total, as it is pierced with an archway, or more than one, as in the triple-arched openings in the Generalife and the ex-Convento de San Francisco. Thus planes before and behind produce an effect comparable to the multiplied perspectives in Regency or Federal interiors, where mirrors are so placed as to reflect each other as well as all the objects in between. This is probably clearer in mosque architecture than in domestic, particularly when the arcades are parallel to the *qibla* wall. A mos-

mosque is not monoaxial like a church but spreads the way a forest spreads, and the articulation of space by means of columns means that the perspective will alter with the spectator's position, producing intersecting vistas that open and close as one moves. In the Alhambra the screens define two different kinds of space: longitudinal and transversal, contrastedly shaped zones being part of the drama. Transversal rooms like the (vanished) Sala de las Aleyas and the Sala de la Barca were terminal living quarters situated at opposite ends of a long courtyard, the Patio de los Arrayanes; spatially, however, the Sala de la Barca had the more important role to play in an unfolding sequence leading up to the disclosure of the throne. The Sala de la Barca interposes between the sultan and the spectator, interrupting the route without disrupting the progression, and so prepares him for the emotional climax of the Salón de Embajadores. This differentiation of space by means of screens which interrupt and punctuate the direction not only breaks up the space into apprehensible units but heightens the sense of awe as one approaches the Presence.

Periodic interruption of the axis by transversal walls means that the archways linking up the different spaces form a perspective made up of receding planes: three as a rule, but sometimes four. The Comares tower has a double wall, so two arches are preceded by a third, the entrance into the Sala de la Barca, and even a fourth one (the central arch of the portico) framing the vista. A similar arrangement occurs in the Patio de los Leones, where a transversal passageway replaces the Sala de la Barca, and recurs in the Partal, in addition to the Generalife. In the Generalife the central span of the portico frames a three-arch composition, the central portion of which focuses the window of the *mirador* closing the vista, so that the planes not only recede, they also contract. The Partal lacks a sleeping chamber behind the portico, but the central arch frames a *mirador* punctured with three windows. In each case there is recession of planes in depth, with the dramatic impact magnified in the Sala de los Abencerajes and the Sala de las Dos Hermanas by the archways being elevated on steps.

A triple recession is standard in Naşrid architecture. In the baths, as one looks across the Sala de las Camas to the recessed couch, screened by two arches, it is obvious that the architecture is arranged so as to recede on planes; likewise in the Patio de los Leones, as one looks out on to the patio from the Sala de los Reyes, again a triple recession becomes apparent, in which planes are defined by the amount of light falling on any one plane. The number three seems to be significant; apart from its role as a modular ratio for towers and *miradors*, it occurs in porticoes, which can have three, five or even seven arches, although three is the norm. In a *mirador* or hall like the Embajadores, triple embrasures entail a sevenfold division of the wall, a division found also in the Sala de los Reyes, by far the most complex interior in the whole Alhambra and the one offering the deepest and most varied perspectives.

Even in an arcaded courtyard like the Lions, where the modular system takes in all four sides, axial composition remains dominant. On the main axis pavilions replace the central arch, but on the transversal axis the greater height and width of such arches emphasises the axiality and focuses the perspective. The arcades form a porous screen, filtering the light the same way *qamariyyât* do for a room interior, and at the same time binding and unifying the disparate elements of a highly complex composition. The roofs of the pavilions pick up and prolong on a different axis the three pyramidal roofs of the Sala de los Reyes. The pavilions shorten the visible length of the main axis in the courtyard in relation to the transversal one, whilst their bulk helps equilibrate a composition that would otherwise be thrown off balance by the bulk of the two principal apartments, the Sala de las Dos Hermanas and the Sala de los Abencerrajes.

In the Patio de Comares the Sala de la Barca preceded the main chamber, but in the Sala de las Dos Hermanas the equivalent room, the Sala de los Ajimeces, follows it; however, the principle remains the same: the interruption of the route by the introduction of transversal elements, the route in this case being that leading to the Mirador de Lindaraja, the sultan's favourite retreat. Though in the Comares palace the Sala de la Barca is a sleeping chamber, in the Lions complex the Sala de los Ajimeces has no such function; the single royal bedchamber of the Comares complex has bifurcated to form two lateral chambers, with one bed apiece, opening off the Sala de las Dos Hermanas to right and left.

The ruler's seat is unvaryingly axial: in the Patio del Cuarto Dorado, where a temporary throne occupied a position between the two doors, in the Salón de Embajadores, where a permanent one filled the central embrasure on the north side, and in the Mirador de Lindaraja, where the sultan relaxed. Though the throne is axial, access to the courtyard is always on an angle. Petitioners or litigants wishing to approach the Presence would use the door in the north-west corner of the Patio del Cuarto Dorado, and this door bears the same relation to the Cuarto Dorado courtyard as the Comares entrance does to the Patio de los Arrayanes. The sequence of courtyards in the Generalife, arranged on different axes producing an L-shaped figure, is precisely that of the Comares palace in the Alhambra: initial courtyards set at right angles to the axis of the main courtyard generate a tension resolved in the principal vista. This explains why one enters the Patio de los Arrayanes not, as one might expect, from the south-west but from the north-west. Thus the visitor's first view is the sultan's habitual one, for the south side of the courtyard is even prettier than the north.

Interrupted or discontinuous space is the clue to the planimetry of the Alhambra. Naşrid architecture is based on the notion of divided and subdivided (as in the Sala de los Reyes) space. In the process of compartmentalising space the square follows the rectangle, which itself follows another

rectangle but on a different axis. The cubiform Salón de Embajadores follows after the E-W rectangle of the Sala de la Barca, which follows after the N-S rectangle of the Patio de los Arrayanes. The Generalife has the same arrangement, with a *mirador* replacing the Salón de Embajadores (in reality merely an inflated *mirador*). A variant occurs in the Patio de los Leones, where, though rectangle (the Sala de los Ajimeces) precedes square (the Mirador de Lindaraja), it is itself preceded by another and larger square (the Sala de las Dos Hermanas). Screen succeeds screen until you reach the final screen (the wall of the *mirador*), so that the architecture reaches a climax in the landscape: tension followed by release. The *mirador* is never other than axial; at the same time as it terminates one vista, which is artificial, it opens up another, which is natural. In fact, it closes a single vista in order to open up three, for the *mirador*, which is a protuberance, is porous on three of its sides. And because it protrudes either into a garden or into a landscape, this means that a compenetration is effected between the architecture and its natural setting. The compenetration is even more complete when the garden contains a pool reflecting the *mirador* on its surface.

In Islamic architecture decoration is always subordinated to form; if form can be said to follow function, in Islamic architecture decoration follows form. In Naṣrid art a wall is merely a stucco tapestry; the purpose of decoration is strictly to enhance the form. Inside the structure, the assorted cubic, pyramidal and prismatic shapes break down into the planes from which they were built up in the first place: cube reverts to square and rectangle; pyramid and prism revert to triangle. Triangles, rectangles and squares divide and subdivide the wall surface into areas designed for contrasting treatments. The cubicity imposes an interior made up of planes in regular arrangement. The surfaces are articulated by vertical or horizontal divisions forming bands or panels, with the squinches forming a sequence of triangles at a higher level. The architecture is crystalline, with polyhedrons like the Abencerrajes and Dos Hermanas exteriors breaking down internally into repetition of their basic structures, like the rotated square, covering the walls in petrified geometry. Abstract form logically translates into abstract decoration.

The function of pattern, whether tilework, stuccowork or honeycombing, is to trap and enmesh the eye. By trapping and enmeshing the eye the decoration engages the spectator, so he becomes absorbed in tracing a pattern or deciphering a description. As such he becomes a participant in the architecture. A defined set of relationships obtains both between the exterior and the interior and between the interior and the observer. This could explain why the aesthetic emotion the Alhambra generates in the beholder differs from that produced by any other building, in the western world at least; and that, even though the onlooker's response is enfeebled by the disappearance of the colour. This basic component of the ensemble is missing everywhere

but on the dado. One can only surmise, therefore, what effect light must have had on the chromatic balance intended by the Naşrid artisans, but it must have been considerable.

Certainly, the architecture would change and become less stable under the impact of light. The prismatic medium of the *muqarnaş* fractures the light and entraps it. In Naşrid architecture the angle of light is always oblique, highlighting patterns or parts of a pattern on the opposite wall in succession as the sun moves round the sky; detail would be alternately vibrant and dormant, whenever a cloud obscured the sun. What all this means is that the architecture was never for a moment static, but constantly unstable. The function of light, especially of filtered light, was to energise an otherwise static mass, as water did in gardens.

A metamorphic architecture changes under the impact of light. The honey-combed vaulting is composed of polyhedrons exactly like a real honeycomb. Honeycombing stands at the opposite remove from the wall surfaces because it is plastically metamorphic. A weightless geometry, energised by light, hangs suspended over a cubiform space. The prismatic medium of the *muqarnas* fractures the light, just as, earlier, the *qamariyyāt* had filtered it on entering. Highlighted surfaces and shadowed concavities break up the space so that volume disintegrates and volumetric analysis becomes an impossibility. It disintegrates then reintegrates as spirit becomes matter and matter assumes form in its descent into phenomenality. Integration takes place as each successive order of stalactites eases the transition from the dome to the plane surfaces of the walls. Matter is no longer perceived as solid or static but as fluid and kinetic. The ceiling of the Sala de las Dos Hermanas is an architectural "black hole" which threatens to draw the spectator up into a vacuum; it is a visual metaphor for the world as seen from the standpoint of Aşh'arī metaphysics. Indeed, the Alhambra in its brittle beauty epitomises an attitude explicable only in terms of Islamic philosophy; a work of such fragile elegance could not have been produced by any other civilisation.

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More generally applicable references may be found in my forthcoming work, *The Alhambra. A Functional Analysis* (in preparation).

ECSTASY AND CONTROL IN ANDALUSĪ ART: STEPS TOWARDS A NEW APPROACH

J. C. BÜRCEL

I

Ecstasy and control are two key elements in Islamic art, and are linked to the two dimensions or poles of the Islamic religion: to the *sharī'a* or legal system on the one hand and to Sufism or Islamic mysticism on the other—although, as we shall presently see, these two aspects are actually far more intertwined than strictly divided.¹ The dominant role played by geometrical patterns, and by form in general, in the Islamic arts may be seen as a visual counterpart of the rigidity of Islamic law, these abstract forms reflecting the Islamic order *nizām* which rules in the universe and should prevail on earth, giving structure not only to religious actions, but to arts, sciences, habit and custom, to the public life of the Islamic community and to the daily life of every Muslim.

However, this predominance of abstract forms in the ornamentation of visual objects connected with architecture or handicraft also of course stems from the prohibition of the image, even though this prohibition is actually based on *ḥadīth* rather than on any specific Quranic decree.² Why did this prohibition become so strict in Islam? It should be remembered, first of all, that the restrictive attitude of *sharī'a* was not limited simply to the production of images; with a few exceptions, the three fine arts, poetry, music and painting, were also regarded with suspicion, or even rejected, by the representatives of Islamic law and order. Much speculation has surrounded the reasons for this attitude, and, among other things, various theories of influence have been advanced.³ The present writer is persuaded that the intrinsic and all-embracing reason lies in the nature of arts as psychic powers or energies, there being, according to Islamic belief, no other might and no other power than by, with or through God.⁴ The awareness of the power or, as I call it, the "mightiness" of the arts in traditional Islamic society is reflected in the many testimonies to the power of poetry, music and images to be found in medieval sources.⁵

Before Islam entered the scene, these powers were, in Arabia at least, pagan, with a very frequent magical component. They were—or appeared to be—more or less profane in the cultures conquered by Islam. It is understandable, therefore, that the arts, with their uncontrollable "mightiness", should have provoked suspicion on the part of the new régime which sought

to impose its religious rule and sacred control upon everything. At first this concern manifested itself in *ḥadīths* about painting and poetry, but the visible consequences were soon to follow.⁶

The sober, sometimes even sombre nature of early Islamic architecture is a reflection of this attitude. However, Islam contained, from the very beginning, another, though less palpable dimension in its Holy Scripture and the early collections of *ḥadīths*: the dimension of ecstasy. If we are seeking areas of ecstatic experience in Islam (before the rise of mysticism), we may discover them in certain rites: in the utter strictness of fasting, in prayer within a large community, in the pilgrimage and in the Holy War.

Some of these rites display a repetitive structure which provides links both with control and with ecstasy. We may think, for example, of certain repeated actions during the pilgrimage, such as the sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the throwing of three times seven pebbles at various places in Mina, etc. The Quranic text, too, contains remarkable repetitive structures, notably in Sura 55, and so do certain famous accounts concerning the Prophet, such as the *ḥadīth al-shafā'a*, or *ḥadīth* of Intercession, and the *ḥadīth al-mi'rāj*, or *ḥadīth* of the Ascension, which in turn reflect repetitive structures existing in time and space according to the Islamic world view: sacred history with its recurrence of prophets and the Quranic universe with its seven spheres, later modified by the more scholarly Ptolemaic concept.⁷

Those concerning themselves with Islamic art are bound, sooner or later, to be struck by the enormous importance of repetitive structures in almost all its manifestations, whether in architecture, ornament, calligraphy, carpets or elsewhere. Far from producing monotony, as a Westerner might expect, repetition is a source of growing delight, culminating, perhaps, in ecstasy. This will, not, of course, apply to any repetition whatever. In art the item repeated must be beautiful, in religion it must be sacred; and in religious art it must be both sacred and beautiful. This applies both to sacred texts—according to Muslim belief, the Quranic text represents an inimitable miracle in itself—and to mystical music or ornaments used in sacred architecture. The impact of repetition is often enhanced by additional stratagems, such as an acceleration of rhythm or a gradual shortening of the elements repeated, a type of structure, which, incidentally, underlies the arrangement of the suras in the Quran, and for which I have proposed the term "conical". Furthermore, the combination of repetition and rhythmic intensification, so typical of Islamic musical performances, represents one of the many examples of the superimposing of two systems—which may be seen as a symbol of mystical or physical union, and thus has, again, much to do with ecstasy.

It is thanks to the efforts of mysticism, with its interiorised stance, that the arts, including, probably, miniature painting, but in particular literature and poetry, became capable of, and acceptable as, the expression of religious feelings in Islam. Mystics began to lay stress on God's being not only a God

of majesty (*jalāl*), but also of beauty (*jamāl*);⁸ "God is beautiful and loves beauty" is a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, and it belongs to the favourite set of *ḥadīths* quoted in mystical circles and writings.⁹ God reveals Himself in His creation by dint of his divine emanation (*ḥayd*), a neo-Platonic idea that became central in the context of mystical feeling and aesthetics;¹⁰ for now the artist could indulge in beauty without the fear of creating something provocative, confident of partaking in God's act of revealing divine beauty on earth.

Along with divine beauty, the mystics cultivated sacred ecstasy (*wajd*). Dance and music, once profane and the source of outbursts of uncontrolled ecstasy (*ṭarab*) regarded as satanic, were reintroduced precisely as a means of attaining such ecstasy, now regarded as permissible since it served to foster union with the Beloved, i.e. God. The legalists were, indeed, to look upon these "innovations" with a due degree of suspicion.¹¹ Yet the mystics were certain that their ecstasy was not only permissible, but divine, although they would warn against any illicit use of the power implicit in it.¹²

How do these general principles apply to Andalusī art? The present approach is so novel that several years of concentrated study would be needed to give a comprehensive answer to this question; only a few glimpses can be offered here.

II

Mysticism existed in al-Andalus as elsewhere in the Islamic world, culminating in the fascinating and enigmatic personality of Ibn 'Arabī, in whose nature control and ecstasy manifested themselves as in any mystic, although his artistic expression—that is, his poetry—does not usually reveal the typical structures of mystical ecstasy such as we find, for instance, in Jalāluddīn Rūmī's ecstatic hymns in praise of his mystical friend Shamsuddīn of Tabriz.¹³ However, Ibn 'Arabī matches Rūmī in his claims to "mightiness", which in fact verges on self-deification, and repetitive structures do occur in his prose writings, for example in his *Treatise on the Lights of the Secrets Granted to One Who Undertakes Retreat*, which describes the "Journey to the Lord of Power"; that is, the soul's ascension, structured in accordance with the famous lines of Rūmī:

I died as mineral and became a plant,
I died as plant and rose to animal etc.¹⁴

Every new stage is introduced by Ibn 'Arabī with almost the same formulaic phrase:

First you will discover the secrets of the mineral world. You will become acquainted with the secret of every stone and its particular harmful and beneficial qualities ... then He will free you from that mode and unveil the vegetal world.

And if you do not stop, He will reveal the animal world to you.
 Then after this, He reveals to you the infusion of the world of life-force into lives.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the "surface signs".
 If you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the light of the ascendant stars.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the degrees of speculative sciences.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the world of formation and adornment and beauty.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the degrees of the *qutb*.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the world of fever and rage and zeal for truth and falsehood.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the world of dignity and serenity and firmness.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals to you the Gardens.
 And if you do not stop with this, He reveals one of the sanctuaries where spirits are absorbed in the divine Vision. In it they are drunken and bewildered. The power of ecstasy has conquered them, and their state beckons you.
 And if you do not stop with this beckoning ...

There follow several further revelations introduced with the same formula, namely the sons of Adam, the Throne of Mercy, the Pen, identified with the First Intellect, and finally the Mover of the Pen, i.e. God himself. Then the work continues:

And if you do not stop with this, you are eradicated, then withdrawn, then effaced, then crushed, then obliterated. When the effects of eradication and what follows are terminated, you are affirmed, then made present, then made to remain, then gathered together, then assigned. And the robes of honor which [your degree] requires are conferred upon you, and they are many.¹⁵

The close link between ecstasy and repetitive structure is obvious in this text, but so is the importance of control, which is never abandoned; and at the end of his spiritual *mi'rāj* the mystic is obliged to realise that he is still in his body, on earth, and must return to his everyday activities.

Repetition is also connected with mirror effects,¹⁶ this link being notably present in the marvellous passage in Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* where the descent of the divine light, proceeding from God and traversing the seven spheres until it reaches the earth, is described as being reflected, at every sphere, as if in a mirror.¹⁷

III

Let us now, however, turn our attention to some poetical texts in which either ecstasy or control, or the two together, play an important part. The reader should be reminded, first of all, that the dominant form of pre-modern Arabic poetry, and of Islamic poetry generally—a form common to the *qasīda* (long poem), the *qit'a* (short poem) and the *ghazal* (short love poem)—was characterised by monorhyme and strict prosody, which obliged the poet

to make use of a single meter throughout a poem, and by the absence of stanzas or strophic segments. The formal structure had thus to be chosen in the first line of any poem, and then continued until the last; this naturally entailing (from the historical beginnings of this poetry) a highly repetitive structure, with every line mirroring the preceding and following ones. The monorhyme causes every line to end on the same sound, rather as rays, proceeding from various points, move toward one centre in a fan-like formation; and again, the effect of this acoustic structure is far removed from monotony. The degree of expectation created by the limited number of possibilities in the rhyme activates the hearer, and, if the poem answers favourably to this expectation, the joy to the auditory sense mounts moment by moment, until ecstasy is reached. In other words, a rigid technical control does not exclude ecstasy, but may rather contribute to unleashing it.

This being the case, it would seem reasonable to interpret the formal revolution in Arabic poetry that took place in al-Andalus, with its development of a highly sophisticated strophic form, within this frame of reference. The *muwashshaha* may in fact be understood as a hypertrophic *qasida* or *ghazal*. What has been said above also applies to this form, except that the basic structure is repeated not in each line but only in each stanza. The lines of the stanza may vary in length and have different rhymes, yet whatever rhyme pattern and rhythm appears in the first strophe is repeated in the following ones; in other words, the *qasida* line has, so to speak, been stretched into a whole strophe. The process rather resembles a widespread practice in Persian and Turkish literature, where the *ghazal* poets would often divide each line into four segments of equal length, placing interior rhymes at the end of the first three segments, so that the resulting form always displays the pattern (a,b, etc.=interior rhymes, changing from line to line and strophe to strophe; capitals=monorhyme, followed throughout the poem) aR aR, bbbR, cccR—although this did not in fact need to be strictly followed throughout the poem.

In the *muwashshaha*, we find the most variegated strophic structures, e.g.

I. abcd	II. efgh	III. ijkl etc.
abcd	efg	hijkl
abcd	efgh	ijkl
QRS	QRS	QRS
QRS	QRS	QRS ¹⁸

Those *muwashshahāt* which end in the *kharja*, a popular Romance verse or strophe, reveal how this revolutionary pattern actually stems from indigenous Romance poetry, although the *kharja* lends its form only to the second part of the strophe, the so-called *qufl* ("lock") or *simt* ("girdle"), and the first part, called a *ghuṣn* ("branch"), is an independent invention (still, its strophic structure resembles that of the *kharja* and, as such, it is evidently inspired by it). The *qufl* takes the place, as it were, of the rhyme, and therefore all *qufl*

(or *kharja*) rhymes appear in all strophes, whereas the *ghuṣn* rhymes change from strophe to strophe and take the place of the part preceding the rhyme in traditional verse. Sometimes the *kharja* part precedes the whole poem, as an introduction called a *maṭlaʿ*.

It was thus the *kharja* that broke through the ancient pattern of the *qaṣīda*, enriching it with a variety of meters and rhymes not previously conceivable. In other words, the *muwashshaḥa* comes about through the combination of two systems, the indigenous strophic form being superimposed upon the *ghazal* form, or, rather, merged with it and absorbed by it. As such, it is a fine example of the fusion of two cultures that took place in al-Andalus, and symbolises the Islamic principle of incorporating foreign influences by assimilating them to its own rules; in other words, of offering participation through submission.¹⁹

At the same time, however, this superimposing of various structural systems is one of the main principles underlying Islamic ornament and Islamic art in general.²⁰ By superimposing the indigenous strophic form on the *ghazal* pattern, the repetitive elements in the *muwashshaḥa* have become tighter, feverish as it were, with the formal effort or degree of control more pronounced than in the traditional *ghazal*. Again, however, the effect is by no means necessarily insipid, the exercise of technical skill without spirit, but can rather be one of ecstasy. The *muwashshaḥa* thus also symbolises the very Islamic phenomenon of attaining ecstasy through a particularly strong submission to self-imposed rules, or, to put it in religious terms, supererogatory efforts. Without having witnessed any performance, we may yet surmise that the amount of ecstasy unleashed in a listener by a *muwashshaḥa* strongly depended on its musical execution; for, as Monroe and others have pointed out, "musical influences probably lie behind the origin of the new form".²¹

IV

Other aspects of "ecstasy and control" in Andalusī poetry concern its cosmic dimensions and religious overtones; and these we can perceive directly in the texts.

A fine example of the ecstatic cosmic-ranging fantasies created by Andalusī poets (following in the footsteps of earlier Eastern writers) is a short poem by Ibn Khafāja (450/1058-533/1139), known as *al-jannān* ("the Gardener") and esteemed as one of the best composers of nature lyrics in al-Andalus:

That [young man] "Flame" played with that [maiden] "Wind", till their play turned to earnest.

He passed the night in the abode of passion, ardent for her and restless.

I shared his sleeplessness, judging him drunk, while ecstasy [*tarab*] trembled in his shoulders.

Even a mint inspector, now appearing, could not tell if this were burning flame or gold.

The [maiden] "Wind" kisses his bashful cheek, while sparks are watchful eyes
 There, at a fire-place, where morning poured [as into wine] its water, bubbles
 above it [formed] by stars,
 Partly [appear] blue cinders, partly the embers below them,
 As if the night sky knelt there above them, with meteors sparkling upon it.²²

As is usually the case with this poet, the writing is rather difficult and defies a convincing translation. Its meaning, however, is not obscure. The poet, although he appears only once for a short moment (in the first half of the third line), not only shares the sleeplessness of the flame, but evidently also its ecstasy, its love, its brightness, and, finally, its dying away; in other words, he projects some of his own emotional experience into the night scene. The "control" pole is provided not by *sharī'a* elements, to which there is no express reference in this poem, but by a certain sense of melancholy, which is typical not only of this poet but of other Andalusī poets too—and which finally, with its implications of submission to fate and to the cosmic order, has very clear Muslim implications. The gradual extinction of the fire may be understood as a symbol not only of life's transitoriness, but of the impending end of Andalusī glory.

In terms of structure, the poem is a fine example of the superimposing of various systems or levels, in this case the realms of real fire and metaphorical wine, upon which, as a third layer, the love scene is imposed; and finally, again by a daring interlacing of metaphor and reality, earth and cosmos are intertwined, the real sky with its stars providing the water (dew) and the bubbles (stars) for the wine (fire) in the imaginary night-embracing wine glass, while the cinders with the embers beneath them glimmering through the cracks seem to the poet like a tiny night sky flashing with stars or comets or meteors. Microcosm and macrocosm are thus skilfully interwoven. The poet magnifies terrestrial phenomena into celestial ones and vice versa, revealing himself, or rather his fantasy, to be endowed with the cosmic power of a perfect man. But if "the Gardener" views a reflection of his own emotion in the ecstasy of the flame, he also unmasks it as a passing illusion, part of the self-consuming process of life within the flickering spectacle of the universe.²³ All this is a perfect and very tight artistic expression of medieval Islamic ontology, an existence between ecstasy and control, with control meaning submission either to religious laws, or to cosmological forces, or, very often, to both at the same time.

V

The topic of love, only vaguely present in the preceding poem, is of course much more prominent in many other poems, and it is tempting to look at them with our polarity in mind. A few preliminary reflections, however, are advisable to ensure a proper understanding of the subject in its particular Andalusī context.

Love between the sexes is not a major subject in the Quran, but nor is it entirely absent. Yūsuf and Zulaikha figure in the twelfth Sura, and the Prophet himself appears as lover, expressly or by implication, in various revelations.²⁴ Love and sexual relations had to be sacred, submitted, like everything else in Islam, to the laws of revelation, and this did not in every respect provide a convenient framework for writers of love-lyrics. On the one hand, the *shari'a* allowed intercourse with slave-girls—"what your right hand owns" (4, 3); but on the other hand, Islamic matrimonial law is anything but emotional, and, with its leaning towards polygamy, it is in direct conflict with the essential basis of true love, which is a dual and not a one-to-many relation. Whereas Muḥammad Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in his "Revival of the Sciences of [the Islamic] Religion" cites the Prophet as saying (pointing to his grandson Ḥasan b. 'Alī with his total of 200 wives): "The best man of my community is he with the greatest number of wives."²⁵ Arab poets had to decide whether to continue in pre-Islamic hedonism or cultivate—in their verses, at least—a relationship of authentic monogamous love. Many of them chose the latter, even trying to sacralise their love, or divinise the beloved, or draw parallels between true love and monotheism. The school best known for this attitude was that of the so-called 'Udhri poets, who, however, went to the extreme, remaining faithful to the unattainable adored one until death and often even dying from love.²⁶ In their poems the ecstasy of love is controlled by its sanctity; the submission is not to law, but to love, which takes the place of religion.

Fine examples of this are to be found in the poetry of the great Andalusī poet, philosopher, jurist and theologian Ibn Ḥazm (384/994–456/1064). Consider, for instance, the following lines:

I love you with a love that knows no waning, whereas some of men's loves are midday mirages.

I bear for you a pure, sincere love, and in [my] heart there is a clear picture and an inscription declaring my love for you.

Moreover, if my soul were filled by anything but you, I would pluck it out.²⁷

Are you from the world of the angels, or are you a mortal? Explain this to me, for inability to reach the truth has made a mockery of my understanding.

I see a human shape, yet if I use my mind, then the body is in reality a celestial one.²⁸

He who claims to love two lyingly commits perjury, just as Mani²⁹ is belied by his principles.

In the heart there is no room for two beloveds, nor is the most recent of things always the second.³⁰

Just as reason is one, not recognising any creator other than the One, the Clement,

Likewise the heart is one and loves only one, though he (she) should put you off or draw you to him.³¹

VI

The *muwashshaha* structure, however, offered a further means of counterbalancing ecstasy: the *kharja* with its popular, sometimes even crude, burlesque or obscene note.

The two elements of divinisation and a stylistic anticlimax provided by the *kharja* appear often, for example in a *muwashshaha* by the "Blind Poet of Toledo", al-A'mā al-Tuḥīlī (d. 519-20/1126). The poem is full of ecstatic declarations of love. In the second stanza, the beloved—in all likelihood a girl, even though introduced with the male gender—is compared to the Ka'ba, and the poet declares his intention of making the pilgrimage to him (her) and of being himself the victim for the ceremonial sacrifice. There are several further declarations of devotion and willingness to suffer, and the high style is preserved throughout the rest of the poem, until the *kharja* closes the song in popular Romance style:

Meu l-habib enfermo de meu amar
Que no ha d'estar
Non ves a mibe que s'ha de no llegar?

("My beloved is sick for love of me. How can he not be so? Do you not see that he is not allowed near me?")³²

The gushing verses, which display a note of masochism in their talk of unconditional submission to the ruthless lord who is the beloved, thus come to an end very abruptly, and the extravagant feelings are belittled or even belied by the playful turn of the *kharja*—by words, that is, put into the mouth of one of those among the conquered, who were, however, to emerge as victors after long centuries of subjugation. Thus, in this poem, the ecstasy of love is once more hampered by circumstances—or, from an Islamic point of view, due to the poet's submission not to the Lord of the universe, but to a Spanish courtesan. This appears to have more to do with Islamic sexual morals, and with the position of woman in Islam, than with our particular topic. Yet the question remains: what ultimately is the meaning of this strange contrast affecting so many *muwashshahāt* and resulting from the superimposing of two cultural traditions? Was the poet merely playing a game, or was he attempting to set out a symbolic truth, or is the truth a mixture of the two?

VII

The superimposing of two systems within Andalusī society, so successful in many respects—engendering as it did social, cultural, and artistic fusions and the delightful offspring of these—ended in ultimate failure for Arabic Spain. Yet it bequeathed many graceful remains, including Andalusī architecture and other works of art. It is, unfortunately, beyond the present writer's competence to deal with this topic within the short space of time available for

this volume. It does seem to me, however, that repetition and the superimposing of systems, which are both of all-pervading importance in Islamic ornament and calligraphy, also played a decisive part in the development of Andalusī architecture and other visual arts. Let us recall just a few very famous and conspicuous examples, considering first the Great Mosque of Córdoba, then certain places in Granada. Repetition is marvellously represented by the forest of columns in the prayer-hall of the Great Mosque of Córdoba (though this is, it is true, a common feature of many mosques, from the earliest days of Islam), and the superimposition of systems is likewise among the striking features of this building, manifesting itself in various ways. According to one specialist, "the method of construction with double superimposed arches, which gives the Córdoba mosque an original beauty and a unique character in medieval architecture, is not found in any other mosques".³³ Such superimposed columns are, it is true, to be found in the Hagia Sophia and in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, and Titus Burckhardt thinks those in Córdoba may have been inspired by the latter.³⁴ Nevertheless, these arches are certainly unique in their grace and weightlessness, and the impression may well be described as one of ecstasy built in stone—an impression further enhanced by the particular forms of the Moresque arch, the horseshoe arch, and, even more typical and important in our context, the broken arch, one, that is, into which a number of small arches have been carved; this representing an almost exact counterpart to the *muwashshaḥa* in terms of structure.

Other fine examples are to be seen in Granada, such as the double row of fountains in the Generalife Garden (a wonderful repetitive structure) or the *muqarnas* or stalactite domes in various halls of the Alhambra (a highly sophisticated superimposed structure)—"these small stalactites," one scholar notes, "are created with great variety, and provide a play of line and shadow both rigorous and hallucinating."³⁵ Here also is found the combination of vegetal motifs with complex geometrical outlines and inscriptions in Kufic and cursive.³⁶

Yet, as is often the case with the *muwashshaḥāt*, some of these architectural devices, arches and moulded plasterwork do not convey an impression of lightness and grace, but rather one of mannerism and stiffness.³⁷ Here and there, what was intended to testify to ecstasy (*wajd*) has become pose, a cramp of ecstasy (*tawajjud*).

Thus the poet king Yūsuf III (810/1408-820/1417), one of the last Arabic poets of Granada, starts and ends one of his *muwashshaḥāt* with the following lines:

O you who have
aimed

Meet one who's
dying

At my heart with
the dart

One whose eye is
shedding

Of a piercing
glance:

Fast-flowing tears!

In between he praises the infinite beauty of his beloved and recollects the fulfilment granted him by the latter in former days:

He's gained all beauty!	Who can vie with him?	
He is sweet and licit	Would he not make pretexts.	
Full of perfection—	Praised be his creator! ...	
How many a night	Did he keep faith with me	
While by our union	He lodged me in Eden!	
He cured the disease	Of my languishing heart,	
With the deep	Whose white snow	Pleasantly cool.
red lips	doth taste sweet	
Oft did he heal	With a peaceful	My broken heart...
	embrace	

Yet the cyclic structure of the poem—and of life as viewed by the poet?—forces him to return to the first lines. So the poem continues:

He lovingly gazed	Like a fawn without peer
And yet he had trespassed	Killing me by intent.
Then he turned off	While I exclaimed in ecstasy (<i>wajd</i>):
O you who have aimed etc. ³⁸	

The ecstasy of this love seems doomed by its own laws, and perhaps this was true also of Andalusī culture in general. But what culture is not doomed to perish sooner or later? And why should it not perish after experiencing such ecstasies, ecstasies that reverberate still in its rhymes, and in its vaults, arches, gardens and water-works?³⁹

¹ Cf. J. C. Bürgel, "Ecstasy and Control: Two Dominant Elements in Islamic art", in *The Iconography of Islamic art: A Symposium presented by the National Museums of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh*, ed. R. Hillenbrand, forthcoming.

² Cf. J. C. Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh. The "Licit Magic" of the Arts in Medieval Islam*, New York, 1988, p. 8 *et seq.* and p. 12 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13 *et seq.*

⁴ This is best expressed in the ubiquitous statement *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh*.

⁵ Cf. the source material in Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh*.

⁶ Examples are Muḥammad's calling poetry "the Quran of Satan", or cursing the makers of pictures along with women who tattoo themselves, those who live from usury and sorcerers; for further material and references, see *The Feather of Simurgh*, p. 11 *et seq.*

⁷ See J. C. Bürgel, "Repetitive Structures in Early Arabic Prose", in *Critical Pilgrimages: Studies in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, ed. F. Malti-Douglas, Austin, 1989, pp. 49-64.

⁸ Cf. A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975, p. 44.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

¹⁰ Cf. T. de Boer, "Fayḍ", in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

¹¹ Cf. Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh*, p. 112 *et seq.*; *idem*, *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit: Religion und Welt im Islam*, Munich, 1991 (forthcoming) (chapter entitled "Einige Fetwas gegen Musik").

¹² See, for example, the chapter on *samāʿ* in *Ghazālī's Revival of the Sciences of Religion (Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn)*, Cairo, 1387/1967, II, 346-89).

¹³ Cf. J. C. Bürgel, "Speech is a Ship and Meaning the Sea: Some Formal Aspects of the Ghazal poetry of Rūmī", in *The Heritage of Rūmī, 11th Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference*, ed. Amin Banani and George Sabbagh, forthcoming.

- 14 Schimmel, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
- 15 Ibn 'Arabi, *Journey to the Lord of Power: A Sufi Manual on Retreat* by Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi with Notes from a Commentary by 'Abdul-Karim Jili and an Introduction by Sheikh Muzafer Ozak al-Jerrahi, Translated by Rabia Terri Harris, London-The Hague, 1981, p. 36 *et seq.*
- 16 Cf. the chapter "The Magic Mirror: On Some Structural Affinities in Islamic Miniature, Calligraphy, and Literature", in Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh*, p. 138 *et seq.*
- 17 See my "Ibn Tufayl and his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*", in this volume.
- 18 Monroe, No. 18. Very often, the *ghuṣn* has the structure ababab; cf. the examples in E. García Gómez, *Las jarchas romanes de la serie árabe en su marco*, 2nd ed., Barcelona, 1965.
- 19 *Teilhabe durch Unterwerfung*, one of the basic assumptions underlying my book *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit*.
- 20 This is shown in Bürgel, "Ecstasy and Control".
- 21 Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 22 Ibn Khafāja, *Diwān*, ed. S. M. Ghāzī, Alexandria, 1960, No. 29, p.75.
- 23 Cf. J. C. Bürgel, "Man, Nature and Cosmos as Intertwining Elements in the Poetry of Ibn Khafāja", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 14, 1983, pp. 31-45.
- 24 Cf. Quran 24,4; 33,4; 37-40; 66,1-5; 33, 52.
- 25 *Ḥyā' 'ulūm al-Dīn*, II, 38.
- 26 On 'Udhri love cf. L. A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*, New York-London, 1971.
- 27 Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 171, No. 8A.
- 28 *Ibid.*, No. 8C.
- 29 Mani: the founder of Manichaeism, a religion based on the duality of two opposed forces, and severely persecuted as heresy in Islam.
- 30 The second half of this line is not clear to me. Possibly *wa-la aḥḍaṭhu 'l-umūri bi ṭhāni* should be emended to *wa-la aḥḍaṭhi 'l-umūri li-ṭhāni* ("[nor is there room] for that which, more than anything else, leads to splitting [literally: 'produces a second one']", i.e., inconstant love or concupiscence).
- 31 Monroe, *op. cit.*, No. 8E.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 249, No. 23.
- 33 Cf. L. Torres Balbás, "Andalusian Art", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, I, 498a.
- 34 T. Burckhardt, *L'art de l'Islam: Langage et signification*, Paris, p. 196.
- 35 H. Terrasse, "Gharnāṭa", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, II, 1019a.
- 36 Torres Balbás, *op. cit.*, 500a/b.
- 37 Terrasse states, with regard to the Alhambra, that "at the end of the 8th/14th century a certain stiffness appears in the moulding and even in the forms". (*op. cit.*, 1018b).
- 38 Monroe, *op. cit.*, No. 42.
- 39 On Andalusí garden architecture cf. J. Brookes, *Gardens of Paradise: The History and the Design of the Great Islamic Gardens*, London, 1987, pp. 37-69.

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CALLIGRAPHY IN AL-ANDALUS

ANTONIO FERNÁNDEZ-PUERTAS

INTRODUCTION

Arabic is written and read from right to left, for which reason the pages of their books are read in the opposite direction from a western book, beginning at the back and ending at the front. Even the way of handling an Arabic book is different, as the book is held in the left hand, and on completing the reading of two pages, the leaf is turned over by the honourable "right hand". This is decisive at the moment of creation and of subsequent aesthetic "reading", since a Muslim unconsciously sees, or "reads", a monument correctly. When a westerner approaches Islamic art he instinctively "reads" it the opposite way and misses the original intention.

The new Islamic religion was born in a Semitic surrounding containing different dialects. In the time of the first three of the four *rāshidūn* or caliph companions and followers of the Prophet,¹ a written compilation of the Quran was begun under the first and second caliphs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and it was the third caliph 'Uthmān who probably provided a unified written version. From the early days of the Umayyads, archaic Arabic writing began to separate the angular form of script, known as kufic, from the more flexible free-hand form known as *naskhī*. Kufic prevailed in official writing and Qurans, free of diacriticals or vowels ("scripta defectiva"), reduced to 17 letters out of the 28 sounds pronounced in speech. Confusion and divergent readings entailed the addition of diacritical points round about the middle of the 2nd/8th century, and a system of distinguishing vowels and doubling consonants to fix the meaning of the sacred text in copies of the Quran in Abbasid times (4th/10th century). The form of kufic lettering, free of diacriticals, was the style adopted in artistic Islamic decoration.²

Artistic Arabic calligraphy first made its appearance in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, dated 72/691, in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.³ The letters are stiff and primitive but clear because prepared in advance before being executed in mosaic. Far more calligraphic, with better-drawn kufic letters, is the historic inscription on a stone lintel at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī⁴, dated 109/727, which refers to Hishām, Commander of the Faithful, a son of the above 'Abd al-Malik. Nonetheless, alongside this calligraphy that was first drawn and then executed, there is another type of free-hand calligraphy in

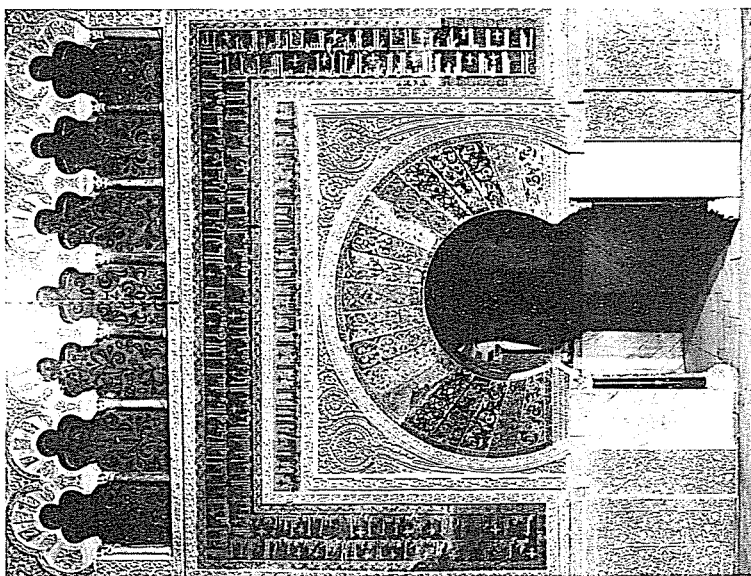
inscriptions on Umayyad palaces, bearing the direct impress of the artist's hand, cursive and irregular.⁵ This kind of manual writing is to be found in ink on marble, as in Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī,⁶ in Khirbat al-Mafjar, or in Mshatta, dating from the time of al-Walid II b. Yazīd.⁷

The Iberian Peninsula passed under the dominion of the Umayyads in 92/711, and the dynasty survived there after the conquest of the area in 138/756 by the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān I.

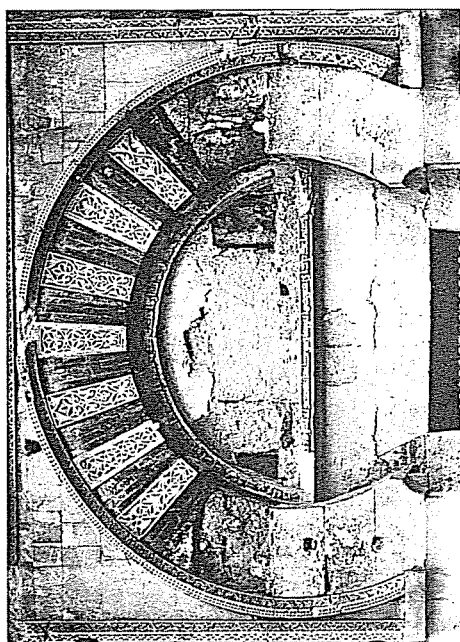
How did Arabic calligraphy enter al-Andalus? The answer is: through coinage. The organisation of the new state, its economy and its trade required a single currency. Arabic writing was present from the moment of the conquest, all during the epoch of the *wālis* (governors loyal to the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus), in the form of books, above all Qurans, but the overwhelming majority of the population remained Christian for decades until, with the passage of time, the arrival of a new generation and the economic advantages of conversion, the Arabic language spread, it being necessary not only to speak and read the language of the new rulers but to write it too. Calligraphy proper probably entered al-Andalus through the coinage, and only later through texts, especially the Quran. Whenever a cache of coins dating from the time of the *wālis* and particularly the *amīrs* is examined, a coin is often found with writing on its rim affirming that the high-grade silver dirham was struck in the city of Wāsiṭ (in present-day Iraq). The beautiful kufic letters are neat and precise, proportionate each to another, and with an angular rhythm in their clear epigraphic design.

Trade, the pilgrimage to Mecca and contacts between the Near East and the Iberian Peninsula carried on uninterruptedly, as is attested by the discoveries of coins of the period. The Umayyad *amīrs* soon started to mint their own coins "in al-Andalus", which at this time meant that they were minted in Córdoba. The calligraphic inscriptions on the eastern dirhams from Wāsiṭ show much finer early kufic lettering than those on Andalusī coins, though with time these attained an acceptable quality. Numismatic evidence forms an invaluable historical record to document the introduction of Arabic calligraphy into the country.

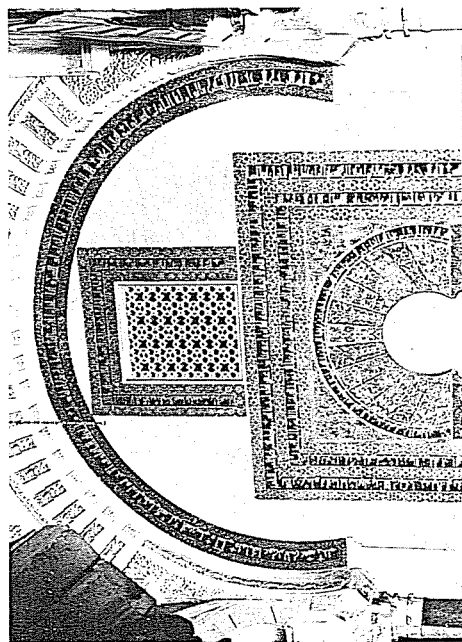
The calligraphy of al-Andalus and its zone of influence in North Africa is divisible stylistically into four successive periods: 1) Emīro-Caliphal (92/711-422/1031); 2) the *īā'ifas* (422/1031-478/1085); 3) Almoravid-Almohad (478/1085-541/1147, 541/1147-629/1232); and 4) Naṣrid (629/1232-897/1492). Each period has its own characteristics, and when the period is a long one, (as are 1 and 4), distinct evolutionary phases can be discerned. The calligraphy which began being used in religious texts ends up used for poetry, embellishing architecture and other artistic forms.



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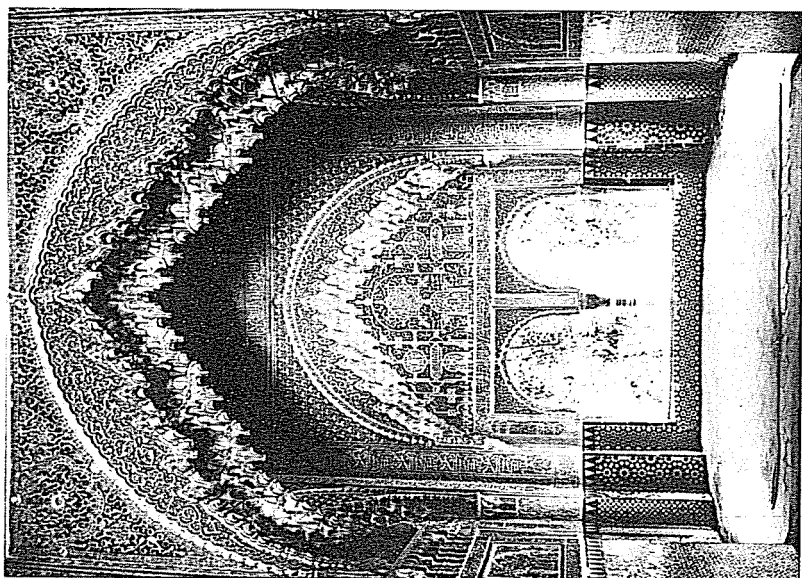


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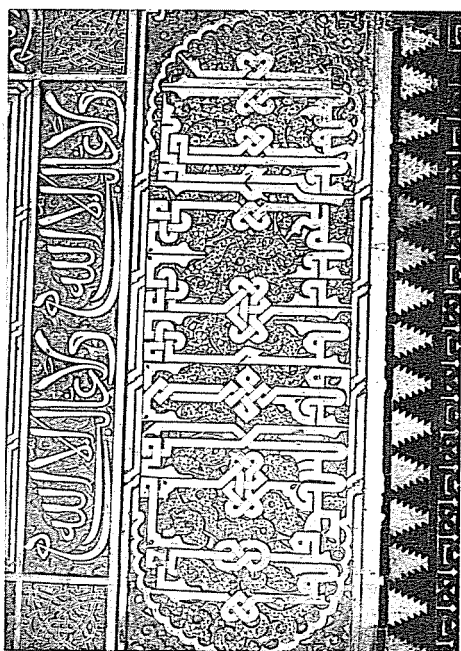


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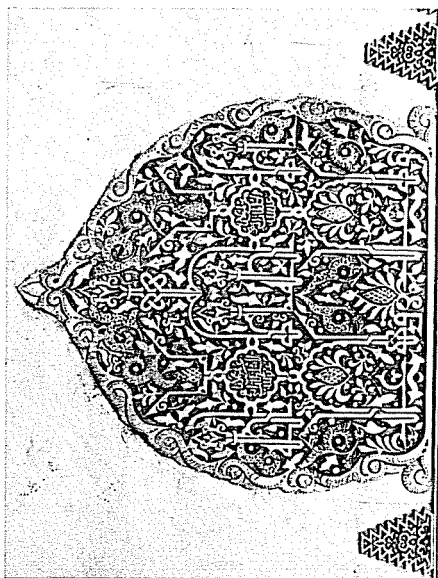
1. Córdoba Mosque: Inscription in the tympanum (241/855 – 6) of the Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ³. Photo, Félix Hernández Giménez.
2. Córdoba Mosque: Façade of the *mihrāb* (ca. 354/965). Photo, German Archaeological Institute, Madrid.
3. Córdoba Mosque: Façade of the *sābāt* (ca. 354/965). Photo, German Archaeological Institute, Madrid.



12



10



11

10. Granada, Alhambra: Hall of Comares, frieze in plaster (ca. 753/1352 – 755/1354). Photo, A. Fernández-Puertas.

11. Granada, Alhambra: N. Gallery of the Patio of Comares, floral-epigraphic arch (ca. 770/1368). Photo, A. Fernández-Puertas.

12. Granada, Alhambra: Mirador of the Main Qubba (today Lindaraja) (ca. 1380s). Photo, A. Fernández-Puertas.

I. THE EMIRO-CALIPHAL PERIOD (92/711-422/1031)

The first phase of calligraphy extends from the period of the *wālis* (92/711-138/756), through the independent emirate and Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba (138/756-422/1031), and covers al-Andalus and its area of political influence in the Maghrib. Within this period three distinct phases can be made out, from the evolving design of the characters on coins, monuments, architectural elements, stone slabs and other epigraphic materials. These are: (I.1) archaic kufic; (I.2) floriated kufic; and (I.3) ordinary kufic.⁸

I.1 Archaic kufic calligraphy

Archaic kufic calligraphy is found right up to the period of the *amīr* Muḥammad I (238/852-273/886), until the years 251/865-254/868. The letters are formed of simple straight strokes, and with the body of the letter thick and angular contrasting with the vertical strokes, though imperfectly shaped, with straight-line ligatures between the letters. To this period belongs the inscription incised on a grey-coloured column from the original Great Mosque of Seville dating from the 3rd/9th century (fig.1). It is the oldest architectural inscription in al-Andalus. The letters are primitive, neither well drawn nor well cut, although the hardness of the stone may have contributed to this. The inscription records that the mosque was built by the *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān [II] b. al-Ḥakam, and under the supervision of the *qāḍī* of Seville, 'Umar b. 'Adabbas, in 214/829-30, being the work of the calligrapher-epigraphist, or *kātib*, 'Abd al-Barr b. Hārūn. It is a difficult text to decipher, and the chronicler of the Almohad epoch Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāh was unable to record it correctly in his work.⁹

More elegant by far is the inscription on the Bāb al-Wuzarā' (plate I.1) of the Mosque of Córdoba, built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I in 169/785, and "consolidated" some 70 years later by Muḥammad I in 241/855-6 on account of the dilapidated state of the lintel and two windows.¹⁰ The inscription, though with squat letters, is fluid and extends beyond the horizontal line of the script, and establishes a balance between round and angular letters, with finials tilted either left or right; the execution is fluent. Twenty-five years, almost a generation, separate this inscription in the Great Mosque of the capi-

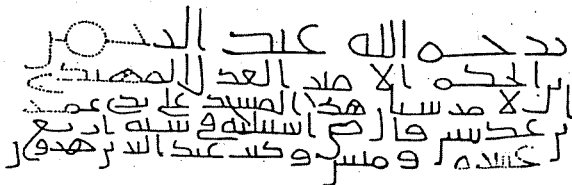


Figure 1. Seville: foundational inscription from the original Great Mosque (214/829-30). Drawing M. Ocaña Jiménez.

tal of the Emirate from the one in Ibn 'Adabbas's mosque at Seville. Moreover, the inscription on the Bāb al-Wuzarā' was specially designed and carved on a series of slabs mortared into the stonework. The importance accorded this simple work of "consolidation" and "renovation" in the Mosque of Córdoba may be inferred from the text, which states that "the prince Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ordered the work of renovation and consolidation of this mosque ... and the work was finished in 241 [855-6] ... under the supervision of Masrūr, his *fatā*.'" ¹¹ This indicates that the work took place under an expert architect, a freedman of the emiral house since the time of the prince's father, the *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, who was serving him when the latter extended the mosque, according to al-Ḥasan b. Mufarrij and Mu'āwiya b. Hishām, as reported by Ibn Ḥayyān in the section of his *Al-Muqtabis* dealing with the emirates of al-Ḥakam I and his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. ¹²

1.2 Floriated kufic calligraphy

Floriated kufic makes its appearance during the emirate of Muḥammad I and remains on the scene till the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (300/912-350/961). Vertical strokes terminate in bevelled finials, or, more frequently, in two or three palm leaves, one straight, another convoluted, and when there is a third it sprouts between them. This kind of floriated finial indifferently faces right or left. Some examples of the letter *nūn* are so rounded in shape as to form a swan's neck shape; and there is a series of semi-circular ligatures below the line. The letters are well drawn, with the proportion of length to width characteristic of Hispano-Islamic calligraphy, which establishes its own rules, such as: the superimposition of letters; representing the round body of the letters. The body of the script was broken by several specific letters that are standing free, both in the middle and at the end of the word.

The calligraphy of this second period plays a considerable ornamental role, marking the start of its decorative use in subsequent periods, culminating with the Naṣrids, under whom Hispano-Muslim calligraphy reaches its maximum development. As text and as ornament calligraphy will figure henceforward in all branches of art. On caliphal architecture it appears on bases, capitals, pilasters, the frames of arches, horizontal bands etc; likewise on coinage (which rivals Fāṭimid coinage for elegance), historico-commemorative and funerary slabs, ivory objects, ceramics and so on. Texts are either of a historical, religious or funerary nature.

An example can be seen in the basilical hall known as the Salón Rico, which 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had built in Madinat al-Zahrā', where the epigraphy gives dates of construction of a base, an abacus of a capital, and the horizontal frieze above the arches, thus dating the different stages of con-

struction of the pavement, the springing of the arches and the completion of the carved stone revetment, which extend through 341/952 to 346/957; and supplies the name of the reigning caliph, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.¹³ The names of the artists and others responsible for the work on the hall are given on marble pilasters leading to the collateral chambers.¹⁴

In the Mosque at Córdoba the task of reinforcing the 2nd/8th century courtyard façade, which was collapsing, by means of buttresses or pillars joined by horseshoe arches supported on columns to form the new exterior façade of the patio, is recorded on a marble slab on the left of the entrance to the central nave. In beautiful floriated kufic it states that 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Commander of the Faithful (for he had assumed the title of caliph in 316/929 for politico-religious reasons), gave orders for "the building of the façade and assuring its solidity", the work being completed "in the moon of *dhū 'l-Hijja* of the year 346 [23 February-24 March 950], under the direction of his freedman vizier and *ṣāḥib* of his *madīna* 'Abd Allāh b. Badr. Work of Sa'īd b. Ayyūb".¹⁵

This slab, along with the inscriptions in the hall at Madīnat al-Zahrā', contains religious expressions and Quranic allusions, beginning with the *basmala*; in other words, as always with the Mālikis, the texts stress the divine omnipotence. In the caliphal period, calligraphy is a favourite mode of decoration painted on a slip in ceramics, with square or curved letters, the vertical strokes straight or bent, ending in a floriated finial. Such inscriptions are for the most part pious invocations such as *baraka* (blessing) or *mulk* (sovereignty or power), both with and without the article. Up to this time, Hispano-Muslim calligraphy has historico-documentary value and is an expression of religion in Andalusī life, but its use is limited as an aesthetic or decorative element.

1.3 Simple kufic calligraphy

The third and last phase of this first period is characterised by simple kufic, which reaches its climax with the reign of the second caliph al-Ḥakam II (350/961-366/976) and lasts into the beginning of the 5th/11th century as an archaic form with certain innovations during the course of that century. This script is known as simple kufic because the strokes and finials of the letters lack floriation, and it has a system of proportions between the body of the letters and the vertical strokes, which end obliquely bevelled, facing either right or left, to produce an impression of great elegance. The script is graceful, clearly drawn and executed, and the ligatures are semi-circular or straight.

Under al-Ḥakam II kufic assumes enormous decorative importance, occupying the most important and conspicuous places in any architectural ensemble, as can be seen in his enlargements of the Cordoban mosque, in the

façades of the *mihrāb*, the *sābāt* (the private passage which communicated the mosque with the caliphal palace) and the *bayt al-māl*.¹⁶ and in the vaulted bay in front of the *mihrāb* as well as in the *mihrāb*'s own small, octagonal chamber (plate I.2, I.3).

Calligraphy also figures on the Quranic frieze which runs beneath the wooden ceiling of al-Ḥakam's extension of the central nave. The texts are still historico-religious in nature and furnish invaluable data on the history and architecture of the monument. In the *mihrāb* façade and the vaulted bay preceding it there are beautiful inscriptions.

Within the *mihrāb* octagonal chamber the border of the marble dado exhibits a masterly handling due to the beauty of the modelling of the letters cut in a hard material, as do the marble blocks of the imposts of the arch, faultlessly chiselled because they had been carefully planned and drawn before the craftsman started work.

This is worth mentioning, because the other inscriptions in the façade and bay of the *mihrāb* are done in mosaic (plate I.2), working on larger surfaces and in material easier to handle, as the tiny cubic pieces of glass could be used to adjust the proportions of thick and thin in the lettering, insert free trefoil motifs between letters, and so on. Nonetheless, in the inscription framing the *mihrāb* arch, the calligrapher (*kātib*) Muṭarrif b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—who is named in the inscriptions in the *maqṣūra*—was unable to solve the problem of turning the inscription at the corners of the frame. He made the vertical bands of the text intrude on the horizontal band.

On the façade of the *sābāt* (plate I.3) he superimposed lines of vertical and horizontal script, the vertical lines on the right reaching to the top of the upper corner, and the horizontal text extending to the left top corner. This is a solution which has at least the advantage of not confusing the eye, and will recur in later periods. The calligraphic defect in the frame of the *mihrāb* arch is evident where two lines of script overlap (plate I.2). It is a fault that completely disrupts the beauty and harmony of the calligraphy. It is surprising to find such a fault in so conspicuous a position and important an inscription, because the problem of how to turn a corner with an inscription had already been solved in the four small arches of the *ṭāqāt* (niches) in the palatine residence in Madinat al-Zahrā' belonging to the freedman and *ḥājib*, Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was in charge of the work of al-Ḥakam II's expansion of the mosque.¹⁷ These four small arches, executed during the last years of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's reign, in 349/960,¹⁸ solve the problem by filling the corner with a stylised blossom, a device that will continue to be used into the Naṣrid period, together with the other solution of simply inserting a square at the corners.

It is odd that court calligraphers should have solved this problem five years earlier, yet those working on the mosque could not think of a solution. Was it an attempt at a new solution that failed to come off? Or were different

calligraphers at work in the two places? I do not know, because the *ḥājib* Ja'far mentioned on the four arches also figures in the inscription on the Córdoba *maqṣūra* as the man in charge of the work of enlargement, though he died before the work was completed, according to the text on the first mosaic frame of the *sābāt* façade, where the mortuary formula, "May God have mercy on him", follows the mention of his name. Therefore the *sābāt* façade was done after the *mihrāb* facade, and the *kātib* improved on his faulty *mihrāb* solution in the later *sābāt* façade corners.

On all the inscriptions the caliph al-Ḥakam is mentioned only with his honorific caliphal title, al-Mustanṣir bi-Llāh, and in his twin functions as caliph: *Imām* and Commander of the Faithful. The texts on the imposts state that al-Ḥakam II ordered "his freedman and *ḥājib* ... to fix both these imposts". The mosaic text on the U-shaped band of the frame states, amongst Quranic verses and religious phrases, that al-Ḥakam II gave orders to "his freedman and *ḥājib* Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Rahmān for the building of this edifice ... completed ... under the inspection of Muḥammad b. Tamlikh, Aḥmad b. Naṣr and Khālid b. Hāshim, his chiefs of police, and Muṭarrif b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, the *kātib*, his servants".

The religious, historical and Quranic text on the dado of the octagonal chamber of the *mihrāb* states that al-Ḥakam II ordered the chamber to be built and revetted in marble under the supervision of the same team of servants. The inscriptions on the façade and niche of the *mihrāb* bear the same date, the month of *dhū 'l-Hijja*, 354/November 28-December 27, 965.¹⁹

On the façade of the *sābāt*, the inner mosaic border of the horseshoe arch records that the caliph al-Ḥakam II ordered "this *fusayfisā* [mosaic work] to be done in the venerable room, and it was completed in the year 3—[part of the date is missing]".²⁰ The frame consists of five consecutive borders, of which the second and fourth contain inscriptions, the latter being Quranic. The second states that "he [the caliph] ordered this access to his place of prayer", and mentions the deceased *ḥājib* Ja'far, along with the remaining servants of the crown already mentioned.

Islamic architecture is usually anonymous save for the name of the ruler, prince or magnate who commissioned the work, and even these may not figure. In the Near East, the Umayyads sometimes recorded their name and a date on an edifice. After the transfer of the dynasty to al-Andalus, inscriptions under both the Emirate and the Caliphate identify the person who, along with the *amīr* or caliph, had a hand in the construction, and specify their particular role, even if one had died in the course of the work, as also the exact date. Such wealth of historical data is uncommon in Islamic art, and least of all in epigraphy. Following the collapse of the Caliphate such inscriptions become briefer and almost disappear during the period of the Almohads in the second half of the 6th/12th century, to re-appear occasionally under the Naṣrids. Similar historical detail is to be found even on

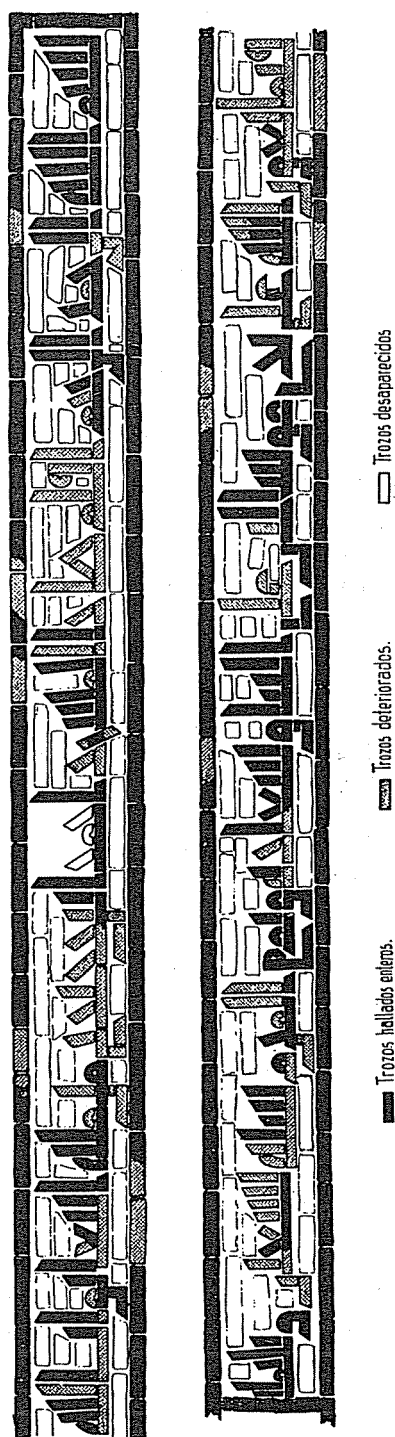


Figure 2. Toledo: Foundational inscription of Bāb al-Mardūm (390/999-1000), today Cristo de la Luz. Drawing M. Ocaña Jiménez.

less important foundations, such as a vanished minaret put up by a freedman of al-Ḥakam II called Durri al-Ṣaghīr in what is today the province of Jaén, where the freedman owned a number of *al-munyas* (country estates), like that of Guadarramán, besides others in the vicinity.²¹ Military architecture has the same sort of historical commemorative epigraphy, as is shown by the plaque of Baños de la Encina.²²

Kufic calligraphy at this time adorns textiles, ceramics and metalwork, like the chest covered with sheets of silver preserved in Gerona Cathedral, which al-Ḥakam II had made for his son and appointed heir Prince Hishām.²³ Unique in Hispano-Muslim art, and belonging to this same period, are the ivory boxes and containers which usually identify the person who commissioned the work, the craftsman, and sometimes the recipient, besides recording the date. In coinage, the strokes are more stylised and it is standard practice to name, in the central space, the master of the mint for the year in which the coin was struck.

Under the government of the *ḥājib* al-Manṣūr, during the reign of Hishām II, calligraphy follows the same course as in the previous reign of al-Ḥakam II, as witness the coins, the *ṭirāz* of Hishām II, ivories, etc.²⁴ An exception is the piece of decorative carpentry on the back of the *minbar* in the Andalusīyīn Mosque in Fez, which al-Manṣūr ordered to be restored, as the Fāṭimid work was in a state of disrepair.²⁵

The proportioning of the letters in this first period of Hispano-Muslim calligraphy varies with the material on which the calligraphy is being applied. It is far harder to carve a text on marble, which can easily chip, than on hard ivory. But both are harder to work with than textiles or mosaic, and much harder than putting paint on ceramics, or laying mosaics. The proportion of width to height in the letters, the calligraphic arrangement, the ornamental flourishes, etc., all depend on the kind of material used. This is evident from the foundation inscription of the small Bāb al-Mardūm Mosque (known today as Cristo de la Luz), put up by a Toledan philanthropist "with his own money" in 390/999-1000, as stated in the text worked in brick, the angularity and flattened proportions of whose letters were imposed by the nature of the material (fig. 2).²⁶

II. THE ṬĀIFA PERIOD (422/1031-478/1085)

The second phase of Hispano-Islamic calligraphy opens with the disintegration of the Cordoban caliphate in 422/1031, and the emergence of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*, or regional kings, who mostly controlled city states. Four of these are important on account of their influence on subsequent stylistic developments: the Banū 'Abbād of Seville; the Banū Hūd of Saragossa; the Dhū 'l-Nūn of Toledo; and the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almería.²⁷

The period under review embraces little more than half a century, the briefest in our survey, but it was crucial on account of the different types of calligraphy which emerged in the various kingdoms. For the first time there is a rudimentary attempt at forming a geometrical pattern by prolonging the strokes of the letters, without the result being altogether satisfactory. Likewise calligraphy appears interlaced with independent geometric ribbons, and floriation is relegated to the tops of letters and used to fill space, without going so far as to form a grid. Its brevity notwithstanding, the period is thus important for the development of the calligraphic "ductus" and the ornamentation which will adorn the two subsequent periods of calligraphy in al-Andalus and its area of influence in the Maghrib.

II.1 *The Banū 'Abbād*

In Seville, calligraphy is featured on foundation stones and gravestones, the border of ceramic lustre ware, gold dinars and silver dirhams. As a rule, this Sevillian calligraphy uses well-proportioned kufic adapted to the nature of the material used, the design being less rigid and geometric than in the previous period, with the base line less marked due to a series of curved strokes forming prolonged tails that descend until they almost touch the strokes of the line below. There is nonetheless a clear upward rhythm and greater slenderness to the characters, with strokes which terminate in widening bevelled finials. This may be seen from a foundation stone recording the restoration of a minaret by the king al-Mu'tamid dated 472/1079, on which, following caliphal precedent, the marble worker, one Ibrāhīm, is named, likewise the treasurer, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad. The calligraphic composition is made up of very elegant letters innocent of any floral element.²⁸ In the borders of ceramic lustre ware in the Seville Archaeological Museum, and in another found in Palma del Río (Province of Córdoba),²⁹ the name of al-Mu'tamid appears in gold on a white ground, in well-traced letters, but with the strokes lacking elegance because of the confined space. As restored, the plate from Palma del Río shows a central area divided into four quadrants each with a blossom motif, all of them golden on a white glazed ground. The remaining text says "which al-Mu'tamid ordered to be made under [the supervision of ...]".

This raises the question whether al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century had kilns producing lustre ware or whether this crockery were commissioned in the Near East and then imported. The style of calligraphy induces me to postulate a Sevillian pottery workshop, a hypothesis reinforced by the discovery of two fragments of a plate rim on which the name of the Sevillian monarch appears similarly written. In 'Abbādid coinage elegant, well executed letters fill the spaces, which inclines me to believe that artists from the caliphal mint in Córdoba emigrated to Seville to work for the 'Abbādid rulers.

II.2 *The Banū Hūd*

Of the kings of this dynasty in Saragossa, important calligraphic remains survive in their palace of al-Ja'fariyya (Aljafería), originally built *extra muros* close to the river Ebro. Other important remains have surfaced in the excavation of the palace-fortress of Balaguer (Province of Lérida).³⁰ Calligraphy in the Aljafería appears in various places: 1) bordering the alabaster dado in important rooms; 2) on capitals; on the convex moulding of a composite capital there figures the name of the sovereign, al-Muqtadir bi-Llāh, in whose reign the palace was built, along with a stylised blossom and ribbed palm leaves. The axial projections of the abacus of the capitals contain invocations composed of characters with interruptions and prolongation of the letters below the line of the script in addition to floral in-filling; 3) But it is in the remains of the calligraphic bands in the north transversal hall and in the Oratory where the great evolution of monumental calligraphy is quite remarkable (plate II.4). The letters in these bands have a rounded or somewhat pointed formation, the ligatures are curved, and the strokes tend to be tall and stylised with a width to height ratio of 1: 2.5 or 3. They terminate in wide concave finials. The lettering on these bands has, beneath the calligraphic composition, some curved stalks inexpertly drawn, with a sinuous spiral movement to which palm leaves, stylised blossoms and pine cones are attached. The most interesting feature in these calligraphic bands is another type of stroke that extends in form of a ribbon, where two of them form a cross with rounded arms, their ends terminating in ribbed palm leaves pointing in opposite directions. This is the first attempt at geometric kufic, not entirely successful, but a momentous innovation that opens up possibilities of future development. Together with this calligraphic composition where the geometric strokes do not cross over each other, but on meeting form rounded crosses, another design appears with geometric closed ribbons, centrally grooved, which form at the point of intersection of the cross a knot with five angular loops.

Here, therefore, in the *īā'ifa* period, there has emerged a calligraphy which has either a vegetal floral background, or is linked to an incipient geometric composition of the simplest form. Sometimes the ribbons of prolongation get mixed and link two strokes, leaving the upper parts of both to float free as a ribbon with loose ends, the kind of error a beginner would make. This type of calligraphic mistake in the tracing of kufic is found even in the supreme works of Hispano-Muslim calligraphy, as in the tympanum above the north window in the Mirador of Lindaraja in the Alhambra.

II.3 *The Dhū 'l-Nūn*

Under the *Dhū 'l-Nūn* dynasty of Toledo calligraphy is to be found on marble capitals and bases,³¹ ivories worked in the ateliers of Cuenca (a dependency of Toledo at this time),³² funeral *cippi*—marble or stone cylinders—the marble

rims of cisterns wells, funerary bricks, coins, etc.³³ Two types of calligraphy stand out, clearly differentiated. One is angular in character, with vertical strokes ending in curved finials facing either right or left and perforated with an opening; rarely does the stroke curve, and the spaces between the letters are filled with stalks with gently undulating branches showing a central incision where the flower is attached. The other kind of calligraphy has its prototype in the bands which adorn the cylindrical rim of the cistern well of the Great Mosque of Toledo (plate II.5), where the mosque's construction by al-Zāfir b. *dhī* 'I-Nūn, the first *īā'ifa* king of Toledo, in 423/1032, is commemorated.³⁴ The rim exhibits three bands of script, the highest one so thin and squat that it has got worn away with use. The other two bands have their height proportioned in keeping with the calligraphic script, which has centrally incised letters, finials that expand with an oblique, somewhat curved stroke, and the strokes and terminal prolongations of letters bursting into flower and ending in palm leaves or blossoms, which tend to fill the spaces above such letters as do not have vertical strokes. Some final letters have a swan's neck silhouette with floral finial; floral ornamentation can appear individually or connected to a stalk. The calligraphic beauty of such inscriptions is in marked contrast to the coins, which are badly designed, difficult to decipher and with text running in concentric circles.

II.4 *The Banū Šumādih*

The calligraphy of the *Banū Šumādih* is of an elegant sober and balanced kufic lettering, with proportioned strokes, with bevelled finials, with free vegetal decoration filling the empty spaces. Practically all the calligraphic texts known are either from gravestones or from coins. This high-quality type of calligraphy was to influence decisively the two succeeding periods, giving definitive form to the shape of certain letters such as the *hā'*, with two curls and a curving stroke above them. The proportioned calligraphy also appears in a frame or an arch, an innovation which will persist into later periods.

Of the four schools discussed here it is the elegance and stylisation of the Sevillian letter, the geometric-floral innovations of Saragossa, and the proportional shape in the body of the Almerian letters that calligraphers will take into account in the succeeding period, when al-Andalus once again reverts to a unified political command.

The all-important documentary-historical value of calligraphic texts at the time of the Umayyad Caliphate persists into other periods to some degree in the architectural remains or pieces which have survived, as the examples already quoted show.

III. THE ALMORAVID-ALMOHAD PERIOD (478/1085-629/1232)

The third period of calligraphy in al-Andalus begins when the Berber *amīr* of the North African Ṣanhāja tribe, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, came to the aid of the regional kings, who had panicked at the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, king of Castile. On observing the weakness of these petty rulers, he stripped them of their possessions, and unified al-Andalus politically, uniting it with his emirate in North Africa. The second phase of this period starts in 541/1147, when the Almohads took the Almoravid capital Marrakesh. After a brief interlude of instability, al-Andalus continued united under the Almohad caliphs, Berbers of the Maṣmūda tribe, till 629/1232.

III.1 *The Almoravids (478/1085-541/1147)*

The Almoravids were responsible for three important innovations in calligraphy: 1) the use of cursive script in architecture and ornamentation; 2) a kind of proportioned kufic that divides the body of the letter from the vertical prolongation of the stroke by means of a horizontal stem; 3) another kind of kufic characterised by an emphatic vertical development of the stroke, with an extended horizontal ligature enabling the second part of the invocation to be located above the first, all within lobed floral arches, with dense ribbed floral filling attached to stalks.

The Almoravids were prompt to introduce the cursive “ductus” *naskhī*, unless the Zīrid *ṭāʾifa* kings merit the credit for its initial introduction, as the inscription, naming the Zīrid king Bādīs on a marble basin carved with lions and deers looted from one of al-Manṣūr’s palaces and brought to Granada, would appear to indicate.³⁵ If future research should confirm the earlier date, this would mean that the *ṭāʾifa* period established all the basic types of calligraphy to appear in al-Andalus and North Africa during the later third and fourth periods. What is certain is that the Almoravids introduced the *naskhī* “ductus” into ornamental calligraphy in architecture, as can be seen in the Qubba Barūdiyyīn at Marrakesh (ca. 513/1119),³⁶ the Mosque of Tlemcen (530/1135) and the Qarawīyyīn at Fez (531/1136-7).³⁷

How can we account for the appearance of the *naskhī* script at this particular point in time? The reasons are varied, and similar to those elsewhere in Islam: 1) there was a political need to propagandise the dynasty by making sure that texts were easily legible, at least by those able to read; 2) few even among educated people in the 6th/12th century could follow the kufic script, which because of its rigid shape does not admit the use of diacriticals (we have already noted the chronicler Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāh’s mistake in transcribing the Seville inscription); 3) the geometrisation of the kufic and its ornamentation rendered it even more difficult to decipher and grasp the propaganda message intended.

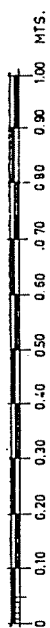
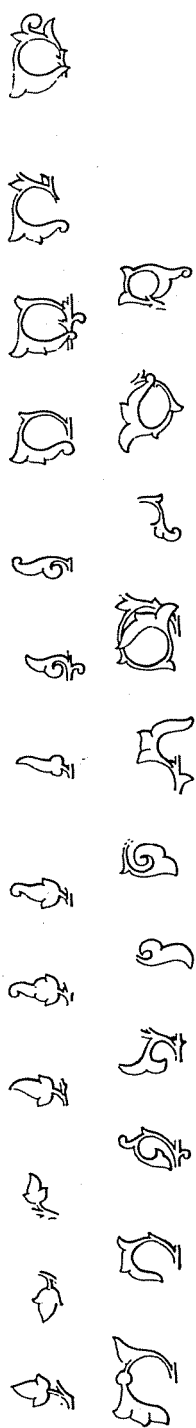
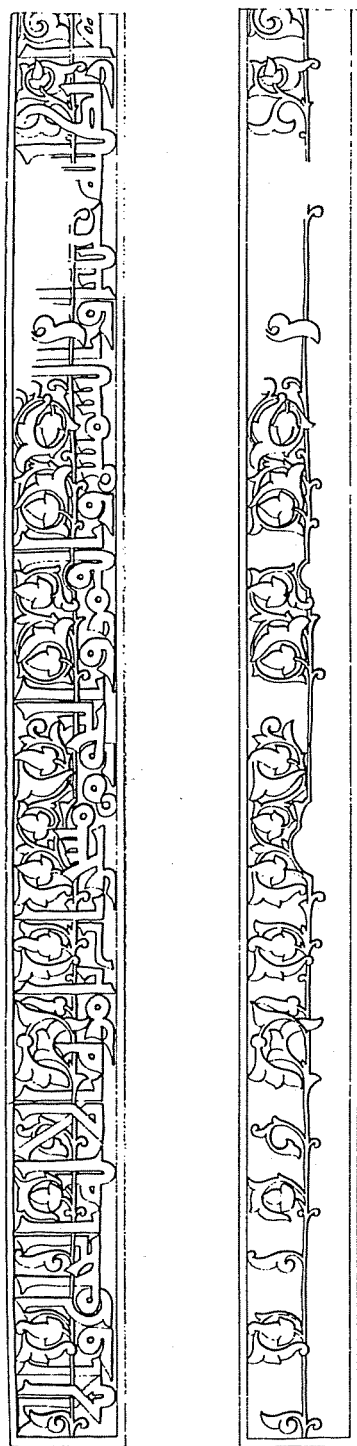


Figure 3. Granada: Almoravid wooden frieze (ca. 514/1120-534/1140). Drawing M. López Reche

Initially *naskhī* in architectural decoration lacks monumentality, though its letters are clear, and its future development can be foreseen, as it includes a background floral scheme based on spiralling stems. It assumes this particular form in the curved borders of the dome in front of the *mihrāb* at the Qarawiyyīn, where the hands of at least two calligraphers are apparent from the way in which letters and vowels have been drawn and executed, one hand fluent with fine drafting, the other less skilful. The calligraphy in the Mosque of Tlemcen resembles that of the skilful one (plate II.6).

In al-Andalus, I assign to this period the Quranic text on the double horse-shoe arch preserved at Játiva.³⁸ The remnants of a calligraphic band in *naskhī* which has surfaced, with some floral ornament, on the Mawrūr hill in Granada is also Almoravid but belongs later, probably to around 524/1130, during the reign of 'Alī, the son of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, since below the text there is floral ornament with ribbed palm leaves.³⁹

Almoravid kufic of either kind shows well-drawn letters, a clear line of script and uniform width of formation. Typical Almoravid kufic has the area of the body of the letter divided from that of the vertical stroke by the intrusion of a horizontal stem (fig. 3). This division establishes a clear proportion in the calligraphy, visible to the eye: two-fifths of the height of the band, panel, frieze, slab or surface to be decorated is taken up by the body of the letter; the other three-fifths are reserved for the development of the stroke and floral ornamentation based on palm leaves and blossoms, which sprout upward from the horizontal stem-line, or from serpentine stalks that issue from it, or float free in the background of the epigraphic composition. At a subsequent stage there appears above the stem-line a system of spiralling stems which carry the flower, but these horizontal stem-lines ultimately disappear (fig. 4). The vegetal element is confined to the upper area of the composition. The colouring of the letters also helped to distinguish them from the floral ornamentation, making the text easier to read. Decorative components were usually picked out in white edged with black, on a red or blue background; the flower was internally decorated with black lines.

This style of calligraphy, based on a canon of strict proportion, makes a brilliant appearance in the Qarawiyyīn mosque on borders and bands in the bay before the *mihrāb* and the double bay in front of the *mihrāb* belonging to the Almoravid rebuilding.⁴⁰ In al-Andalus it appears in wooden friezes discovered and preserved in Granada and Tarifa (figs. 3, 4), as well as on funerary slabs.⁴¹ This style of proportioned kufic, free of horizontal stalks and floral decoration, appears on the narrow cartouches bordering the upper panels of the jambs of the *mihrāb* façade in the Mosque of Tlemcen (plate II.6), and in an inscription of the Qarawiyyīn mosque which mentions the name of Salama b. Mufarrij, the artist who designed the circular vault of *mocárabes* work in the transverse nave.

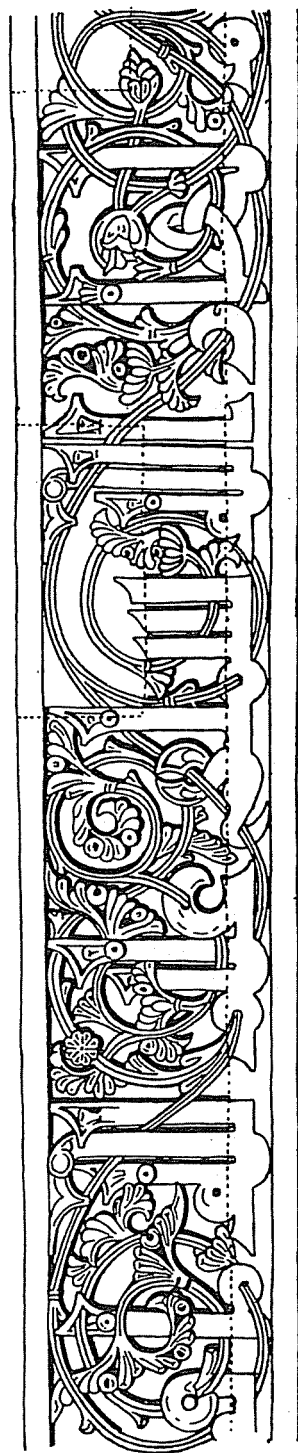


Figure 4. Tarifa: Almoravid-Almohad wooden frieze, 6th/12th Century. Drawing E. Camps Cazorla.

Simultaneously with this kufic governed by a canon of proportions marked by the stem, another stemless kufic appears in other bands, with the upper part covered with a dense and complicated background pattern of spiral stalks to which palm leaves, pepper pods, segmented blossoms and fir cones are attached, as on the borders of the *mihrāb* frame in the mosques of Tlemcen and the Qarawiyyīn, and on the frames of the arches in the latter mosque.

The problem of the corners in the frame bands is solved by the insertion of a square, inscribed with an eight-pointed star. Two kinds of star appear: either a star with eight 90 degree points, or one with four angular points separated by four semi-circular ones. This ingenious solution lasted throughout the Almohad period and into the Naṣrid one.

The other kind of letter used is calligraphically more developed. It appears in the Qarawiyyīn in the concave rectangular surface of the *adarajas* (carved prisms)⁴² of the *mocárabes* vault in front of the *mihrāb* and in the double bay vault preceding it in the central nave. The balanced calligraphic text, perfect in its proportions of width to height, sheltering beneath a lobed arch formed of palm leaves, exhibits a type of letter virtually indistinguishable from that of the later Almohads, who had taken up arms against the Almoravids by the time the mosque was undergoing extension and redecoration. The most frequent calligraphic compositions in these surfaces are invocations formed by the word *Allāh*, the *lāms* of which are separated by a long ligature. All the letters are of uniform width and with very slender strokes which turn obliquely to end in a concave finial, or a floriated one after the latest fashion. Both kinds pass on to the Almohads and thence to the Naṣrids. Above the long ligature referred to there is an interlaced version of the second word of the kufic invocation, the background being filled with ribbed floral decoration. Henceforth kufic comes associated with architecturo-floral forms (the arch of palm leaves), and a dense, highly developed background vegetal decoration that lends resonance to the text with its even surface and distinct colour. The elegance of these compositions is probably owing to Spanish Muslim artists working in North Africa for Yūsuf b. Tāshfin's son, 'Alī. The door leaves are preserved in the Cloister of S. Fernando in the Monastery of Las Huelgas at Burgos (fig. 5), a work which, to judge from its ornamental motifs and simple phrases of invocation, I would date as Almoravid, and which, together with the *minbars*, confirms the high grade of artistic refinement of Hispano-Muslim woodwork.⁴³ The *minbar* of the Kutubiyya, made in Córdoba between 519/1125 and 524/1130, is outstanding. Its exquisite workmanship shows three different kinds of kufic: one archaic, another transitional, and yet another which looks forward to the kufic of the 7th/13th century.

Almoravid kufic and *naskhī* inscriptions on architecture follow the model set by emiro-caliphal practice. Thus, in the Qarawiyyīn mosque there appear the names of the *amīr* 'Alī b. Tāshfin, and of the *qāḍī* in charge of the alterations, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'īsha al-Kinānī, on

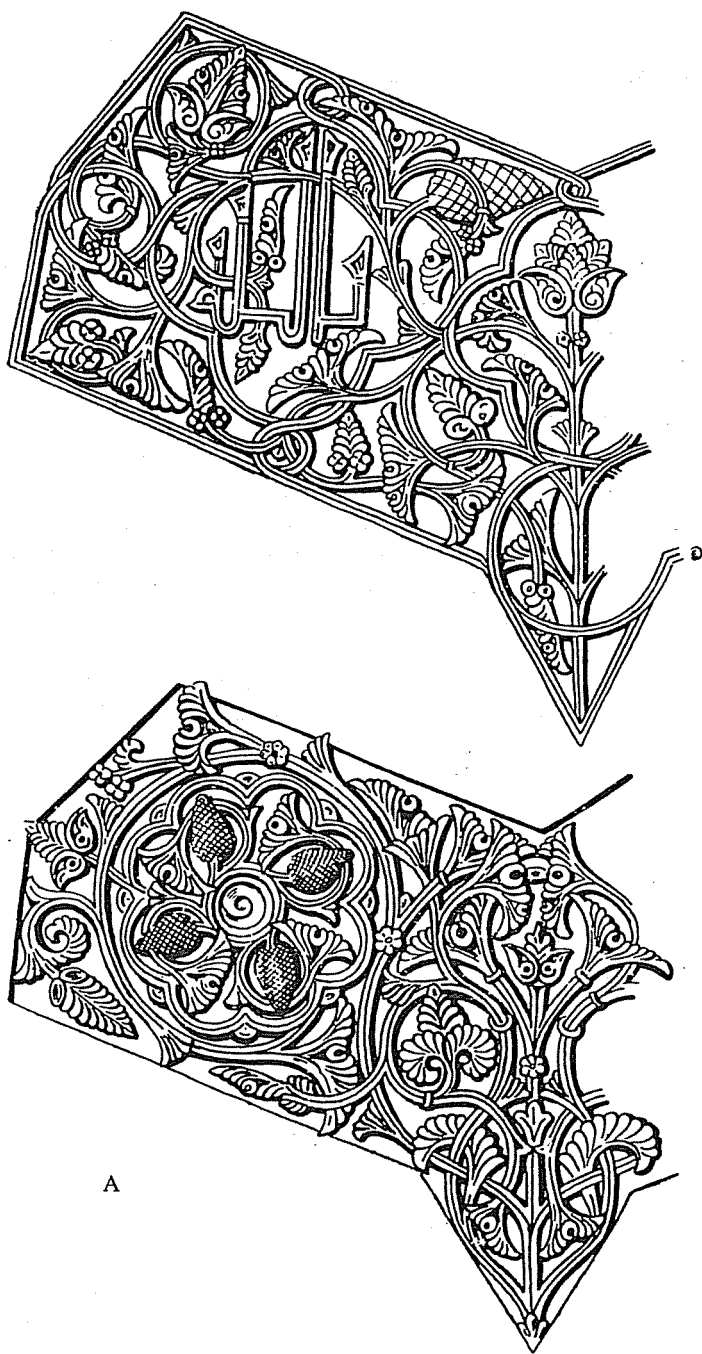


Figure 5. Burgos: Panels of the Almoravid door from the Monasterio de las Huelgas (first half of the 6th/12th Century). Drawing E. Camps Cazorla.

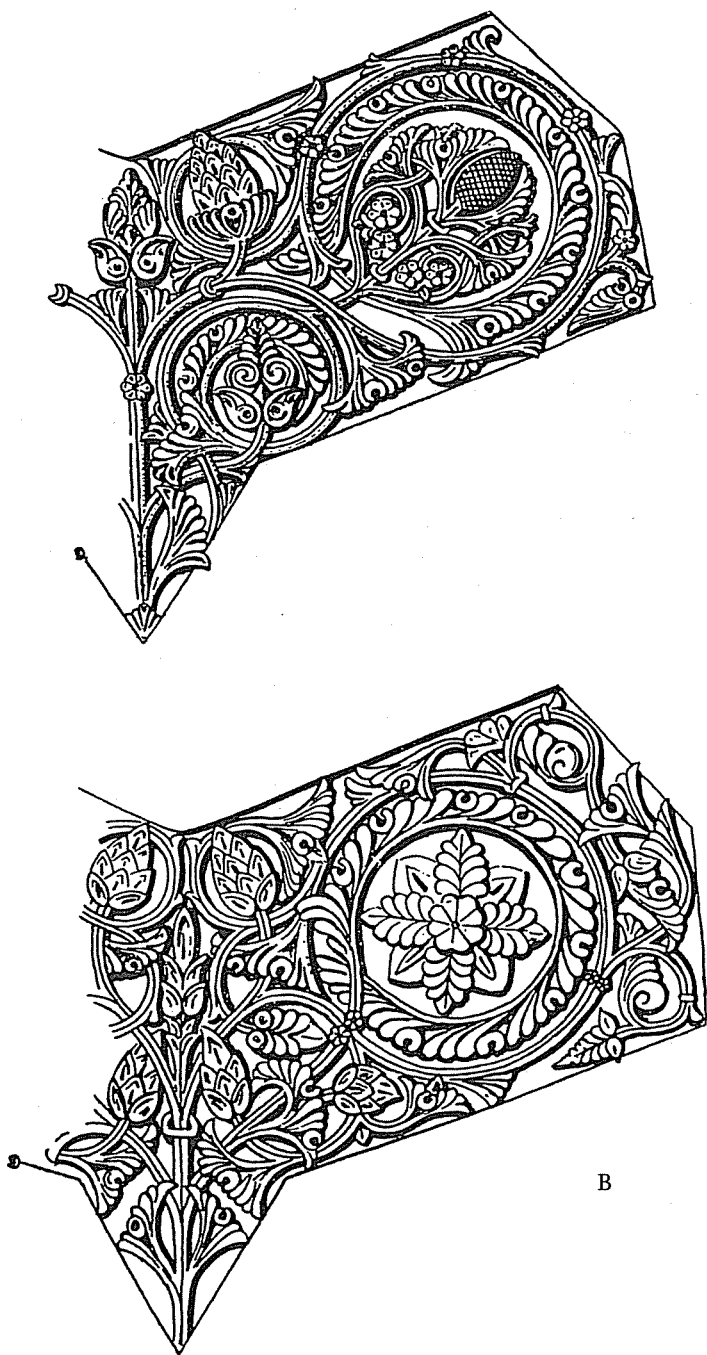


Figure 5. Burgos: Panels of the Almoravid door from the Monasterio de las Huelgas (first half of the 6th/12th Century). Drawing E. Camps Cazorla.

the *mocárabes* vaulting in front of the *mihrāb* and in the double span preceding it in the central nave, stating that both vaults were finished "during the month of *Ramaḍān* ... in the year 531 [May 23-June 21, 1137]". In the double-span vault the name of the artist responsible, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, is also mentioned. On the façade of the *mihrāb* in a square there is an eight-pointed star with four sharp points and four semicircular ones, where (in lively stepped cursive on four lines), we read that this is the "work of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, completed ... during the month of *Ramaḍān*, the year 531 [May 23-June 21, 1137]". By affiliation Ibn Muḥammad, he may have been the brother of the Ibrāhīm who designed the double-span vault; both were certainly Andalusis. This is confirmed in the chronicle *Rawḍ al-Qirtās*, where, speaking of the Granadine *qāḍī* in charge of the restoration, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, and quoting the inscriptions, the chronicler uses the word *al-Gḥarnāṭī*, i. e. the Granadine.⁴⁴

Monumental inscriptions may not be so explicit about the holders of court appointment as in Umayyad times, but they nevertheless furnish all manner of detail: the reigning sovereign, the builder, the person legally responsible, the designer or designers, as well as the date, specifying both year and month. On coins Almoravid kufic evinces good design in the lettering (both in the strokes and in the slender body of the letter), which distinguishes the Almoravid period from any other in numismatics.

Owing to the calligraphic shape of Almoravid letters it is possible to date a series of bronzes, like candlesticks, incense burners and the magnificent gryphon of Pisa Cathedral, which all bear witness to the survival of the caliphal style right into the 6th/12th century.⁴⁵

The funerary stone of the Almoravid princess Badr (plate III.7), daughter of the *amīr* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ta'ishshā 'l-Ṣanhājī, dated 496/1103, found in Córdoba but now preserved in the Málaga Archaeological Museum, follows the caliphal design of those *ṭāqāt* niches (referred to as *mihrābs* in chronicles and poems) in the house of Ja'far in Madīnat al-Zahrā'.⁴⁶ The funerary stone depicts a diminutive horseshoe arch supported on disproportionately squat columns with the imposts adorned with kufic calligraphy. The arch encloses seven lines of writing with the word for "hundred", *mi'a*, written over the previous word. The spandrels depict gadrooned palmettes, and the frame has a border with its vertical and horizontal scripts overlapping, as on the *sābāṭ* façade in the mosque of Córdoba.

III.2 The Almohads (541/1147-629/1232)

The second phase of this period is that of the Almohads, who were Berbers belonging to the Mašmūda tribe. A radical change takes place in the field of aesthetics due to the ethic of purity and austerity preached by Ibn Tūmart from the 1120s on, and which is imposed after the capture of Marrakesh, the

Almoravid capital, in 541/1147. The first three rulers, who were undoubtedly not only the best politically but the most active builders, did not have their names inscribed on any mosque, monument, city gate or any edifice they had erected; in place of a name are either Quranic verses or pious phrases, attesting to the important role of religion.⁴⁷ The use of calligraphy on religious monuments is reduced to a minimum, without however disappearing altogether. The splendour and richness of ornamental calligraphy on architecture, which began in al-Andalus, especially with al-Ḥakam II's enlargement of the Mosque of Córdoba, and endures in the *ṭāʾifa* Oratory of the Aljafería and the Almoravid mosques of Tlemcen and Qarawiyyīn, is missing from the surviving Almohad mosques of the 6th/12th century: that of Tinmal (549/1154) and the second Kutubiyya (558/1162). Instead there is an emphasis on an aesthetic of simplicity, on the plain surfaces and lines of walls and arches rendered in white stucco, with the geometric element (or *lazo*) prominent, and architecturo-decorative and floral ornamentation either flat or in very shallow relief. Calligraphy vanishes from the façades and niches of *mihrābs* to reappear beneath the *mocárabes* vaults. Kufic letters are narrow and inordinately tall, with their strokes overlapping and the ligatures descending to the bottom of the panel, and with double palm leaves filling any empty spaces. In short, they follow the elegant calligraphic development of the Almoravids as found in the rectangular concave surfaces of the *mocárabes* vaults in the Qarawiyyīn mosque, that is to say, the second kind of kufic.⁴⁸ One is tempted to conclude that the sacred nature of Quranic script, its status as revealed truth, had induced the first Almohad rulers not to use calligraphy as mere ornament for fear of profaning the texts.

Notwithstanding the use of invocatory phrases in the springing lines of the *mocárabes* vaults at Tinmal, they recur in the coloured stucco decoration of the minaret of the Kutubiyya, which exhibits two very different types of kufic. One consists of well-proportioned, broad and flattened letters; the other of letters that are slender, proportioned and flowing to reach the limit of the architecturo-decorative art, tending to form symmetrical compositions.⁴⁹

During the last twenty years of the 6th/12th century the Bāb al-Ruwāḥ, the gate of the *qaṣaba* of the 'Udāya in Rabat and the Bāb Aghnā' in Marrakesh were all built. The Quranic texts on the frames of all these gateways appear within angular cartouches, having their corner squares inscribed with a four-lobed figure. Letters cut in stone have a squat and thick body, albeit well designed, following Almoravid models, with the spaces above the vowels taken up with palm leaves and fruits either on their own or issuing from short stems. The calligraphic texts of these gateways do not give evidence of any artistic progress, in spite of the important place they occupy.

With the passing of time the initial austerity is relaxed and yields to the art of al-Andalus, as had happened in the case of the Almoravids, who had also at first reacted against *ṭāʾifa* art in all its forms.

Dating from the start of the decade 586/1190-596/1200 are the leaves of the main gate (today called the Gate of Pardon) of the great Almohad mosque of Seville. The leaves are plated on the outside with plaques of cast bronze alloy, forming a geometric composition of four-pointed stars and hexagons (*alfardones*), which alternate either with floral decoration or pious phrases in kufic against a floral background, the strokes of the letters almost touching the top of the frame, where they terminate in bent finials that fill the upper part of the composition, balancing the upper area with the line of the writing—so setting a precedent which would henceforth be followed.

The knockers of this gate are exceptional pieces in the art of Islam. They are formed of perforated palm leaves with a border composed of six solid double-leaved palms, bearing Quranic text in very beautiful *naskhī*, very advanced in the quality of writing, with highly evolved letters and long ligatures that pass underneath, extending below the neighbouring word. The letters are skilfully adapted to the concave and convex palm leaves that shape the rim of the knocker.⁵⁰

An Almohad lamp of a tin and copper alloy, with overlapping plates decreasing in diameter, is preserved in the Almoravid mosque of the Qarawiyyīn in Fez. The surface of the plates is worked and pierced with kufic ornamentation wherein the strokes extend into ribbons forming lobed arches and geometric figures, constituting a kind of kufic which survives into the Naṣrid period under Muḥammad II (671/1272-701/1302) and his son Muḥammad III (701/1302-708/1309). The Qarawiyyīn lamp bears a *naskhī* inscription stating that it was made by order of the caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Manṣūr Abū Yūsuf. This was the caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir who was defeated in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212, the son of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, who conquered the Christians at the battle of Alarcos in 591/1195. This lamp was executed under the supervision of the *kātib*, or calligrapher, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, who was active between 599/1202 and 616/1219, using the kind of kufic that will be prevalent at the start of the Naṣrid period. It is interesting that the lamp should mention the "caliph" even when the dynasty was in irreversible decline, having been decisively defeated by the Christian kings at Las Navas.⁵¹

The kind of kufic seen in the frames of the great gates of Rabat and Marrakesh, with emphatic horizontal development of the body and no vertical development of the stroke, is the same kind as used for sura titles in Qurans dating from this century, where the characters are outlined in dark ink and their inner body is gilded, with floral pinnacles of a more or less circular shape at the sides. The floral element is based on stems with varied flora painted in blue, red or gold, and somehow manages to convey the impression that this floral cap to the sura title symbolises the crown of the Paradisial Tree, whose trunk is the calligraphic composition of the title of the sura.⁵²

Calligraphy inscribed on gravestones assumes a variety of forms. In Toledo, the southernmost limit of the kingdom of Castile, the Mudejar phenomenon asserts itself on the bilingual (Latin-Arabic) tombstone of Miguel Semeno (d. 1156) (plate III.8). It carries the Latin text in the middle and the Arabic text as a frame round about, with the lines overlapping at the corners. It is interesting to note the anachronism perpetrated by the Mudejar calligrapher in using floriated finials on letters in final position, as in earlier caliphal and *ṭāʾifa* times.⁵³

At Murcia was found a sepulchral slab of a *qāʾid* of the Hispanic Islamic leader, Ibn Mardaniṣh, who rose against the Almohads. It is dated 566/1171, and the upper part is missing. It has a palm-leaf arch with serpentine springers (as already seen in the rectangular surfaces of the *mocárabes* vaults in the Qarawiyyīn), and it presents its text enclosed within the arch, using a letter very close to the elegant Almerian script. The spandrels of the floral arch portray palm leaves and plain pepper pods of Almohad type. Two vertical borders frame the whole composition within another arch.⁵⁴

The gravestone of the *shaykh* Abū Yaḥyā Bakr b. Dūnās, dated 587/1191, found and preserved in Córdoba, has an original composition based on an architectural scheme consisting of a double arch, floral ornamentation in the spandrels and calligraphy. The two very sharply pointed horseshoe arches enclose an inscription in kufic script, with some letters extending beneath others or prolonging their tails in swan-neck manner, the final tip of which is floriated or pointed. Final letters either describe an upward curved ending or terminate in a finial. The letters of the *lām-alif* "nexus" interlace and knot their strokes. The spandrels of the double arch portray flowers, with a border in *naskhī* script squaring off the slab. Its letters have a broad and flat body, and the lines of the script overlap at the corners. On both the vertical and the horizontal axes there are circles containing six-petalled rosettes.⁵⁵

A new form of gravestone makes its appearance around this time, the *mqābriya*, formed like an elongated pyramidal prism. It was to stay in fashion for a long time in western Islam, with all four faces presenting ornament. In the Málaga Museum one such stone dated 618/1221 is inscribed in very elegant kufic, with slim characters, the finials of the letters split, and the curved body of the *nūn* prolonged as a vertical ribbon. The background is filled with loose curving stems attached to palm leaves and blossoms with carved incisions. The borders have a ribbon forming knots in the corners.⁵⁶

One development in the Almohad period important for the Naṣrid epoch is how the strokes of kufic letters become more geometrical in the manner of ribbons in their prolongations, in such a way that in the corners of a composition they form a square knot with perforations at its corners shaped like drops of water, as may be seen on the slab from Jerez de la Frontera.⁵⁷ The use of *naskhī* is now on the increase as coins pass from hand to hand, on which there appears the innovation of inscribing a square inside the circle, thereby dividing both obverse and reverse into five sections, a square central

section and four segments of a circle. At the same time a coin worth twice the dinar makes its appearance, whence the name *dobla* (English "dubloon"). This class of coinage continues to be minted during the Naṣrid period.

The pennant seized at Las Navas de Tolosa, which is preserved at the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos, is a very fine tapestry exhibiting a composition similar to the opening pages of the al-Andalus and Maghribi Qurans: a central circular space, four corner triangles with curved hypotenuses, four borders and a square in each corner, a scheme which the Naṣrid stuccoists reproduce in the Partal in the Alhambra, with the same sense of textile design.⁵⁸ The central circle contains a calligraphic composition of geometric kufic in the shape of a radiating design with a central eight-pointed star, formed by crossing the strokes of the word *al-mulk* (sovereignty, power) over each other sixteen times. *Al-mulk* is written twice in each of the eight points of the outer star. From the borders of the points to the central radiating design the geometric arrangement of the calligraphy is in a decreasing proportional relation of $\sqrt{2}$. Similar compositions occur in Naṣrid art in the stuccowork of the Palace of Riyād (the so-called Palace of the Lions).

The calligrapher responsible for this composition was a consummate artist who not only knew kufic to perfection but how to lace together the ligatures and *kāfs* in final position, to compose an eight-pointed star that forms an inward radiating design (*lazo*), using a system of decreasing proportions—something truly extraordinary in calligraphy—and completing the ends with split finials. This is a masterpiece of calligraphy worked on a textile and is fit to compare with anything in the Islamic world. On the four bands framing the central composition there is a religious text in *naskhī* with the bodies of the letters flexed and contorted, with letters and vowels written above the prolongations of other letters or words, and with strokes that increase in girth as they ascend until they round off, standing upright or leaning to the left. Many letters show embroidered leaves in their interior. In two bands the text traced by the calligrapher spilled over the area reserved for it whilst it was being embroidered, and the embroiderer chose to move it on to the frame of the band. This very dynamic arrangement of cursive script, with words and letters internally adorned and superimposed one on another was possible only because the artist was working with fabric. The band adjacent to the pole has identical characteristics, albeit with letters of a different colour and outlined in white. The cursive script does not show great calligraphic evolution in comparison with these developments in kufic.

At the court of Castile, Almohad artists worked on and decorated the larger cloister, that of S. Ferdinand, in the monastery of Las Huelgas,⁵⁹ where in the stuccowork may be found elegantly executed invocations in Almohad kufic, the Arabic text whereof is Christian in content, praising Christ, the Holy Spirit and so on. No more Islamisation than this could be looked for in a monastery whither the Castilian monarchs were wont to repair on religious holidays and which served them as a place of sepulchre.⁶⁰

The Castilian royal family and the higher nobility were buried in sumptuous silks and other textiles, examples of which have come to light in tombs in the monastery of Oña, in Las Huelgas, and Seville and Toledo Cathedrals, besides other places.⁶¹ These textiles are adorned with borders containing calligraphed phrases alternately reading from right to left, and left to right, what is called the mirror effect, and, sometimes, with two lines of script, one normal and the other upside down, a veritable double mirror image. These examples are in ordinary kufic, proportioned and geometric, with the strokes ending in floriated finials.

IV. THE NAṢRID PERIOD (629/1232-897/1492)

IV.1 *Poetic naskhī calligraphy*

The fourth and last calligraphic period in al-Andalus coincides with the Naṣrid sultanate (629/1232-897/1492), when kufic and *naskhī* ornamentation was used in every type of art. During this time kufic script reached the peak of its development in Western Islam, and *naskhī* script was imprinted on the walls of Naṣrid palaces in poems written by the court poets, like a marvellous book with pages forever open on which the calligraphic texts speak in the first person, as if the halls, rooms and fountains were reciting poems and fragments of *qaṣīdas* explaining the real and symbolic significance of the place they adorned, using appropriate terminology and praising the reigning sovereign. These poetic texts also have a marvellously decorative quality, framed within rectangular and round cartouches, creating—as the texts themselves say—*ṭirāzes*, horizontal bands of precious “textile”, in carved and moulded polychrome plaster, with the text in gold or silver on a turquoise background and a spiralling or free floral infill. There are four known poets of the Naṣrid *Dīwān al-Inshāʿ*, a kind of royal chancery, who left poems inscribed in the palaces of the Alhambra and Generalife: Ibn al-Jayyāb and his pupil Ibn al-Khaṭīb, his pupil Ibn Zamrak, and Ibn Furkūn, who was trained in the school of the last of these poets. The calligraphic poems by Ibn Furkūn inscribed in the Alhambra are only known to us now through his *Dīwān*.

Ibn Jayyāb entered the service of Muḥammad II, the second ruler of the dynasty, and continued without interruption to serve Muḥammad III, Naṣr, Ismāʿīl I, Muḥammad IV and Yūsuf I, dying at a great age in 749/1348, in his own home and not assassinated, a unique case among these poets.⁶² Poems of his that have survived are found on the funeral slab of Muḥammad II, who died in 701/1302 (Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán),⁶³ in the alfiz of the entrance portico to the north aisle in the Generalife, and in the *ṭāqāt*, niches, in its intrados; and in the main hall of Yūsuf I's al-Qalahurra 'l-Jadīda, where the poems describe the decoration of the floor, walls and ceiling of the room in great detail, using appropriate literary terms, perhaps

with artistic and aesthetic significance.⁶⁴ The poems of Ibn al-Khaṭīb can be found in the niches of the intrados of the entry to the throne room in the Comares palace,⁶⁵ and perhaps also by him is the poem in the throne *qubba* which specifies the function of the "Seat of Power", or "Sovereignty", distinguishing this recessed *qubba* from the other eight recesses and giving it a unique character. Ibn Zamrak says specifically that he wrote the poems adorning the palaces of his sovereign Muḥammad V.⁶⁶ This sultan completed the building of the Comares palace in 772/1370, and so to this poet must be attributed the poems on the façade of the *al-qubba 'l-ulyā*, the only room of the *mashwar* still standing, those in the Sala de la Barca and in the niche of the entrance to it, in the north and south galleries of the Patio de Comares, and on the façade of the Comares palace.⁶⁷ The published part of his *Dīwān* includes poems for the palace which he calls "of the Riyāḍ" (now Leones).⁶⁸ The one on the Lion fountain describes with amazing precision the system of its water supply and drainage, the impression created by the white marble fountain and its water gliding along the runlets, etc.⁶⁹ The poems of Ibn Furkūn decorate the *al-dār al-kabīra* restored by the sultan Yūsuf III, himself a poet influenced by his contact with Ibn Zamrak.⁷⁰ The only surviving inscription by this poet is a brief eulogy in honour of Yūsuf III, in beautiful calligraphy executed in architectural ceramic tiles in the Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán, and the unparalleled large ceramic tile known as the Fortuny tile in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.

The poets of the Naṣrid court narrated not only the glorious memorable and martial deeds of their sovereigns but all kinds of events in their lives, especially the *i'dhār*, the circumcision of the princes of the royal house. On the occasion of that of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, a son of Muḥammad V, Ibn Zamrak composed a long *qaṣīda* which he recited at the time and from which twenty-four verses, with some alterations (plate III.9), were inscribed into the architecture like a permanently open book, on a fine plaster *ṭirāz* in the lantern hall of the Main Qubba of the Riyāḍ palace (Sala de las Dos Hermanas), describing the palace, its courtyard, hall, mirador and garden, etc. with metaphors full of symbolism and allegory.⁷¹ When I undertook the systematic study of the kufic and cursive alphabets of this calligraphy, in the Alhambra and Generalife, and drew them to scale, I found the development of a strict canon of proportion in the script, which appears to follow Pythagoras' ratios. For example, the incommensurable ratios between width and height of the letter *lām* as 1 to $2/3$; 1 to $1/2$; 1 to $1/3$ etc. vary with different stylistic periods of Naṣrid art and different poets. This has revealed two aspects of calligraphy which have been totally disregarded: the chronological evolution of a canon of proportion, and the calligraphic evolution of successive schools of the *Dīwān al-Inṣhā'*, according to whoever was its head in each period.⁷² These facts were previously unknown in relation to Naṣrid calligraphic poetry, a rare case in Islamic court art of any period.

The symbolic value of the position of the text painted on the high frieze of the throne room in the Comares palace, the 63rd sura, "the Sovereignty" or "the Power", which begins at the right-hand corner of the north wall facing the entrance, proves once again that in this hall aesthetic contemplation involved "reading" from right to left, as in the façades of *mihrābs* after that of Córdoba, and elsewhere. This Quranic text was appropriate to the throne room, whose wooden ceiling represented geometrically and symbolically the heavens of the Islamic paradise, the Throne of God, the trees of paradise in the four diagonals, etc. Another Quranic text is placed symbolically around the central window in the façade of the Comares palace. In the Main Qubba (Dos Hermanas) of the Riyāḍ palace, the twenty four verses of Ibn Zamrak's poem are also read by moving round the room from right to left (plate III.9).

The *naskhī* script acquired monumentality in the foundation stone of the Bāb al-*Shari'a* in the Alhambra, which consists of three marble slabs forming a great horizontal cartouche with lobed ends. It contains two lines of slender vocalised script with a floral background, all carved in relief. The background is inlaid with black slate to make the great inscription stand out so that it can be read without difficulty from ground level. The text says that Yūsuf I ordered the building of the gate of the "Esplanade" which was completed in *Rabi' I*, 749/June 1348. Ibn Jayyāb was at that time *ra'is* of the *Diwān al-Inshā'* and Ibn al-Khaṭīb was working under him.

The second monumental foundation stone which has survived intact is that of the Māristān, written in *naskhī* without foliage decoration (Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán). It is carved on two slabs in the form of a pointed horseshoe arch, with jambs and impost lines, like a *mihrāb*, a shape which originated in the caliphal *ṭāqāt*, niches, analysed above and was used for the headstone of the Almoravid princess Badr. This was placed over the lintel of the principal entrance, with vocalised *naskhī* letters gilded on a turquoise ground, well proportioned, drawn and carved, but it lacks the monumentality of the magnificent slab of the Bāb al-*Shari'a* and could only be read from the ground because it was at first-floor level. It says that Muḥammad V *al-Ghanī bi-Llāh* ("he who is content with the help of God") ordered the construction of the Māristān hospital, which took from the middle of *Muḥarram* 767 to the middle of *Shawwāl* 768 (26 September-9 October 1365 to 9-18 June 1367). The Māristān hospital, was therefore probably built by June 1367. But Muḥammad V only took the honorific title of *al-Ghanī bi-Llāh* at the end of that year, after his autumn campaigns of Jaén, Ubeda and the siege of Baeza. So the final decoration of the Māristān, on carving the marble foundation slab of its façade, occurred around the end of the year, possibly when the building was inaugurated by the victorious sovereign.⁷³

IV.2 *Kufic calligraphy*

During this period kufic calligraphy was primarily decorative. At first it derived from Almohad patterns, forming a kind of large letters, "macroletra", in the first part of an inscription, very simple and elegant with palm finials and straight strokes, and completing the inscription in smaller letters, "microletra", which in the upper part of bands or cartouches formed a pattern of lobed arches deriving from the stylised strokes of the letters *alif* and *lām*. This is exemplified in the *Dār al-manjara al-kubrā* (Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo) of the time of Muḥammad II, and in the Partal, the work of his son Muḥammad III. Beginning in this period, the strokes of the letters were extended as ribbons to form a *sebca* or underlying rhomboid grid.

In the next stage, beginning under Ismā'īl I and culminating under his son Yūsuf I, kufic calligraphy was used in framed vertical patterns tending to symmetrical design on either side of a central axis. In horizontal cartouches (plate IV.10) a compensation of volumes was sought between the line on which the body of the letter was written, the upper part of the cartouche and the intermediate zone by vertical development of the strokes, crossing them and forming knots and shapes with them, terminating them symmetrically with vertical, horizontal or descending finials. This is the period of the great calligrapher who worked in Yūsuf I's al-Qalahurra 'l-Jadida (Cautiva) and the Comares throne room, first under the orders of Ibn al-Jayyāb and then of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁷⁴ Another, young, calligrapher appears beside him in the throne room towards the end of Yūsuf I's rule, who was to take the definitive step in Naṣrid calligraphy in designing calligraphic patterns that were completely symmetrical with respect to the centre, with every type of knot, ribbon, movement on the right of the axis being matched on the left. This is the calligraphy that was developed in the Riyāḍ palace. The older man was the better calligrapher, but his pupil was more inventive, with a different kind of elegance inspired in pure geometry and rhythmic symmetry, more decorative, with more grandiose patterns, but lacking a feeling for the aesthetic value of calligraphy. He worked under Ibn Zamrak during the reign of Muḥammad V.

His first work in the Comares hall was completing the patterns under the blind arches of the *mocárabes* cornice of the great wooden ceiling, and the ascending patterns of the intrados of the entrance to the hall;⁷⁵ between these came the cartouches above the dado of the transverse passage which precedes the hall. When Yūsuf I was assassinated in 755/1354 his son Muḥammad V completed the expansion that had been begun above the palace of Ismā'īl I. This artist was responsible for some marvellous patterns such as the arches of palm leaves above the dados of the north and south galleries of the Patio de Comares (plate IV.11),⁷⁶ where, under pointed horseshoe arches (made of both plain and fringed leaves and pepper pods), the dynastic motto

appears twice in kufic, the centre of each one on the base line and the other half above on the line of the diameter, the strokes of the letters forming arches and lobed circles and ending in different kinds of finials: bent, scrolled, and with palms. The background is filled with a grid of free stems with the typical flora of the time of Muḥammad V, whose name appears in *naskhī* in the lobed circles.

This calligrapher, already in his full maturity, reached the heights of the Hispanic kufic and *naskhī* calligraphies in the Riyāḍ palace, built in the 1380s, both in the Qubba of the Banū 'l-Sarrāj (Abencerrajes) and in the Main Qubba (Dos Hermanas). In the spandrels of the squinches and the *mocárabes* arches, the geometric kufic calligraphy evolves symmetrically mirrorwise at the angles of union of the spandrels (fig. 6).⁷⁷ In these, for once in calligraphy, the extended ribbons of the strokes are made to serve as the stems of five-leaved palmettes, independent of the rich floral background.

The greatest achievement lies in the patterns in the mirador of the Main Qubba (Lindaraja) (plate IV.12), in the timpana of its three blind *mocárabes* arches, which have symmetrical geometric patterns in ascending triangular design, as the lines of the writing ascend up the blind arches, in texts praising the ruler, Muḥammad V.⁷⁸ The most important and visible of these patterns, on the double arch of the north (plate IV.12), contains a spelling error made by the calligrapher⁷⁹ which confirms that kufic calligraphy, even when so well mastered and successful, remained the province of only a small élite. Beneath these patterns the calligraphers drew a marvellous infill of spiralling stems inhabited by elegant palm leaves which vary to fit the geometrical development of the letters.

The letters were gilt on red and blue grounds, and the floral ornamentation either had blue or red serrations painted in contrasted colour to the grounds, or else were plain with gilded or silvered surfaces. Few traces of this remain except in the backgrounds, so the present effect is completely different from the Islamic original, in which the painted colours were shaded and carefully combined, suggestive of textiles as well as of the Graeco-Roman tradition inherited by Islamic art. The calligraphy usually shows signs of having been covered with gold- or silver-leaf, or painted an intense white edged with black.

Naṣrid calligraphy under Yūsuf I and Muḥammad V created patterns proportionate to the site they occupied, with appropriate colouring and the necessary luminosity. In addition to these great calligraphic patterns, kufic script was also used for inscriptions with invocations in which the strokes extended in ribbons forming geometrical motifs, repeated to the top of ornamental panels. Calligraphic-epigraphic schemes were used in other decorative patterns in *sebca*, with a floral background.

Islamic kufic calligraphy in general had an enormous influence on the decorative and graphic aspects of Christian art. "The beauty of the kufic

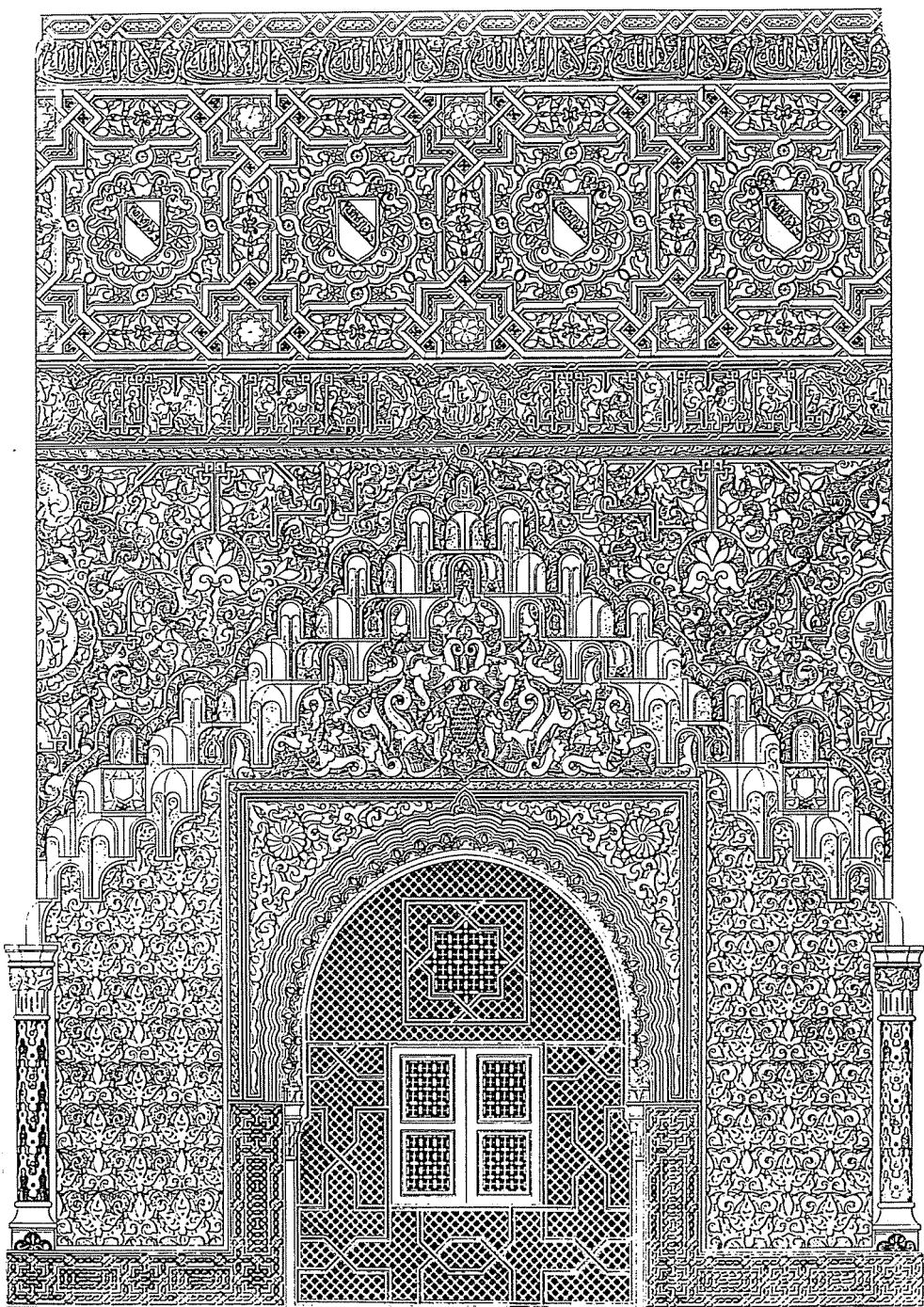


Figure 6. Granada, Alhambra: Partial elevation of the lantern-hall (Dos Hermanas) from the Main Qubba in the palace of the Riyād (Lions). Drawing Owen Jones and Jules Goury.

script, with a line that is sometimes impetuous and sometimes serene, apart from its astonishing potential for variation and its incomparable ornamental value, attracted the interest of Christian artists from the very beginning. It is possible to make an impressive list of works of the Romanesque period in which kufic writing, although in general not understood, was accepted as purely decorative. When the Emperor Frederick II introduced the Gothic "ductus" to his chancery, perhaps it was in the hope of giving the western world a decorative script as effective as the one he admired in the works that had reached him from the Arabs."⁸⁰

Kufic and cursive inscriptions with invocations appear in medieval and Renaissance Christian decorative art in the Iberian Peninsula and even in northern Europe, on carpets, personal adornment, cloth, weapons, etc., and can be seen in paintings by the Valencian painter Yáñez de la Almedina and of Hans Holbein the Younger.⁸¹

¹ J. D. Pearson, "Kur'an", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. V, Leiden, 1986, pp. 400-32, especially pp. 404-09.

² F. Buhl, "Koran", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., II, 1063-76, especially pp. 1068-71, 1073-74; Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 409, 419, 421; Hichem Djait, "al-Kūfa", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., V, 345-51; J. Sourdcl-Thomine and others, "Khatī", *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1978, pp. 1113-30, especially pp. 1119, 1121, 1123.

³ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I-1, Oxford, 1969, pp. 69-73; note 6, p. 69, note 1 p. 72, plates 6-22; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I-II, Teil, *Forschungen zur Islamischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte*, Vienna, 1967, 1971, pp. 71-92, figs. 50, 51-67, plate XI.

⁴ Creswell, *op. cit.*, I-2., pp. 506-18, plates 85c-91, especially pp. 506-07, note 1, plate 85c.

⁵ I have pointed this out in my study of the Quṣayr 'Amrā inscription painted on stucco on the upper W. window of the right hand N. vault of the great compartmented room of the frigidarium, or *bayt al-bārid*. The complete text is impossible to decipher, but in my reading it states "... [l]bn 'Abd al-Malik ...". As I have pointed out elsewhere, I reject the possibility that this refers to the reigning al-Walid I, though built in his time; it was done by one of his brothers, namely a "Son of 'Abd al-Malik".

⁶ On the portion removed to the National Museum in Damascus. See D. Schlumberger, *Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi*, Vol. 120 in collection of *Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth-Damas-Amman. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, Paris, 1986, p. 1, n.10, and pp. 26-28. In my own collection of photographs these texts are much more abundant than those published in this book and by other colleagues.

⁷ R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar. An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley*, Oxford, 1959, plates XCIV-XCV; *Walid and his friends. An Umayyad Tragedy*, Vol. 6 of *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, Oxford, 1988. Information on the chronology of Mshatta was first made public by Dr. Enderlein in a lecture given at the S.O.A.S.(London), and then confirmed recently by Professor K. Brisch, after reading an inscription on a brick.

⁸ M. Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico hispano y su evolución*, in collection of *Cuadernos de Historia, Economía y Derecho Hispanomusulmán*, Madrid, 1970, pp. 19-20.

⁹ The column is preserved in the Seville Archaeological Museum. See M. Ocaña Jiménez, "La inscripción fundacional de la Mezquita de Ibn 'Adabbas de Sevilla", *Al-Andalus*, 12, 1947, pp. 145-51; L. Torres Balbás, "La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla", *Al-Andalus*, 11, 1946, pp. 425-39, especially pp. 427-29.

¹⁰ A. Fernández-Puertas, "La decoración de las ventanas de la Bāb al-Uzarā' según dos dibujos de Don Félix Hernández Giménez", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 15-17, 1979-1981, pp. 165-210, especially pp. 168, 169, 209, figs. 2, 3, plates I-III.

¹¹ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Documentos epigráficos de la Mezquita", in *Exposición La Mezquita de Córdoba: siglos VIII al XV*, Córdoba, 1986, pp. 16-17.

¹² E. Lévi-Provençal discovered this unpublished section of the work of Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-Muqtabis fī ta'rīkh rijāl al-Andalus*. Cf. "Documents et notes. I. Les citations du 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Ḥayyān relatives aux agrandissements de la Grande-Mosquée de Cordoue au IX^e siècle", *Arabica* (Leiden), 1, 1934, pp. 89-92. They were translated into French, with commentaries by E. Lambert, "Histoire de la Grande-Mosquée de Cordoue aux VII^e et IX^e siècles d'après des textes inédits", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université d'Alger* (Paris), 2, 1936, pp. 165-79. Their Spanish translation and study was undertaken by L. Torres Balbás, "Nuevos datos documentales sobre la construcción de la mezquita de Córdoba en el reinado de 'Abd al-Rahmān II", *Al-Andalus*, 6, 1941, pp. 411-22. See E. Lévi Provençal, *España musulmana. Hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba (711-1031 D. J.)*, Vol. IV of *Historia de España*, dirigida por R. Menéndez Pidal, 2nd. ed., Madrid, 1957, pp. 168-69, note 79; L. Torres Balbás, *Arte Hispanomusulmán hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba*, Vol. V of *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1965, p. 387, note 39.

¹³ Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico*, p. 31; "Capiteles epigráficos de Madinat al-Zahrā", *Al-Andalus*, 4, 1936-1939, pp. 158-66; "Obras de al-Ḥakam II en Madinat al-Zahrā", *Al-Andalus*, 6, 1941, pp. 157-68.

¹⁴ Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁵ Ocaña Jiménez, "Documentos epigráficos", pp. 18-19.

¹⁶ This was completely rebuilt in 1915, using the *sābāt* wall as a model. See M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Las inscripciones en mosaico del *mihrāb* de la gran mezquita de Córdoba y la incógnita de su data", in H. Stern (ed.), *Les mosaïques de la grande Mosquée de Cordoue*, Vol. 11 of *Madrider Forschungen*, Berlin, 1976, pp. 48-52, specially p. 50.

¹⁷ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Ya'far el eslavo", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 12, 1976, pp. 217-23.

¹⁸ Three were found truncated in the 1974 excavations, and the fourth is preserved in Tarragona Cathedral. See M. Gómez-Moreno, *El arte árabe español hasta los almohades*, Vol. 3 of *Ars Hispaniae*, Madrid, 1951, p. 90, fig. 124. I assume this small arch to belong to the same house because there are four spaces for these arches in the N. wall, and its calligraphic text is similar in text, dimensions and carving. It was probably taken to Tarragona in the 5th/11th century as part of the spoils from Madinat al-Zahrā.

¹⁹ Ocaña Jiménez, "Documentos epigráficos", pp. 20-25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

²¹ A. Fernández-Puertas, "Dos lápidas aparecidas en la provincia de Jaén", *Al-Andalus*, 41, 1976, pp. 213-24.

²² E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris, 1931, pp. 134-35, No. 150.

²³ Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 337, fig. 399.

²⁴ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 99; F. Spuhler in J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), *Die Kunst des Islam*, Vol. 4 of *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1973, p. 206, plate 108; J. Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*, Vols. I-II, Madrid, 1935; *Marfiles y azabaches españoles*, volume in *Colección Labor*, Barcelona, 1928, pp. 50-113, especially pp. 51-82; J. de Navascués y de Palacio, "Una escuela de eboraria, en Córdoba, de fines del siglo IV de la hégira (XI de J.C.), o las inscripciones de la arqueta hispanomusulmana llamada de Leyre", *Al-Andalus*, 39, 1964, pp. 199-206; M. Gómez-Moreno, "Los marfiles cordobeses y sus derivaciones", *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, Madrid, 1927, pp. 233-43; *El arte árabe español*, pp. 297-310, figs. 355-370.

²⁵ H. Terrasse, *La Mosquée des Andalous a Fès*, Vol. 38 in collection of *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines*, Paris, 1942, p. 34 et seq.; Torres Balbás, *Arte Hispanomusulmán*, p. 299 et seq.; H. Terrasse, in *Die Kunst des Islam*, pp. 205-06, plate 107.

²⁶ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "La inscripción fundacional de la mezquita de Bib al-Mardüm en Toledo", *Al-Andalus*, 14, 1949, pp. 175-83.

²⁷ A. Fernández-Puertas, *La escritura cúfica en los palacios de Comares y Leones*, Granada, 1974, pp. 29-33; Madrid, 1981, pp. 12-14.

²⁸ Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, I, 39-40, No. 31; II, plate Xa.

²⁹ It is exhibited in the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba. J. Guerrero Lovillo drew it and published it, *Al-Qasr al-Mubarak. El Alcázar de la bendición* (lecture delivered on entering the Academia de Sevilla, 1970), Seville, 1974, p. 106, note 50, plate 1; "Andalucía I", in *Tierras de España*, Madrid, 1980, p. 291, plate 242.

³⁰ C. Ewert, *Islamische Funde in Balaguer und die Aljafería in Zaragoza*, Vol. 7 of *Madrider Forschungen*, Berlin, 1971, with a study by G. Kircher, "Epigraphische Studien zu Stuckfragmenten aus Balaguer", pp. 243-50; translated into Spanish as *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Aljafería de Zaragoza*, volume in *Excavaciones Arqueológicas de España*, Madrid, 1979; *Spanisch-islamische Systeme sich kreuzender Bögen. III. Die Aljafería in Zaragoza*, 1 and 2, Berlin, 1978, 1980, figs. 6, 7; plate 10.

³¹ Klaus Brisch, "Zu einer Gruppe von islamischen Kapitellen und Basen des 11 Jahrhunderts in Toledo", *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 2, 1961, p. 205 et seq.; translated as "Sobre un grupo de capiteles y basas islámicas del siglo XI de Toledo", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 15-17, 1979-1981, pp. 155-64, plates I-XVIII.

³² Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes*, I, 43-47, 86-100; II, plates XLV-LXI; P. Marinetto Sánchez, "La decoración vegetal del taller de marfil de Cuenca, I", in *Homenaje al Prof. Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, ofm., con motivo de su LXX aniversario*, Vol. II, Granada, 1987, pp. 241-59, figs. 1-9, plates 1-3; "Plaquita y bote de marfil del taller de Cuenca", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 35, 1986, pp. 45-100, figs. 1-31, plates 1-8.

³³ Gómez-Moreno, *El arte árabe español*, p. 219, figs. 273, 274; Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, pp. 59-62. M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Tres epitafios musulmanes toledanos del siglo XI", *Al-Andalus*, 19, 1954, pp. 407-10; J. de Navascués y de Palacio, "Tres epitafios hispanoárabes del Museo Arqueológico de Toledo", *Al-Andalus*, 26, 1961, pp. 191-93; A. Fernández-Puertas, "Lápida del siglo XI e inscripción del tejido del siglo X del Monasterio de Oña", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 26, 1977, pp. 117-27.

³⁴ Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, I, 65-66, II, plate XVa, b.

³⁵ It reads thus in the epigraphic band that frames the front rectangular faces. The two vertical sections have a different type of letter from the horizontal one, though it is believed that they were incised in the Naṣrid period under Muḥammad III in 705/1305. The type of *naskhī* is, however, different; though I believe it is Naṣrid. See Gómez-Moreno, *El arte árabe español*, p. 188, figs. 246c, 247; A. Fernández-Puertas, "Un paseo por el Museo Nacional de Arte Hispano-musulmán", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 37, 1988, p. 106.

³⁶ Jacques Meunié and Henri Terrasse, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Marrakesh*, Vol. 62 in collection of *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines*, Paris, 1957, pp. 21-30.

³⁷ G. Marçais, *Art musulman d'Algérie. Album de pierre, plâtre et bois sculptés*, fasc. I, Algiers, 1909, pp. 17-31, figs. 13-15, plates V-X; *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris, 1954, pp. 192-97; L. Torres Balbás, *Artes almorávide y almohade*, volume in *Artes y Artistas*, Madrid, 1955, p. 39, plates 2 and 3; H. Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin a Fès*, Vol. 3 of *Archéologie Méditerranéenne*, Paris, 1968, cf. the appendix of Deverdun, "Les inscriptions historiques", pp. 77-81, plates 9, 30, 32, 37, 39, 58, 60-63, 78, 87-89; A. Fernández-Puertas, *La fachada del palacio de Comares. The Façade of the Palace of Comares*, Vol. I, Granada, 1980, pp. 69-72, 240-241, figs. 27, 28, plates LIX, LXa.

³⁸ "Inscripciones cursivas del doble arco almorávide de Játiva" (forthcoming). M. J. Rubiera Mata ascribes it to the period of *Ibn Mardaniṣh*; see "Las inscripciones árabes de Játiva: Una hipótesis y una propuesta sobre la denominación de un estilo", in *Homenaje al Prof. Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez*, II, 293-95.

³⁹ Gómez-Moreno, *El arte árabe español*, p. 265, fig. 317.

⁴⁰ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin*, plates 9, 30, 32, 48, 49-51, 63.

⁴¹ M. Gómez-Moreno, *La ornamentación mudéjar toledana. Mudéjar Ornamental Work in Toledo*, in *Arquitectura Española*, Madrid, 1923-26, pp. 8, 10, fig. 14. A. Fernández-Puertas, "Tabla epigrafiada de época almorávide o comienzos de la almohade", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 20, 1971, pp. 109-12; "Tablas epigráficas de época almorávide y almohade", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 23, 1974, pp. 113-19.

⁴² A. Fernández-Puertas, "Muḥarbaṣ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., Vol. VII, 1991, pp. 500-01, plate XLIV-6.

⁴³ Gómez-Moreno, *La ornamentación mudéjar*, pp. 8, 11-13, figs. 6, 17-19; Terrasse, in *Die Kunst des Islam*, pp. 285, 286, plates 230, 231.

⁴⁴ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin*, 18-19, 78-80, láms. 50, 51, 78 etc. A. Fernández-Puertas, "Las puertas chapadas hispanomusulmanas", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 29-30, 1980-81, pp. 164-65, n. 4.

- ⁴⁵ A. S. Melikian Chirvani, in *Die Kunst des Islam*, p. 263, plate 194. A. Fernández-Puertas, "Candiles epigráficos de finales de siglo XI o comienzos del XII", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 24, 1975, pp. 107-14; "Incensario de época almorávide", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 25, 1976, pp. 115-22; "Las puertas chapadas", pp. 163-65, plates 1-4.
- ⁴⁶ Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, I, 30-31, No. 24, II, lám. VIIIa; K. Brisch, in *Die Kunst des Islam*, p. 257, plate 185.
- ⁴⁷ H. Basset et H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, Vol. 5 in collection of *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines*, Paris, 1932, p. 65.
- ⁴⁸ Fernández-Puertas, *La escritura cúfica*, 1974, p. 37; 1981, p. 16.
- ⁴⁹ Basset and Terrasse, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 132-33.
- ⁵⁰ Fernández-Puertas, "Las puertas chapadas", pp. 164-68, 172-75, fig. 2, plates V-VI.
- ⁵¹ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qarauiyin*, pp. 57-59, 80, 81, plates 104-07.
- ⁵² M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, World of Islam Festival Trust, London, 1976.
- ⁵³ Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, I, 78, 79, No. 81; II, plate XVIIIa.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 99-100, No. 103, plate XXIVb.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 34-35, No. 28; II, plate IX.
- ⁵⁶ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Una mqabriya almohade malagueña del año 1221 J. C.", *Al-Andalus*, 11, 1946, pp. 224-30, 445-46; L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade*, Vol. 4 of *Ars Hispaniae*, Madrid, 1949, p. 51, fig. 41.
- ⁵⁷ A. Fernández-Puertas, "Dos lápidas almohades. Mqabriya de Játiva y la lápida de la cerca de Jerez de la Frontera", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 27-28, 1978-1979, pp. 223-32.
- ⁵⁸ Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade*, p. 61, fig. 47; *Arte almorávide y almohade*, 1955, p. 46, plate 47; A. Fernández-Puertas, "Un paño decorativo de la Torre de las Damas", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 9, 1973, pp. 37-52, figs. 1-6, plates I-VI.
- ⁵⁹ L. Torres Balbás, "Las yeserías descubiertas recientemente en las Huelgas de Burgos", *Al-Andalus*, 8, 1943, pp. 209-54, plates 1-8, especially 4. My study on this plasterwork, proposing these ideas, is still unpublished.
- ⁶⁰ M. Gómez-Moreno, *El panteón Real de las Huelgas de Burgos*, Madrid, 1946; G. Menéndez Pidal, "Las Cantigas. La vida en el siglo XIII según la representación iconográfica (II). Traje, aderezo y afeites", in collaboration with Carmen Bernis, *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 15-17, 1979-1981, pp. 89-154, plates I-X; republished in *La España del siglo XIII leída en imágenes*, Madrid, 1986, chapter devoted to "Traje, aderezo y afeites", pp. 51-104.
- ⁶¹ M. Gómez-Moreno, "Preseas reales sevillanas", *Archivo Hispalense* (Seville), 2nd. period, Nos. 27-32, 1948, pp. 1-16; Fernández-Puertas, "Lápida del siglo XI e inscripción del tejido del siglo X del Monasterio de Oña", pp. 117-27.
- ⁶² M. J. Rubiera Mata, *Ibn al-ʿayyāb. El otro poeta de la Alhambra*, Granada, 1982.
- ⁶³ Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, pp. 145-48. He gives a reading of the poem in Arabic, p. 146, but assumes it to be lost, when the slab exists and is in fact exhibited in this Museum.
- ⁶⁴ M. J. Rubiera Mata, "Los poemas epigráficos de Ibn al-ʿayyāb en la Alhambra", *Al-Andalus*, 35, 1970, pp. 453-73; *Ibn al-Yayyab*, 125- poema XXIV, 127- LIII, 129- LXXI, 130 LXXXVI; 131 CII, CXIV; D. Cabanelas Rodríguez and A. Fernández-Puertas, "Las inscripciones poéticas del Generalife", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 14, 1978, pp. 1-86; "Inscripciones poéticas del Partal y de la fachada de Comares", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 10-11, 1974-1975, pp. 117-200; E. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes en los muros y fuentes de la Alhambra*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 137-43, 148-50.
- ⁶⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Diwān al-ṣayyib wa 'l-jahām wa 'l-māḍi wa 'l-kahām*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣharīf Qāhir, Argel, 1973, p. 347, poems Nos. 112 and 113; M. J. Rubiera Mata, "De nuevo sobre los poemas epigráficos de la Alhambra", *Al-Andalus*, 41, 1976, pp. 207-11; E. García Gómez, *Poemas*, pp. 103-06. Both translators follow the text of the *Diwān* and not the text epigraphed which has clearly marked diacritical points and vocalisation, and differs in at least one respect from the text of the *Diwān*, while keeping perfect rhyme. For a study of the inscriptions, it is essential to start by reading the inscribed texts "in situ" and only then turning to the other sources. Moreover, one should never accept what has been read by other scholars, as their errors in reading are then maintained and the errors multiply.
- ⁶⁶ E. García Gómez, "La etimología de 'Alixares'", *Al-Andalus*, 2, 1934, pp. 226-29; *Ibn*

Zamrak el poeta de la Alhambra (lecture delivered on entering the Real Academia de la Historia), Madrid, 1943, p. 70, note 2.

⁶⁷ See notes 65, 66 above.

⁶⁸ M. J. Rubiera Mata, "Ibn Zamrak, su biógrafo Ibn al-Aḥmar y los poemas epigráficos de la Alhambra", *Al-Andalus*, 42, 1977, pp. 447-51; graduation thesis of Tawfiq al-Nayfar, University of Tunis, 1971.

⁶⁹ D. Cabanelas Rodríguez and A. Fernández-Puertas, "El poema de la fuente de los Leones", *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 15-16, 1979-1981, pp. 1-88; García Gómez, *Poemas*, pp. 111-14.

⁷⁰ Ibn Furkūn, *Dīwān*, ed. Muhammed Bencherifa, Rabat, 1987; García Gómez, *Poemas*, pp. 251-63.

⁷¹ García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak*, pp. 76-77; Rubiera Mata, "Ibn Zamrak, su biógrafo", pp. 449-50; *La arquitectura en la literatura árabe*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1988, pp. 154-56, note 19. I discuss my interpretation of this poem at some length in a forthcoming book.

⁷² What I began in my own work in 1971-72, Ahmed Moustafa M. Hasan Ma has done in a different way in *The Scientific Foundation of Arabic Letter Shapes*, according to the Theory of "The Proportional Script" by Ibn Muqla (272/886-328/940) (thesis submitted for Ph D. degree, CNA, 1989).

⁷³ Fernández-Puertas, *La fachada*, I, 26, 215, note 3. For both inscriptions cf. pp. 116-17, 121-25, 263, 265-68, figs. 59, 62, 63, plates LXXXV, LXXXVIII-XCII.

⁷⁴ The only existing work on this fourth period of Hispano-Muslim epigraphy is my book, *La escritura cúfica en los palacios de Comares y Leones*, Granada, 1974, pp. 1-547, alphabets 1-26, drawings 1-32, plates 1-433. I shall henceforth quote only the pages and figures of this 1974 text; pp. 286-95, alphabet 9, elevation 32, plates 180, 182, 184, 185; pp. 299-302, alphabet 13, plate 190.

⁷⁵ Pp. 275-81, alphabet 8, plate 165; pp. 306-12, elevation 16, plates 181, 196-99; "Algunas consideraciones sobre la escritura cúfica en los palacios de Comares y Leones", *Actas XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte*, 1973, II (Granada), 1976, pp. 89-94.

⁷⁶ Pp. 239-42, alphabet 2, plate 132.

⁷⁷ Pp. 435-37, 516-18, alphabet 24, plates 329, 330, 425, 426.

⁷⁸ Pp. 459-75, alphabets 21-23, plates 355-60.

⁷⁹ In the para-caliphal title, *al-Ghanī bi-Llāh*, he has made the calligraphic error of uniting the proposition *bi* to the name *Allāh*, without suppressing the initial 'alif, *bi-Allāh*, which is entirely ungrammatical, but he may have needed it for a symmetrical composition, which would be excusable, whether he intended this or not. This has only been noticed typographically by E. Lafuente y Alcántara, *Inscripciones árabes de Granada*, Madrid, 1860, p. 142, No. 148, without his making any comment other than marking a separation in the arabic text. A constant re-reading and revision of the inscriptions continues to show up these errors and variants.

⁸⁰ Ernest Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin-Leipzig, n. d., pp. 20-22.

⁸¹ See, for example, his two paintings, the "Santa Catalina" in the Prado Museo (Registered No. 2.902) and "La Resurrección" in the Museum of Valencia. Cf. J. Ferrandis Torres, "Alfombras hispano-morisca tipo Holbein", in *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1942, pp. 104-11; cf. Roberto Salvini, "La obra pictórica completa de Holbein el joven", *Clásicos del Arte*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1972, plates XIII, XXXI, XXXV, XXXIX and LXIII.

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**SOCIAL HISTORY AND
LIFESTYLE**

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MUSLIM SPAIN
FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE ALMOHAD RÉGIME
(EARLY 2ND/8TH-EARLY 7TH/13TH CENTURIES)

PIERRE GUICHARD

INTRODUCTION

The impact of the Arab conquest of Spain has, as is well known, been the subject of historiographical controversy. For a whole "traditionalist" trend, exemplified by such major figures of Hispanic medievalism as Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, the attachment of most of the Peninsula to the Muslim empire (*dār al-Islām*) had, in the initial stages at least, only limited effects on the social and even cultural life of its inhabitants. According to this interpretation, the conquerors, a few thousand Arabs and a slightly larger number of Berbers from the Maghrib, simply represented a dominant element without any profound influence on either the "vital structure" or the "idiosyncratic nature" of the Hispanics, who largely preserved their own customs and cultural traditions. Indeed, it was rather the case that these foreign elements, of Eastern and Maghribi descent, became hispanised through inter-racial mixing with native Hispanic women. As such the process of Islamisation or Arabisation is to be seen as a superficial phenomenon, affecting only the "superstructure" of Muslim Spain, whose "underlying structures" remained fundamentally indigenous.

Two quotations perfectly sum up this thesis—a thesis which may be called "traditionalist" insofar as it places primary emphasis on the continuity of a Western and Hispanic tradition to the detriment of the eastern aspects of Hispano-Muslim civilisation. The first is taken from the Arabic scholar, Julián Ribera, writing in the 1920s. One could, he said, compare this Hispano-Muslim civilisation, deeply faithful to its local roots, but modified in appearance by an Arab-Islamic colouring brought from the outside, to the waters of a lake stained red by a small quantity of aniline; while the expanse of water appears changed to the observer, the chemical structure of the water itself is not truly altered by this foreign element.¹ The second quotation is one from Sánchez Albornoz, for whom "Arab influence on culture and customs was necessarily insignificant for many decades in a Spain whose race, life and culture were western ... Over whole centuries, the inhabitants of the Peninsula lived deeply rooted in their pre-Islamic past". It was only in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, with the "African invasions" of the Almoravids and Almohads, that the "Hispanic sap", which had, over four centuries, nour-

ished a civilisation henceforth appropriately to be termed Hispano-Muslim, would run dry.²

It will be noted, however, that this does not accord with the way the actual Muslim inhabitants of the Peninsula referred to themselves during the Middle Ages; they rather used the sole term *Andalusi* to describe anything relating to the Islamised part of the former Roman and Visigothic Hispania, the Islamised zone itself being called, invariably, *al-Andalus*—a term generally assumed to have been handed down by the Vandals who occupied Hispano-Roman Baetica for a time during the era of the Germanic invasions. Regardless, however, of the exact origin of the toponym, it is certain that the Arab conquerors used it in preference to such names as *Hispania*, *Spania* or the Arabic *Ishbāniya*, with which they were perfectly familiar, and which they could have adopted as they did the term *Africa* (become *Ifriqiya* in Arabic) to designate the Arabised part of the Maghrib. Moreover, the use of this new name—possibly borrowed from the local usage of the people living on the two shores of the Straits of Gibraltar, but representing in any case a shift from the name commonly used in the past—cannot even have sprung from a need to distinguish the Islamised zone from the Peninsula as a whole; for, while the northern part of the Peninsula did indeed rapidly escape the influence of the new religion and the power of Córdoba, the term *al-Andalus* appears very early as an exact synonym of *Hispania* with respect to the territory designated.

The Islamic coins minted in Spain in the very earliest years of the conquest—even before the dissidence of the Asturian Kingdom had become really marked, and when Muslim domination seemed certain to spread through virtually the whole of the Peninsula and even beyond it towards Gaul—were inscribed first in Latin (in the years 93/711-2 and 94/712-3), then bilingually (98/716), and finally in Arabic (from 102/720-1 onwards). In the bilingual series, the Latin legend *Spania* and the corresponding Arabic legend *al-Andalus* appear together, after which it is the latter which permanently prevails.

Consciously or not, then, the Arab-Berber leaders chose for this new entity, formed during the days following the conquest, a name marking a clear rupture with the past; and the fact that usage then hallowed this new name, while it obviously does not “prove” any lack of continuity between Romano-Visigothic Hispania and Arab-Islamic al-Andalus, is at least an indication of a radical break occurring, spontaneously, in the collective mentality of the citizens of what would subsequently be called Muslim Spain.

The past fifteen years or so have, however, witnessed a reaction against this “traditionalist” historiographical tendency, with a number of historians emphasising elements which do in fact reveal such a discontinuity—reflected not only in the language and religion brought to the Peninsula by the conquerors, but also in the deeper underlying structures of mental, social and

“ethnological” organisation. I have myself contributed to this “anti-continuist” trend in a work devoted to such “Eastern” social structures, published in Spanish and French in 1976 and 1977 respectively; and as such it is necessary, before embarking on this treatment of Andalusī society, to forewarn the reader of my own historiographical leanings. Both the tone and the contents of this paper would no doubt be rather different had it been written by a historian upholding a more “traditionalist” viewpoint.

We are dealing here with a history where sources are relatively sparse, and where, as a result, interpretation often tends to take on a greater role than conclusions firmly supported by established documented data. Moreover, social life and structures represent a realm of Andalusī history which has, until recently, been the subject of few specific studies. The chronicles primarily used, up to now, by writers on the history of the different periods have only permitted the establishment of a political and event-related context, with scarcely a glimpse of the realities of the social background, while the literary or juridical texts that have been the subject of special study have allowed, at best, insights only into narrow and limited sections of Andalusī society, such as the class of secretaries and learned men very closely associated with the ruling power, and the class of jurists—with little information, moreover, provided on the economic bases of their existence. The nature of urban society can be glimpsed only through the descriptions (both very brief and too general) of geographers, while the study of rural life is only just beginning, using archaeological approaches which until recently seemed the only ones capable of shedding light in an area where the written sources studied provided almost no information at all. Now, however, we have also begun to make use of the rich documentary material contained in collections of *fatwas*, or legal judgements, delivered by Andalusī doctors of the 4th/10th-7th/13th centuries and preserved in large treatises of jurisprudence, the most important of these being that of the Moroccan jurist Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Tilimsānī al-Wanṣharīsī (834/1430-914/1508). The initial data derived from material of this kind is extremely promising, and I shall be referring to it on a number of occasions, though it must be stressed that such work is still in its early stages.

I. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

I.1 *Elements of Eastern and Maghribi origin*

This is one of the points most often examined, though the scarcity of sources on the subject, as on so many other subjects, firmly precludes any final conclusions. Any evaluation of the relative size of Eastern and Maghribi ethnic groups in the Peninsula would first require an approximate knowledge of the volume of the native population, which we by no means possess, any demo-

graphic figures for the Peninsula on the eve of the Muslim invasion being frankly tentative. José Orlandis, an expert on Visigothic Spain, cites assessments ranging from three to ten million inhabitants at the end of Antiquity, of which the former figure is probably closer to the real one, and uncertainty is still greater with regard to population figures around the end of the period of the Visigothic Kingdom—a period marked by extensive unrest and disasters of every kind, and which may indeed be regarded as one long crisis, ending in a Muslim invasion which, if not absolutely devastating, would still probably have contributed in the short term to making the character of these “dark age” centuries still more sombre.

To this no doubt broadly ruralised population, probably fairly scattered and still depressed and disorganised by the Arab-Muslim conquest, were now added Arab-Berber elements; and for these Arab sources do provide a few figures, in that they supply information on the armies taking part in the conquest and on the contingents of the various tribes or ethnic groupings engaged in the numerous civil wars between Arabs, or between Arabs and Berbers, which marked the first half-century of the Muslim occupation of the Peninsula. The second invading army, mainly composed of Arabs, entered Spain in 93/712 (the first one, almost entirely of Berbers, having entered the previous year), and, according to the sources, comprised ten to eighteen thousand men. Subsequently a contingent of some ten thousand warriors came from Syria to the Maghrib to combat the Great Berber Revolt of 123/740, and, following its defeat there, was forced to cross into Spain, where it settled permanently.

Traditions in connection with ‘Abd al-Rahmān I’s seizure of power in al-Andalus, in 138/756, give some specific idea as to the size of the contingents established in or around the largest cities of present-day Andalucía. The Umayyad claimant is said, for instance, to have recruited around a thousand Arab horsemen from Yemeni tribes in the province of Seville, and two thousand more in the neighbouring cities of Elvira, Rayyo and Sidonia. His main force comprised a group of some five hundred warriors linked to the Umayyad family by bonds of clientship and recorded as such in the *diwān*, or register, of the army. Figures of this kind do not permit any really accurate calculation of the number of Easterners now settled in Spain, but we may infer a probable figure of several tens of thousands of warriors—some thirty thousand according to the lowest estimates, probably more if all textual data is taken into account.

“Traditionalist” authors saw settlement essentially in terms of men alone, cut off from all ties with their original society and therefore likely to be speedily assimilated into the local society through inter-racial breeding. This is a highly aprioristic way of seeing things, and hardly accords with the traditions and customs of Arab society at the time of the conquest, a society still close to its bedouin origins, in which warriors apparently still often travelled

with their entire tribal or family group—such, at any rate, is the picture given by the Carolingian historian Paul the Deacon, as he describes the Muslims entering southern Gaul in about 101/720 “with their women and children, as if to settle there”,³ and we may suppose the same to have been true for a large proportion of the Arab warriors who arrived in the first invasion. It is certain, in any case, that these Arab elements, far from integrating with the native inhabitants as has so often been assumed, strongly affirmed their ethnic identity, within tightly-knit family and tribal groups, until at least the later part of the 3rd/9th century, and that the serious political unrest marking this latter period was primarily of ethnic origin. Arab authors refer to this era of unrest as the *fitna*, which, in the terminology of medieval Muslim chroniclers, designates a period of cleavage within the *Umma*, or Muslim community. The often very detailed accounts of the events in question clearly indicate the existence, in Andalucía and in the Upper Frontier lands or Ebro Valley, of relatively numerous and quite individualised Arab groups not in the least assimilated into the mass of the native population.

Numerous Arab families of Yemeni tribal origin, for example, lived in and around Seville, and these elements, having initially played a major part in raising the first Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I to power in al-Andalus, revolted several times in the early days of the emirate, together with their clients throughout the western region, or Algarve. The revolts had died down by the end of the 2nd/8th century, and these groups did not lose their distinctive identity during the century following, although some of them contracted marriages with women of native origin, including some of very high social rank—the best known example being the marriages of the famous Sara the Goth (grand-daughter of the penultimate Visigoth King Witiza), who owned large holdings of land in the Seville region and successively married two Arab chiefs. A number of large Sevillian families came from such unions in the first centuries of the Muslim period, such as the Banū Ḥajjāj, who played a very important role in the Sevillian *fitna* of the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th century.

However, a local chronicle of the era, reproduced by later historians, provides exceptionally detailed information on the unrest surging through the Andalusi capital during the period in question, and this information in no way suggests an aristocracy “assimilated” into the native population. On the contrary, the Banū Ḥajjāj, together with another great family of Eastern descent, the Banū Khaldūn (ancestors of the great 8th/14th-century Maghribi historian Ibn Khaldūn) set themselves up as the heads of the Arabs in Seville, and bloody fights took place there against the native elements of the city. This Arab aristocracy was powerful enough to impose itself forcibly both on native neo-Muslims—a sort of urban “bourgeoisie” whose resistance had been broken by massacres—and on the Umayyad *amīr* in Córdoba, ‘Abd Allāh. The latter’s power was similarly threatened by unrest breaking out in

most of the provinces, and he was forced, in view of his limited scope for action, to allow a virtually autonomous Arab emirate to be established in Seville, headed first by the head of the Banū Ḥajjāj, Ibrāhīm, then by Ibrāhīm's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, this local emirate lasting from 285/899 to 300/913. In the latter year these two figures both died, and the new *amīr*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, began to restore the authority of the central power. The Sevillians then put an end to political dissidence and once more submitted to him.

Arab elements settled in other parts of al-Andalus also intervened in the civil unrest surging through the whole country at the time; we have, for instance, fairly detailed information on the uprisings of those who lived in the Elvira province, i.e. the present region of Granada. Such revolts, less organised and apparently carried out in the face of more concerted resistance on the part of the native population, did not lead to any kind of stable local government and ended in turmoil and confusion. On the Upper Frontier, on the other hand, a powerful Arab family from the Tujib tribe profited from events to establish a dominant role for itself, by offering to uphold the authority of the central power in Córdoba against the excessively independent policy of the great native Banū Qasī family, which had affirmed its power in the region during the 3rd/9th century. This preponderance of Arab elements seems to have been maintained, under the Caliphate, in both Seville and Saragossa, because when the latter collapsed at the beginning of the 5th/11th century it was families of Arab descent which succeeded in seizing the power left vacant by the downfall of the central authority: the Banū 'Abbād at Seville, who belonged to the same Lakhm tribe as the Banū Ḥajjāj, and a branch of the Banū Tujib at Saragossa, founded the 'Abbādī and Tujibī *ṭā'ifa* dynasties in the two cities.

Comparable information may be deduced, from the same sources, with regard to the Berbers who became established in the Peninsula alongside the Arabs. While the texts concerning them are less numerous, the markedly higher figures mentioned nevertheless lead us to conclude that Berbers came from the near Maghrib in far greater numbers. Whereas, when the Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān arrived in 138/756, the combined Arab Yemeni tribes of Seville and the neighbouring areas brought him a contingent of a thousand horsemen, a single Berber clan or family of the Ronda region, the Banū Khalī', brought him 400. With the army he thus gathered in Andalucía, he drove the Cordoban governor, Yūsuf al-Fihri, from power and took his place; then, when the latter revolted against him shortly afterwards, he recruited from the districts of Seville, Mérida and Laqant (Fuente de Cantos) an army composed largely of Berbers and amounting to some twenty thousand men. A century and a half later, in 288/901, an agitator of Shi'ite inspiration, Ibn al-Qiṭṭ, raised, in the same central and central-west regions (between the Guadalquivir and Tagus valleys), an army (again Berber) which the—fairly reliable—sources relating the event estimate at sixty thousand men.

The texts concerning Ibn al-Qitt's revolt several times reflect a type of society, in these Berberised regions of the centre of the Peninsula, which is still marked by tribal and clan-type structures, while the geographer al-Ya'qūbī, who provides a brief description of al-Andalus around the same period (end of the 3rd/9th century), speaks of "Berber tribes" populating the Valencia region. A second proof of the relative extent of Berberisation in al-Andalus may specifically be found in the toponymic signs left by Berber tribal groups in the formerly Islamised part of the Peninsula, where numerous place names still attest to their presence: names of present-day towns or large villages, such as Mequinenza in Aragon, Adzaneta in the Valencia region and Azuaga in the south of the present province of Badajoz, still, for instance, recall the tribal names Miknāsa, Zanāta and Zuwāgha, of Maghribi origin. There were undoubtedly many other such cases in the geography of al-Andalus. In fact the geographer al-Iṣṭakhṛī, from the first half of the 4th/10th century, indicates, along the stages of the road from Córdoba to the Lower Frontier, in regions on the two sides of the Guadiana between the Guadalquivir and Duero valleys, districts or localities bearing the names of the Miknāsa, Hawwāra and Nafza Berber tribes. In this case, toponymic information simply confirms textual reports of a sizeable presence of Berber groups. However, an abundant toponymy of the same kind may be identified in other regions for which our information is less extensive, such as the Valencia region, where relatively numerous place names preserve the memory of settlements by the Zanāta, Ṣinhāja, Hawwāra, etc., confirming the small number of texts which once again mention—albeit fleetingly—the presence of this Maghribi element.

The tendency noted earlier (in the case of Arabs) for the predominance of foreign elements to increase still further at the expense of the native population between the 2nd/8th and 5th/11th centuries, at least on the aristocratic level, also applies to the Berbers. During the *fitna* period at the end of the emirate, in the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries, chroniclers several times speak of conflicts between population groups of local origin and groups of Maghribi origin; and this seems to occur especially in the vast regions of the centre of the Peninsula, where it was Berbers and not Arabs who clearly constituted the larger foreign ethnic element—for example, in the regions, already noted, of the present-day Extremadura, on either side of the Guadiana, or in the high regions stretching between Toledo and the sea. With respect to the latter, we have numerous references to the presence, from the conquest of the 2nd/8th century on, of a large Berber settlement in the mountains occupying the greater part of the present provinces of Cuenca and Teruel. In the 3rd/9th century, particularly during the crisis of the central power at the end of the emirate, chroniclers several times report armed conflicts between these Berbers and citizens of native origin, both Muslim and Christian, living in Toledo. In the 4th/10th century, the Caliphate fos-

tered the progress, in these regions, of a powerful Berber military aristocracy, no doubt descended from ancient tribal chieftainships, granting them veritable "fiefs" in exchange for services rendered in the defence of the Upper Frontier against the Christians.

During the crisis of the Caliphate at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the local power entrusted to a few quasi-seignorial families—the Banū Ghazlūn at Teruel, the Banū Qāsim at Alpuente, the Banū Razīn at Albaracín and the Banū Zannūn, or Dhī 'l-Nūn, in the region of Uclés, Huete and Cuenca—became more or less naturally transformed into a larger political power, so giving rise to the small *ṭā'ifa* dynasties of this region. What is more surprising, however, is that the Toledans, unable to govern themselves in any satisfactory way following a rather unconvincing attempt to administer the city, apparently submitted of their own free will to one of these Berber chiefs, Ibrāhīm b. Dhī 'l-Nūn, under whom the Berber *ṭā'ifa* of Toledo was thus set under way. Still less is known about the process leading to the establishment of the *ṭā'ifa* adjacent to Badajoz, but here again a city which, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, had been a centre of resistance on the part of native elements submitted without evident difficulty to the authority of a dynasty of Berber origin, that of the Banū 'l-Aṭṭas. Thus, during the 5th/11th century of the *ṭā'ifas*, the two cities in which native particularism had been expressed with the greatest force prior to the Caliphate were now placed under the authority of Berber dynasties, both of which, moreover, claimed to be of Arab origin.

I have so far considered only the first settlement of the Berbers in Spain, that which took place following the conquest of the 2nd/8th century; other Maghribi elements, as we shall see, arrived subsequently to settle in al-Andalus, first under the Caliphate, then during the period of Almoravid and Almohad domination. However, these first seem to have been the most important with respect to the composition of the Andalusī population. While preserving distinctive features over quite a long period, particularly with respect to their tribal and clan structures, they seem to have been fairly quickly Arabised on the linguistic level, and we have just noted how the most important families ended up effectively merging themselves with the Arab element by claiming to be of Eastern descent. This is why, all in all, they seem to me to be a fairly important factor in the process of easternisation.

Several references will also be made, in the course of this essay, to the Jewish element, which should not be omitted from any picture of the Andalusī population. Persecuted under the Visigoths, the Jewish seem to have returned to the Peninsula in large numbers, primarily as merchants, acting as middlemen between the Frankish world and Muslim Spain. They also, however, developed a brilliant Judaeo-Andalusī culture, although this belongs to a study of cultural rather than social life. The most conspicuous period of this Jewish presence in Muslim Spain was the era of the Banū Naḡhrilla, the

extremely powerful Jewish ministers of the Zīrid kings of the *ṭā'ifa* of Granada towards the middle of the 5th/11th century. However, this predominance was fragile and vulnerable to swings of opinion, and the second minister of this name in fact perished in a riot by the people of Granada, who on this occasion massacred the Jews of the city. Yet, despite such occasional tensions, the Jews—who were, like the Arabs, of Semitic origin and culture—undoubtedly provided further impetus for the easternisation of Andalusī civilisation.

1.2 *Elements of native origin*

The predominance of the Arab-Berber aristocracy at the time the *ṭā'ifas* were created, which seems to me to be fairly well established at least with respect to those groups holding power, obviously does not mean there were no longer any elements of native origin; it is simply that these latter do not occupy the front of the stage. They were, we know, divided into Muwallads, who had been converted to Islam, and Mozarabs, who had remained loyal to the Christian faith. There is an abundant literature on the second group, since the “traditionalist” authors of the 19th century—notably Francisco Javier Simonet, author of the magisterial *Historia de los mozárabes de España*—viewed them as preservers of the national religious tradition in face of “Muslim oppression” and accordingly marshalled all the learning of which the era was capable to find the slightest traces of their presence in Muslim Spain. They were aided, it must be said, by the sizeable collection of Latin texts on the doctrinal controversies agitating the Andalusī Mozarab community of the 3rd/9th century, particularly with respect to the dramatic episode of the “Córdoba martyrs” at the beginning of the second half of the century. It is evident that a large and socially diversified Mozarab society existed in Córdoba at this period, as it also did, no doubt, in other cities for which documentation is less extensive. In addition to numerous clerics, monks and nuns, we find, among the notable persons referred to in these texts, people of noble descent, traders, *kuttāb* (Arab-language secretaries), a servant at the *amīr*’s palace, persons in charge of the judicial and fiscal affairs of the Christian community, and so on.

The main problem posed with respect to the history of this Mozarab community is that of the rate of decline, caused by conversions, emigration towards the northern part of the Peninsula during the upheavals of the 3rd/9th century, and also, no doubt, by the ethno-religious conflicts of the same period. The American historian R. W. Bulliet, in a stimulating work based on the quantitative use of onomastic data as furnished by scholarly biographical dictionaries, concluded that it was only in the 4th/10th century, under the Caliphate, that the numerical ratio of Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus was reversed in favour of the former. He himself, nevertheless,

regards his conclusions as fairly fragile, given that they rest on too narrow a foundation of information.⁴ In fact, the impression given by chronicles concerning the revolts breaking out in all parts during the last decades of the 3rd/9th century, and the slow reduction of these revolts due to the persevering efforts of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, is that of a country already largely Islamised, including rural areas. In a very brief, but highly suggestive passage in his chapter on Spain, the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited the country in the middle of the 4th/10th century, does, it is true, speak of frequent revolts by Mozarab peasants employed on large estates, probably those of the ruling aristocracy; but we may feel that he is merely repeating information about a situation existing before the caliphal era, and therefore "out of date"—what he says is surprising for this period, though perfectly in accord with information conveyed to us in chronicles dealing with the end of the emirate.

Under the Caliphate, the impression is of Mozarab elements being more peacefully integrated within the political and social order, the best known example being that of Rabi' b. Zayd (Recemund), a palace official who wrote the famous *Calendar of Córdoba* for 'Abd al-Rahmān III, undertook various diplomatic missions (in Germania and Byzantium) and was rewarded with the Bishopric of Elvira. It should, however, be made clear that we have very little information on the Mozarabs of this period, the sources being in fact almost exclusively centred on those holding power and their entourages. Relatively large numbers of Mozarab communities did, however, continue to exist up to the end of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms: there were several parishes in Toledo when the Christians occupied the city in 478/1085, and abundant documentation in Arabic is preserved on the Mozarabs of this city (though solely with respect to the Christian period). An apparently still significant Mozarab group, which is the subject of a number of passages in the Arabic chronicles dealing with the Cid's dominion over Valencia, was also to be found there during this same period, while the memoirs of the *amir* of Granada, 'Abd Allāh, clearly indicate the existence of a relatively large rural Christian population in some parts of the Málaga region towards the end of the 5th/11th century. At the other end of the social scale, we know the names of a number of high-ranking Christian dignitaries in the service of the *ṭā'ifa* kings. They are not, however, very numerous and seem to be exceptions.

This Christian population was no doubt very badly affected by the hardening of relations between Christianity and Islam during the Almoravid period. We know, for example, that in 492/1099 the people of Granada, by order of the Almoravid *amir* Yūsuf b. Tāshfin acting on the advice of his '*ulamā*', symbolically destroyed the main Mozarab church of the Christian community. However, it was particularly after the King of Aragon, Alfonso the Warrior—answering an appeal from the Mozarabs of Granada, who were no doubt anxious about the increasingly precarious nature of their situation—

had undertaken a major expedition into Andalucía in 519/1125-520/1126 that drastic measures were taken by the Almoravid regime for the mass deportation of Mozarabs to Morocco. Not all, however, were forced to leave the country, since the same sources also subsequently report the existence of a Mozarab community in Granada. It was in fact apparently finally decimated in 557/1162, when the Almohads reoccupied the region after a bitter war against the *amīr* of Murcia, Ibn Mardaniṣh (the latter having taken over the city with the support of Jewish Mozarab "tributaries" who feared a union with the power of Marrakesh). According to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who was a contemporary of these events, "only a small group, accustomed to contempt and humiliation" was afterwards left in Granada. One may suppose that a comparable situation applied in most of the other cities. In those reconquered after the middle of the 6th/12th century, particularly those of the Levant and Andalucía, the Mozarabs are not mentioned in scholarly sources, and, as such, no longer seem to represent significant minorities.

Problems concerning Muslims of native descent are naturally of a quite different kind. 2nd/8th-century sources concentrate especially on fighting between Arabs and Berbers, and then on the revolts of these same Eastern and Maghribi elements against the Umayyad emiral power, and have very little to say about this Islamised, or Muwallad, native element. The latter do, however, achieve prominent mention in chronicles from the time they begin rebelling against the political, social and economic domination of the Arab-Berber aristocracy established in the country with the conquest, and against the emirate of Córdoba, which was closely linked with this social class. The year 181/797 witnessed the famous "day of the grave pit", when the *amīr* al-Ḥakam I had very large numbers of prominent Toledan citizens massacred to forestall any uprising on their part. The city, whose population was very largely of native descent, did not, through the whole of the 3rd/9th century, neglect any opportunity to rise up against the emiral power. The chroniclers, however, provide little more than the bare facts of such revolts, so that it is not possible to study the Toledan society of the period, and the same may be said of the history of other cities under the emirate, such as Mérida. For the Upper Frontier, or Ebro Valley, more information is available on native aristocratic families like the Banū 'Amrūs and Banū Ṣhabrīt who converted to Islam, the most important such family being that of the Banū Qasī, who had originally held a kind of seignorial power over the Tudela region. So firm were the local roots of these families that we see them making matrimonial ties with their "cousins" from great families in those areas which had remained Christian. The most famous figure is Mūsā b. Qasī, whom the *amīr* Muḥammad I of Córdoba recognised as governor of Saragossa between 237/852 and 246/860, and who, according to one Christian chronicle, called himself "the third King of Spain".

II. ANDALUSĪ SOCIETY UNDER THE CALIPHATE

Over a long period the different ethnic and religious elements of which Andalusī society was composed formed a mosaic of groups living side by side rather than a "melting pot", within a social complex marked by antagonisms which, as we have several times noted, broke out with particular virulence in the disturbances of the *fitna* of the end of the emirate, during the last three decades of the 3rd/9th and the first two decades of the 4th/10th century. The weariness of the people, the increasing Islamisation, the growing sense of a need for unity in the Andalusī community, or *jamā'a*, together, perhaps, with other factors of which we are unaware, favoured a return to civil peace and political order. The main architect of this restoration of central power over al-Andalus as a whole was the eighth Umayyad *amīr* of Córdoba, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, during the first fifteen years of his reign, which began in 300/912. With peace and unity restored and the power of the state strengthened, this sovereign had himself proclaimed caliph in 316/929, thus reviving, in the West, the title which his ancestors in Damascus had held from 41/661 to 132/750, prior to their overthrow by the Abbasids. It was under this "Córdoba Caliphate", for a little under a century, that Muslim Spain reached its political peak, characterised by the achievement of a social equilibrium within which the tensions so strongly marking the preceding period seem to have been resolved. As I have stated above, I believe this unification was accomplished in a social and cultural context of Arabisation, rather than one involving ethnic assimilation to the ways of a native element which, whether Mozarab or Muwallad, remained very unobtrusive during this period.

It is, in any case, rather difficult to offer an exact and concrete picture of Muslim Spain during the 4th/10th century, in that the sources for the period focus so exclusively on the life of the capital, the government and the court, which 'Abd al-Raḥmān III established in the princely city of Madīnat al-Zahrā', a vast palatine complex he had built a few kilometres downstream from Córdoba, on the foothills of the heights overlooking the right-hand bank of the Guadalquivir. We know little, for this period, about anyone beyond the dignitaries of the Caliph's entourage, who comprised a kind of microcosm of high-ranking people of various origins—such a diversity, at the service of the caliphal power, reflecting the evident unification of Andalusī society. At the head of the state were the prince's relatives, members of the Umayyad family and its clients from the Arab Quraysh family, while Arab families of more or less noble descent provided some of the high officials of the state, local governates and the army. The Banū Tujīb of Saragossa, for example, were largely successful in maintaining control of the Upper Frontier, or Ebro Valley. More influential and omnipresent at the helm of government were the large families of Umayyad clients of Eastern descent, such as the Banū Jahwar, the Banū Shuhayd and the Banū Bāsil,

who formed veritable dynasties of high officials, ministers and generals—these had in fact already been the backbone of the Umayyad state during the emiral era. Berbers appear to have been fairly numerous at all levels of the social and political structure: “feudal lords” of the Frontiers, such as the Banū Razīn from the south of Aragon, or ‘*ulamā*’ assuming important posts, such as the chief *qāḍī* of Córdoba, Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūḡī, who came, as his name indicates, from the mountainous region of *Faḥṣ al-Ballūṡ*, situated to the north-west of Córdoba and known for its population of Maghribi origin. Also found here, in a less powerful and less centrally important entourage, were Jews, like the very learned physician, Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, and Mozarab Christians, such as Rabiʿ b. Zayd, the author, as noted above, of the *Calendar of Córdoba*. There were no doubt, in the palace and in the various branches of the government and administration, large numbers of Christian and Muslim officials of native origin. However, it is often rather difficult to be precise as to individuals, since their names do not, as in the case of Arabs and Berbers, imply a precise tribal—and therefore ethnic—origin. Moreover, they do not figure prominently, any more than they do in overall Andalusī society, of which they must, nevertheless, have comprised very much the majority element.

Towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, these elements of diverse origin seem, as far as high official posts are concerned, to co-exist in a way reflecting a fairly harmonious synthesis achieved by the Córdoba Caliphate; one gains the impression that, under the aegis of an Eastern dynasty and a predominantly Arab-Berber ruling class, a lasting equilibrium had been established between the political power and a society in the process of being Arabised and Islamised. Yet the success apparently achieved is in fact misleading. Very soon a gulf was to open between an increasingly artificial and alien ruling circle and Andalusī society as a whole—a situation which was to have dramatic consequences for the development of the caliphal regime. In line with a trend which seems to be specific to the Muslim political régimes of the Middle Ages, and which was later to be schematised, in the 8th/14th century, by the eminent philosopher of history and “sociologist” Ibn Khaldūn, the Umayyad power was gradually to cut itself off from local social realities, and to rely exclusively on foreign elements, principally Berbers recently arrived from the Maghrib and white slaves or former slaves imported from Western Europe, who were given the name *ṣaqālība*. The former were mercenaries, recruited in North Africa as part of the expansionist policy conducted by the Caliphate beyond the Mediterranean in the last third of the century, beginning with the reign of al-Ḥakam II (350/961-366/976), then, especially, under the autocratic rule of the great ‘Amirid chief minister al-Manṣūr, from 370/980 to 392/1002. They constituted a light and very effective cavalry which the caliphal government employed both in Spain, against the Christians, and in the wars it conducted to take over Morocco.

They were not no doubt very numerous—probably a few thousand warriors only—but they remained in homogeneous corps within the structure of their clans and tribes, under their own chiefs. They did not integrate with Andalusī society and, as such, were detested by the Cordobans.

The case of the *ṣaqālība* is different. These formed only one category of the slaves found in al-Andalus, and in other medieval Muslim societies, at all levels of the social and political structure. Neither Christianity nor Islam eliminated slavery, which remained an obtrusive feature of the Mediterranean world in the early Middle Ages. The Muslim conquest was accompanied by the reduction to slavery of a part of the populations conquered, particularly in the Maghrib, but the Muslim world, where there was a large demand for slaves, had, subsequently, to satisfy this demand from beyond its borders. In the markets of big cities, particularly in Córdoba under the Caliphate, slaves of every origin were sold. Blacks, imported from West Africa through the Sahara, were found there, but Spain was especially known, from the 3rd/9th century on, for its export of white European slaves from Christian countries, who were given the name *ṣaqālība*, or "Slavs". Medieval Muslim geographers considered, not entirely wrongly, that the land of the Slavs comprised a vast territory of which one end (the western one for us) bordered on to the land of the Franks—which was itself in contact with the Muslims of Spain and Sicily—and the other, in the South-East, bordered on to the Muslim East, more specifically the lands of the Caspian and Khorasan. "Slavs" were, then, imported from both sides regardless of their actual origin. Many, no doubt, did initially come from the Slavic countries of Central Europe, having been captured in Carolingian wars against the pagans of these regions, then brought by merchants—who often seem to have been Jewish—to be sold to the Muslims of Spain. However, the same name was given to slaves from Christian Europe, many of these being people captured in the wars against the Northern Spanish states, or in the *razzias* undertaken by Andalusī pirates, in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, off the coasts of southern Gaul and Italy and in the islands of the Mediterranean. Such "Slavs", or "Slavonians", were particularly highly valued in the Muslim world, and it was probably the exportation of these—possibly after castration had transformed them into eunuchs (required in view of their frequent use in harems)—that underlay the astonishing growth of a port like Almería. Originally a small commercial station founded by Andalusī merchants at the end of the 3rd/9th century, the city actually became one of the major commercial centres of the Mediterranean in the 4th/10th-5th/11th centuries, and a number of texts indicate that trafficking in slaves was one of the first activities to be organised there.

Many of these slaves were used as domestic servants in wealthy homes, while a more notable category was that of the *qiyān*, comprising female slaves used as concubines, dancers or singers; these were particularly prized

in Eastern and Andalusī aristocratic circles, and were trained in veritable schools or institutions established for the purpose. The number of slaves in this latter category was certainly considerable. The great "polygraph" Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba, who spent his youth and adolescence in the Cordoban aristocratic circles of the end of the Caliphate, several times mentions female slaves of this type in the anecdotes making up his famous "Dove's Neck-ring" (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*), or "Treatise on Love and Lovers". In the same period, that is, at the end of the Caliphate and the beginning of the *ṭāʾifas*, there is reference to a vizier of the first sovereigns of Almería whose harem apparently comprised five hundred slaves. One well-known anecdote of the same period describes how a citizen of Elvira, near Granada, was misled in an amusing way about the quality of the goods: wishing to acquire a beautiful foreign woman, he had paid a high price in the Córdoba market for a supposedly Christian slave who, it seemed, understood not a word of Arabic, and had brought her back with him, in great state, as though she were nothing less than a princess from beyond the frontiers. The young woman was actually a prostitute and a native of the region, and, as they entered the town, could not hold herself back from greeting an old acquaintance they chanced to meet, thereby revealing the unscrupulous scheme she and the merchant had concocted together to cheat a naive customer.

Slaves in a domestic role are also found at the level of socio-political organisation. Eunuchs, originally recruited for the harems of the prince and aristocracy, were among the most intimate and influential servants of a hugely inflated palace (thousands of male and female slaves lived in the palace of *Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ*); they were given important civil and military posts as generals and governors, and there were entire army corps made up of Slavs, these, together with the Maghribi Berbers, making up the most solid and reliable permanent element of the caliphal army. We know little of the precise methods by which the great 'Āmirid *ḥājib* al-Manṣūr accomplished his major "military reform" in the last years of the 4th/10th century, but we do know that one of his goals was to break the traditional tribal framework of the Arab Andalusī *jund*, his army being ever more heavily made up of these non-Arab elements, primarily Berbers and Slavs, who seemed more docile and reliable to the Cordoban ruling power.

III. THE ERA OF THE *ṬĀʾIFAS*

The socio-political contradictions indicated above, due to the seizure of effective power by the 'Āmirid *ḥājib*, who left the Caliph with a purely symbolic role, and the overwhelmingly foreign character of the politico-administrative structure of the state, were undoubtedly part of the underlying reason for the grave crisis of the Caliphate in the years 399/1009-422/1031. This period of anarchy began with the "Córdoba revolution", which removed the

‘Āmirid regime and deeply destabilised the Caliphate, and concluded with the actual disappearance of the Caliphate; after which the unitary political organisation al-Andalus had known up to then was splintered through the formation of the “*ṭā’ifa* kingdoms” characterising the 5th/11th century in the Muslim part of the Peninsula. Whereas the caliphal system had been centred on Córdoba, whose importance far eclipsed that of the provincial capitals, political power was now redefined on a regional basis, with each large provincial city becoming the capital of a small state. Nevertheless, the urban model with respect to the organisation of power was not questioned at the level of the individual state. The functions of each capital remained, albeit no doubt on a more modest level, those which the capital of the Caliphate had formerly fulfilled. There was no desire to deviate from this “caliphal model”, which continued to serve as a reference point for the mode of socio-political organisation.

The period of the *ṭā’ifas* should definitely not be considered (as has sometimes tended to be the case) an era of “feudalisation”. In contrast to the situation in the 11th-century West, neither Andalusi society nor the Andalusi state gave structural precedence, in this period, to military elements, which merely comprised one branch of state organisation—important, certainly, and sometimes even predominant, but not effectively destroying the state itself, as occurred with the militarised aristocracy of post-Carolingian western Christianity. Nor do castles and fortresses seem to have been owned privately, or by landed lords; on the whole, they remained either straightforward rural fortified dwellings, many of these appearing during the turbulent period at the end of the emirate, or state fortifications for paid garrisons. When sources do refer to territorial and fiscal concessions made to the military, as, for example, at the end of the century in the memoirs of the *amīr* of Granada, ‘Abd Allāh, these do not appear to depart from the framework of a state organisation which continues to exercise control over it. When the military did in fact assume power in any particular state, within the political mosaic represented by Muslim Spain at this time, they simply placed themselves at the head of a state system which they ruled for their own personal gain, but whose nature they did not change.

At the head of each of the *ṭā’ifa* states, the ruling groups constituted an aristocracy whose ethnic origin was either Berber, as in the kingdom of the Zirīds of Granada referred to above, or Arab, as in Seville and Saragossa, or *Ṣaqlība* as in Denia and Almería, where it was Slav leaders who managed to seize power. Around the princes was formed a governing aristocracy of ministers, learned secretaries and administrative and military heads, such people comprising the upper level of society, or *khāṣṣa*—those, in other words, who received from the state, in contrast to the mass of taxpayers, the ‘*amma*, or “plebeians”, made up of subjects, or *ra’iyya*. Privileged social categories should be taken to include the ‘*ulamā*’, or *fuqahā*’, doctors of

Islam expert in the juridical and religious sciences, who were one of the influential elements rulers must control if they were to retain a firm grip on the country. A person could not occupy a high rank in society without receiving an initial juridico-religious training which was the basis of medieval Muslim culture. Young men who were destined for administration or important state positions were then subsequently schooled in the arts, so enabling them to master the elegant diplomatic style indispensable for writing official documents, while those who chose to study the juridico-religious sciences in greater depth were rather destined for the posts of *qāḍī*, *muftī*, reader of the Quran, preacher in the mosques or leader of prayer. This religious and judicial hierarchy was technically separate from the administrative organisation of the state, but in actual practice there was no clear distinction between the two spheres.

The Spain of the *ṭāʾifas*, proved to be incapable of defending itself against growing pressure from increasingly enterprising Christian sovereigns, based on Christian societies spurred on by their ever-greater integration with the feudal West. Governors of small Muslim states were forced to buy peace from their northern neighbours by making heavy tribute payments, or *parias*, in silver; this no doubt had its socio-economic effects, which are, however, difficult to judge in view of the lack of sufficiently specific documents. On the other hand, an especially interesting passage by Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba, written towards the middle of the century, evokes a vivid picture of the system of relations established, within the framework of a state structure and a monetarised economy, between the various socio-professional categories. Attacking extra-Quranic taxation—an abuse, in his eyes, for that very reason—which the *ṭāʾifa* sovereigns imposed on their subjects, he protested against the “tyrant” who used the money received from taxes to pay soldiers who were the ultimate guarantee of his power. The soldiers (and the ruling classes) in turn used this money to purchase products (particularly manufactured goods) sold to them by traders and craftsmen in the cities—who in *their* turn “bought with this money what they needed from other subjects of the tyrant, so that monies in gold and silver were transformed ... into wheels which rolled in the middle of the fire of hell”.⁵

A rigorous jurist of Ibn Ḥazm's stamp thus saw the entire social body as corrupted by the circulation of a money made impure by illegal fiscal practices. However, Ibn Ḥazm himself—a severe critic of his time, and thereby vulnerable to a hostility within official circles which forced him to spend the last days of his life in haughty retirement—also left us, especially in his youthful writings, a pleasanter picture of the society of his period. I have already referred to his “Dove's Neck-ring” (*Tawq al-ḥamāma*), written in 418/1027, three years before the downfall of the Cordoban Caliphate, and when the geography of the *ṭāʾifas* was virtually established. The turmoil in Córdoba forced the author, who was the son of a minister of the Caliphate,

to seek refuge in Eastern Spain, where he lived for several years in the medium-sized city of Játiva. This is his most famous work, and still, today, his most "popular" work in Spain. It treats of love and lovers in a style at once personal and anecdotal, succeeding, as the Arabist Juan Vernet has written, in "distilling from specific examples, and almost always identifying the real, flesh-and-blood people who experienced them, the real essence of love, unchangeable through centuries and civilisations".⁶ However, the *Tawq* is also a most interesting sociological and psychological document, providing most interesting indications concerning the Andalusī mentality, and on the condition of women in aristocratic circles.

Ṭāʾifa literature and poetry, and particularly the work of Ibn Ḥazm, has led a number of writers to draw particular conclusions about the nature of Andalusī civilisation. Henri Pérès, for example, in his important work *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, considers that Andalusī woman enjoyed a more "liberal" way of life than their sisters in the eastern part of the Muslim world, and that this reflects deeply-set "western" roots with respect to the psychology and customs of the Andalusī people, who were only superficially Arabised and easternised. I believe, as I have already said, that such interpretations should be somewhat modified. With regard to the situation of women in particular, not enough attention has been given to the fact that the anecdotes apparently reflecting this "liberalism" usually concern women from the category of *qiyān* and *jawārī* described above, in other words slaves whose purpose was to entertain gatherings of men from aristocratic society with their dances and songs. Since they were also used as concubines by their masters, their "freedom of behaviour" was part and parcel of what might be termed their "socio-professional" situation, and did not go beyond the juridical limits applicable to their servile status. Apart from a few famous cases—such as that of the Umayyad princess Wallāda bint al-Mustakfi, who "hit the headlines" in the chronicle of *ṭāʾifa* Córdoba by maintaining a kind of literary salon—it seems that women of free status, or at any rate those of good birth, were, as elsewhere in the Arab-Muslim world, subject to strict obligations ensuring the preservation of family honour, and, as such, did not enjoy a very different condition from those in eastern urban circles of the same period.

IV. AL-ANDALUS UNDER THE HISPANO-MAGHRIBI RÉGIMES

From the final years of the 5th/11th century on, the Andalusis were mostly subject to rulers of Maghribi origin: first the Almoravids, who intervened in the Peninsula in answer to an appeal from the sovereigns there, and with the aim of defending Islam on the Peninsula against the Christian threat, then the Almohads, who revolted against the Almoravids themselves, replacing them from the middle of the 6th/12th century on. During the post-Almoravid

crisis, and again as the Almohads collapsed, Andalūsī power was briefly restored, but it was generally fragile and short-lived, and its history is especially vague and obscure. The most important of these local emirates, which lasted from 542/1147 to 568/1172, was that of the *amīr* Ibn Mardanīsh of Murcia. This was established in the eastern region shortly after the fall of the Almoravids, and managed, by means of fierce fighting, to resist the extension of Almohad power for some twenty years, before finally being conquered. Yet we know virtually nothing of the internal history of this Eastern Spanish state. Scholarly bio-bibliographical dictionaries, which are a major source of information on the educated class and men of religion, seem only to indicate that the structure of this society, dominated by governing classes linked to the ruler and by men of learning and religion, experienced very little change during this "Mardanīshī" period.

The problems most clearly visible during this period are of a cultural rather than a social kind. The reforming movement of the Almoravids had succeeded in ensuring, in Morocco and Spain, a strict observance of the rules of Islam, in accordance with the tradition of the very conservative and legalistic Mālikī school which had, by and large, been firmly dominant in the Muslim West since the 3rd/9th century. On the intellectual level, the régime adhered to the strictest and most rigid religious tradition, immovably devoted to niggling practices and to the mechanical knowledge of juridical conclusions developed two or three centuries earlier by the great Eastern and Maghribi scholars who had founded the school. There was, moreover, an increasing tendency to base practice not so much on these founding texts themselves, but rather on compilations of lesser value, derived from the preceding ones and produced by commentators and abridgers of the second rank. Meanwhile, in the East, new intellectual and religious trends were appearing, trends which were leading to a renovation of Islam on the basis of a synthesis between, on the one hand, the ritualism and legalism advocated by tradition and, on the other, aspirations towards a more affective kind of religion, reflected in the numerous Sufi brotherhoods which were beginning to multiply throughout the Muslim world. The main name associated with this synthesis is that of the jurist and theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111, in Iran), whose works enjoyed immense and immediate success, and received the support of intellectuals and rulers alike.

On the cultural level, therefore, the rigid Mālikī standpoint of the Almoravids, while in accordance with a tradition to which most Andalūsī 'ulamā' remained faithful, conflicted with the general trend towards a new religious sensibility. The latter was expressed, in al-Andalus as elsewhere, through the development of new, opposing movements of mystical tendency, giving rise to doctrines that attempted to find some alternative to the stultifying legalism of the official religion. This need for new thinking had been felt back in the 5th/11th century by such an independent spirit as Ibn Ḥazm, whose view-

point, *Zāhiri* and anti-*Mālikī*, was to have its attractions for the intellectuals of the Almohad period. However, the first half of the 6th/12th century mainly saw the spread of *Ghazālī*'s thought, and of a popular Sufism tinged with political messianism, whose development was discernible in several regions at the end of the Almoravid era, particularly in rural areas which were probably less closely controlled by the urban *fuqahā'* class. This was the case, for example, in Seville, around Almería and in the Algarve. Such observations suggest the existence of social oppositions between cities and countryside in al-Andalus, but this is, unfortunately, impossible to verify, due to the lack of adequate sources.

The best-known movement in al-Andalus, that of the Algarve, is not without analogies in Almohad practice. The preaching of an ascetic-mystical agitator, who seemed to focus his attention on the inhabitants of rural towns, began in 539/1144, with the revolt, in this region, of a sect called the *Muridūn*—the leader of this sect, Ibn Qasī, proclaiming himself *imām*, that is, he claimed the religious and political leadership of the Muslim community. The Almoravid regime was by now exhausted, undermined in Morocco itself by the decisive successes of the Almohad movement, which was in revolt in the Atlas throughout the second quarter of the 6th/12th century. The Almoravid collapse was accompanied in al-Andalus by further movements of revolt in Córdoba, Valencia, Murcia, Almería and other cities, whose inhabitants often returned the power to the *qādīs* who were in office at the time. Our knowledge of the complex events of this exceptionally troubled period, in which Almoravid power collapsed and Almohad authority was, with difficulty, established, is too slight for us to discern much more than the main outlines of the social history involved; the most we can do is to attempt to paint a picture of the principal aspects of urban life and rural life in the period of the Hispano-Maghribi empires.

IV.1 *Urban society and its institutional framework in the 6th/12th century*

No synthetic study exists of the economic and social life of this period. No doubt we can use, and apply to the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, the data provided by Lévi-Provençal in his classic *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, but we should, nevertheless, be cautious of anachronisms. One of the main differences between the caliphal period and the centuries following is, as already stated, the relative decline of Córdoba, which stagnated in the 4th/10th century, and the rise of numerous provincial cities, favoured by their promotion to the status of capitals during the *ṭā'ifa* period. To a certain extent, these provincial capitals maintained their importance in the 6th/12th century, but some of them were reconquered early by the Christians, notably Toledo in 578/1085 and Saragossa in 512/1118. Córdoba itself was seriously weakened by the civil fighting which tore Andalucía apart in the middle of the

6th/12th century, and recovered only with difficulty from the destruction and depopulation suffered during these troubled periods. According to the chronicle of Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāh (writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, when Almohad authority had been re-established there following temporary occupation by the troops of the *amīr* of Murcia, Ibn Mardaniṣh) the former capital of the Caliphate had a mere 82 inhabitants! The figure refers, presumably, to the families of leading citizens, but destruction does seem to have been considerable, since it was necessary to undertake repairs to the palaces and homes which had suffered from the war. The same was no doubt true in Almería which, following its occupation by the Castilians between 542/1147 and 551/1157, did not apparently regain the level of population and activity which had made it one of the main economic centres of the Peninsula under the Almoravids.

In the 6th/12th century, the question of the ethnic composition of the Andalusī population no longer, it should be stressed, assumed the importance it had had up to the caliphal period. The Andalusis appeared to exhibit no ethnic differences among themselves. There is no evidence of the Slav and Berber elements visible in the 5th/11th century, nor of any distinction, so marked under the emirate, between native Muwallads and the Arab-Berber population; many Muslims in the Peninsula, perhaps out of a kind of aristocratic vanity, bore Arabic *nisbas*, at least among the ruling classes and in 'ulamā' circles. They considered themselves Arabs regardless of their actual origin, and, as such, viewed themselves as distinct from the Maghribi Berbers who comprised the governmental and military framework. Relations between Peninsular and African Muslims were not always harmonious, though we should not perhaps exaggerate Andalusī opposition to the Almoravid and Almohad regimes outside periods of acute crisis. One source of population renewal was still, no doubt, the practice of slavery, about which we have, however, less information than for the preceding period; one may suppose that the importing of slaves, particularly women, in earlier periods, had produced a degree of inter-racial mixing within the population. Christian documents concerning the capture of Minorca by the Catalonians in 686/1287, and the reduction of its population to slavery, seem to indicate that most of the island's inhabitants were regarded as black or of mixed race, but further primary evidence would be necessary to draw from these surprising figures—which in any case refer only to certain groups of slaves—figures which would be valid for the whole of al-Andalus.

Arab authors, as we have seen, traditionally distinguish two social categories within the Andalusī population. The first is the aristocracy, or *khāṣṣa*, comprising, primarily, the ruling circles within the government and administration, the court, the army and the general governing structure of Islam, namely all the viziers and high-ranking secretaries, heads of government departments and high-level personnel within the provincial administration,

together with learned men within the entourage of the ruling circles and most of the class of 'ulamā', or *fuqahā*, who carried out religious and civil administrative functions (as *qādis*, market supervisors, etc.). The second category is that of the 'amma, the common people (also often called the *ra'iyya*), made up of the mass of tax-payers—craftsmen, small- and medium-scale traders, and cultivators of varying socio-economic status, who lived in the city, or in the suburbs, or in the outlying rural areas which were directly dependent on the urban network, and were the setting for its gardens and its *fahs*, i.e. the intensely cultivated surrounding plain. The *khāṣṣa* class was apparently largely made up of those supported by payments and pensions disbursed by the treasury, or *bayt al-māl*. It is certain, however, that these people also gained an income from landed revenues and that large properties were owned. The latter, except for the sovereign's possessions (and we do not really know whether these were in fact distinguished from those of the public treasury) are not very apparent in the sources. Almohad sources, and also the memoirs of the *amīr* 'Abd Allāh, record land or fiscal concessions, whose precise nature is very unclear, but which were probably similar in principle to the *iqṭā*'s of the Muslim East. However, they did not apparently assume the same degree of importance in al-Andalus; and, similarly, there is no more sign than in earlier periods of the socio-political system, which continued to be strongly state-centred under the Almoravids and Almohads, being affected by any kind of "drift towards feudalism"—here, again, any such tendency was no doubt less evident than in the East.

It was the cities which were the important Andalusi organisms of the time, and an attempt has been made to assess the population of these by calculating a mean probable value based on the *intra muros* surface area. The most commonly accepted calculations are those of Leopoldo Torres Balbás, who proposed a figure of about 350 inhabitants per hectare. The figures roughly applicable to the 5th/11th-6th/12th centuries would be 37,000 inhabitants for Toledo (106 hectares), making it one of the largest cities, 27,000 (79 hectares) for Almería in its heyday, 26,000 for Granada (75 hectares), 17,000 for Saragossa (47 hectares) and 15,000 for Málaga (37 hectares). The area of Valencia contained 44 hectares, i.e. about 16,000 inhabitants, a figure supported by the count of houses given in the *repartimiento* of the city, carried out at the time of the reconquest. The most important city is Seville, which, in the 6th/12th century under the Almoravids and Almohads, attained an extent of about 200 hectares (estimates vary from author to author), which would correspond to some 70,000 inhabitants; it seems, however, that part of the area had not been built on. Given that these figures should be viewed with caution, it was still obviously a highly urbanised society. Each major city served as a centre for a region economically, politically and fiscally dependent on it, and it was around these provincial capitals (Valencia, Murcia, Almería, Málaga, Jaén, and more modest centres such as Silves) that first the

ṭā'ifas, then the great, fairly autonomous governments of the following periods were organised.

The appearance of the cities is relatively well-known through the geographers, the most important of these being al-Idrīsī, who died after 561/1166; it does not differ from what is known of traditional Islamic and, particularly, Maghribi cities. The city was often dominated by a *qaṣaba* (*alcazaba*), which might house a state garrison governed by a *qā'id* (as, for example, at Játiva, Orihuela and Badajoz); the *qaṣaba* of the major cities might be the residence of the *amīr* (Almería, Málaga), and the latter might also, in the cities of the plain, reside in the governmental *qaṣr* (*alcázar* or palace) (Córdoba, Valencia, Murcia, Seville). The focal points of urban life were the "public" areas: the great mosque (the largest being that built at Seville by the Almohads), baths, souks and caravanserais. Urban administration was in principle entrusted to functionaries, and we have a detailed description in this respect in the treatise on *ḥisba* or, "market supervision", by the Sevillian, Ibn 'Abdūn, written around 500/1100, at the beginning of the Almoravid period. The person responsible for the *ḥisba*, the *ṣāhib al-sūq*, was also concerned with municipal administration and public morals, monitoring, in particular, taverns, places of prostitution and, more unexpectedly, cemeteries, where women could go alone under the pretext of visiting family tombs, and which might thus serve as places of rendezvous. The other posts of urban authority were those of the chief of police (*ṣāhib al-shurṭa*) and the chief civic official (*ṣāhib al-madīna*), each of these public servants having his own agents (*a'wān*), ten or so in each sector for a city such as Seville. According to Ibn 'Abdūn, all these officials, who were appointed to office and removed from it by order of the ruling political power (*al-sulṭān*), were under the authority of the highest among them, the *qāḍī*, or Quranic judge, who had his own subordinates: a *ḥākim*, or judge for minor suits, and various other subordinates responsible for registering marriages, vacant successions, etc. One thing specific to al-Andalus was the importance of the council, or *shūra*, of *muftis* (*fuqahā'* acting in an advisory capacity) who assisted the chief magistrate. Ibn 'Abdūn considers it desirable that the *qāḍī* should entertain specially close relations with the vizier of the government. A similar type of organisation certainly existed in other cities, although the staff under the orders of these public officers was probably less numerous and possibly not all posts of authority existed in every case.

We are, it must be said, not very sure of the place held in this society, and in the economy supporting it, by a possible class of large-scale traders, and by long-distance exchange activities. "Bourgeois" categories, which are, as such, outside the world of poets and learned men, simply do not figure for an author like the anthologist, Ibn Sa'īd (who lived in the first half of the 7th/13th century); as far as he is concerned, men of letters can only be sovereigns, ministers, secretaries, *qāḍīs* or other public officers, or, possibly,

generals—people, in other words, who are in one way or another part of the Islamic “state system”. References to merchants are, in general, not very numerous, and are often extremely vague. The only specific ones are those from *Geniza* documents in Cairo, and refer to Almerian Jewish merchants of the Almoravid period. However, a number of Almerian funerary inscriptions dating back to the same period concern merchants, some of them from other Andalusī cities and one, even, from Alexandria. Geographers also mention the very important mercantile activity of Almería, which was, in this era, one of the most important ports of the Western Mediterranean. We also know that one of the main centres of economic life, in every large city, was the *qaysariyya*, where luxury items were traded. *Hisba* treatises provide little specific information, however, beyond that on the petty trading of the souk which was carried on by large numbers of small craftsmen and traders involved in highly diversified activities, and seems primarily to have concerned urban classes of modest income. We may hope to derive new and more abundant data, on this point and on many others, from the collections of the *fatwas* delivered by major jurists of the period, which are only now beginning to be examined.

As already stated, Jewish and Christian urban minorities, which still played a major role in the 5th/11th century under the *ṭāʾifas*, saw their importance diminish in the 6th/12th, especially, it would seem, in the Almo-had period. We must take into account the more or less spontaneous conversions, and also the emigrations and, sometimes, deportations and expulsions, which took place with the reciprocal hardening of relations between Christianity and Islam during the crusades and the reconquest. Gradually Andalusī society lost its often-stressed composite character as an ethnic, religious and to some extent cultural “mosaic”, which had distinguished it over the first centuries, and rather became a society very markedly Islamised and Arabised. There is little evidence of the use of the native Romance language after the end of the 5th/11th century—a point clearly demonstrated, for example, by the American historian R. I. Burns, with respect to the region of Valencia and Murcia, where, in the period of the reconquest a little before the middle of the 7th/13th century, native Muslims seemed capable of communicating with the conquerors only through interpreters noted in Christian sources. This trend towards cultural uniformity applied to rural and urban areas alike, and it was upon such a culturally homogeneous society that the Christian conquerors of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries advanced.

IV.2 *Rural society*

Relatively little work has so far been done in connection with the social structures obtaining in the Andalusī countryside, a lack of sources making the subject a difficult one to treat. A rather miserable picture is quite often painted of rural Hispano-Muslim society: workers in the countryside lived, it

is said, under the economic, social and fiscal domination of cities which heavily exploited them, the instrument of such domination being large absentee properties. This view of things is no doubt based, primarily, on the clear demographic importance of the cities, and also on the frequency of share-cropping arrangements evidenced in notary formulae and collections of legal judgements, or *fatwas*. However, on the basis of Christian documents concerning Muslims from the period of the reconquest, and also on the basis of archaeological data, a rather different view of this rural society has recently been put forward. In the Valencia region, for example, where contemporary Christian sources concerning the Catalanian-Aragonese seizure of the country are relatively abundant, we find reports of strong rural communities, or *aljamas*, which deal directly with the king or the new seignorial powers and often induce them to maintain the previously existing tax system. The oft-repeated notion of a "crushing taxation" weighing down on rural Muslims is not borne out; taxes seem in fact to have been moderate, and even basically compatible with the Islamic ideal of the Quranic tithe. Moreover, the evidence at our disposal makes reference only to state taxes, with no suggestion of any authority of a "feudal" or seignorial nature possessing private rights over land and men.

According to accounts of the conquest, notably the extraordinary autobiographical chronicle of the conqueror of Valencia, King Jaime I of Aragon, these rural Muslims apparently exercised their own control over a good many of the castles scattered through the countryside, since it was the communities themselves, on the advice of the elders or notables leading them, which turned these castles over to the Christian conquerors. Such a notion is confirmed by the examination of archaeological remains. Research carried out on these originally Muslim fortified sites, of which large numbers are still to be found in the Spanish countryside, has shown that their structure did not resemble that of the "feudal" castles of the West, which were used to shelter a seignorial group or a small garrison responsible for containing the population: they are rather either simple villages on high ground, providing protection for a permanent population, or else vast enclosures serving primarily as temporary refuges for the inhabitants of villages located in the vicinity. These, together with a number of other factors, indicate that the Andalusi countryside was largely populated by communities, or *jamā'as*, of land-owning peasants, possessing a greater degree of cohesiveness and autonomy than is generally attributed to them. It may be added that a number of recently published *fatwas* similarly indicate communal structures and castles being used as a refuge rather than as seignorial dwellings, thereby confirming what is already suggested by Christian texts and archaeological data.

We may also add, in support of this view of rural Andalusi society—and also for certain regions like the Balearic Islands, the Spanish Levant and some parts of Andalucía—the evidence of "gentilic" toponymy. In these

areas of formerly Muslim Spain, the names of hamlets or villages were very often actual "family names", derived from the term *Banū*, meaning "sons of" and implying a group of descendants, together with the personal name of an eponymous ancestor (the hamlet called Beniali, for example, was inhabited by the Banū 'Alī, an agnatic group descended from a personage of that name). Such toponyms suggest "Arab-Berber" types of structure, and the relatively durable co-occurrence of such family groups with a territory belonging to them. Here again, *fatwas* studied only recently seem to confirm the existence of such rural micro-societies, marked by strong familial structures, and apparently fairly similar to those found in the Maghrib up to the present day. For example, a legal judgement tendered in the Almoravid period by the *qāḍī* of Córdoba, Ibn Ruṣḥd (the grandfather of the great jurist and philosopher of the same name, who lived during the Almohad period and was called Averroes by the Christians) concerns a suit among the inhabitants of "a rural locality [*qarya*] made up of different districts [*ḥawā'ir*], each bearing the name of a group [*qawm*, which here, as in various other Andalusī texts, seems to mean 'family group'] and known to be their heritage and that of their fathers". Another *fatwā* of the same jurist refers to a *qarya* inhabited by an agnatic group made up of "cousins", or *banū 'amm* (literally "sons of a paternal uncle", i. e., relatives in a male line of descent), which claims collective use of an irrigation channel, or *sāqiya*, in the face of abuse on the part of one of their number, who, with the support of the authorities, had erected a mill that now diverted part of the water needed for irrigating the land of this rural community.

The role played by irrigation was in fact one of the most important aspects of the Andalusī rural society and economy. The *huertas* of the Andalusī coastal plains and valleys were not limited to the famous irrigated regions surrounding such large cities as Valencia, Murcia and Granada; very large numbers of rural communities were based on the use of a small *vega*, or surrounding plain, irrigated by means of diverting an often modest water course. On this point, too, archaeological study of the details of material life is updating our knowledge on the organisation of Andalusī rural societies. Studies conducted in Majorca, for example, have demonstrated the importance of the hydraulic developments undertaken by Muslim peasant communities, whether terraces irrigated through complex tank and channel systems, or underground water canalisation similar (if on a smaller scale) to that exemplified by the *qanāts* of Iran or the Sahara. Here again, toponymy sometimes reveals a correspondence between irrigation systems based on each particular human group "taking turns" with the water and the fragmentation of society into small communities, whose familial nature may appear in onomastic data. This is the case, for example, in the plain of Gandía, on the East coast, where an extant Christian text immediately subsequent to the colonisation of the 1240s describes the water distribution system before the recon-

quest. According to this, the villages so taking "turns with water" in a manner fixed by tradition mostly bore gentilic names of the kind noted above, some of these, such as Beniarjó, Beniflá, Benieto, Benirruat, etc., corresponding to places still in existence today.

V. THE DESTRUCTION OF ANDALUSĪ MUSLIM SOCIETY: THE MUDEJAR EPILOGUE

From the annexation of the Andalusī *tāʾifas* by the Almoravid *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in the years 483/1091 to 487/1094 to the anti-Almohad revolt of 626/1228, the history of al-Andalus cannot really be separated from that of the Maghrib, insofar as the Andalusis were governed by a power ruling from Marrakesh and extending its authority through all or most of Muslim Spain, by the agency of Berber military forces and governmental personnel largely belonging to the dynastic group and settled in the Peninsula.

From the end of the 5th/11th century, however, another Islam existed in Spain: Mudejar Islam, that of the Muslims who, in large numbers, stayed on in the territories "reconquered" by the Christians. The Mudejars of the 6th/12th century have not been the subject of many studies, and their history is not very well known. It begins with the annexation of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, and it seems that, initially, a large Muslim population remained in the city and in the region, no doubt on the basis of an agreement with Alfonso VI, who appointed the Mozarab Sisnando Davidiz as the first governor of the city, and continued to collect a tax called *alissor* (that is, *al-ʿushr*, the Quranic tithe) from the Muslims. Arabic bio-bibliographical dictionaries mention a number of Muslim scholars who died in Toledo after the Christian conquest.

Nevertheless, we have very few sources concerning these Toledan Muslims, whose relative size seems to have diminished fairly quickly, whereas the Mozarab element continued to represent a substantial proportion of the population. It is probable that their situation quickly became precarious, if only because of the Almoravid threat which weighed on the city from 1086 onwards. We know that the great mosque was, despite promises to the contrary, quickly converted into a cathedral (thereby probably emptying the city centre of its Muslim population), apparently under pressure from the "Franco-Cluniac party" whose prominent figures were Queen Constance and the Archbishop of Toledo, Bernard de Sédillac. The same state of affairs no doubt existed in the former "Kingdom of Toledo", at least in the northern part, which remained in Christian hands after the Almoravid invasion.

No major Muslim communities appear to have remained in the north and centre of Portugal, which was reconquered between the end of the 5th/11th century and the middle of the 6th/12th. We know that serious massacres accompanied the taking over of Santarém and Lisbon, the cities of this

region, and there are no apparent indications of a Muslim rural population existing subsequently. On the other hand, fairly large Muslim populations remained in Aragon and, to a lesser extent, in New Catalonia. We still have the texts for the surrender of two cities reconquered in the 6th/12th century: for Tudela in 513/1119 and Tortosa in 543/1148. In both cases the Muslims were to evacuate the *civitas* (the enclosed city) and go and live in the outlying areas; and, by virtue of this arrangement, they were to keep their belongings, their religion and their law and customs, and had only to pay the tithe to the king. Identical conditions were made with respect to rural communities, as is shown in another surviving text of surrender with regard to the Muslim inhabitants of several "castles" in the Ebro Valley above Tortosa. Similar conditions, as noted above, were to be agreed in the 7th/13th century, with respect to numerous communities in the Valencia region at the time of their reconquest by the Catalonians and Aragonese.

The social situation of the Aragonese Muslims seems to have changed, but to have remained, nevertheless, a relatively privileged one. Major urban communities continued to exist, although large numbers among the political, social and cultural élite had no doubt emigrated. Several families from this region are found to have settled in cities further south, such as Valencia, one known case being that of the great philosopher Ibn Bājja, who had been vizier to the Almoravid governor of Saragossa, Ibn Tifilwīt, between 504/1110 and 512/1118, and who left the city following the Christian conquest of 512/1118 and spent the rest of his life in Almoravid territory. The urban populations seem to have consisted largely of craftsmen. In the countryside of the Ebro Valley, which was largely characterised by irrigated agriculture, there appears to have been a growth in seignorial landholdings and forms of social and economic dependence, the best known being that of *exarico*, a word derived from Arabic *al-sharik* and denoting a kind of share-cropping (a contract binding landowner and cultivator, according to various formulae). We may also, however, note the permanent existence of sizeable communities dependent on the king, on great Aragonese lords, or on the Church, but little is known of their specific situation in this earlier period (we have a much better grasp of the situation of the Valencian Mudejars of the 7th/13th century, thanks to the major studies of them by R. I. Burns).

It is beyond the scope of this brief synthesis to provide more detailed treatment of the situation of these Muslims under Christian domination—a subject which, in any case, involves significant regional disparities; my intention has simply been to note the context within which the history of this Andalusi Muslim society reached its conclusion. Despite the temporary co-existence of the two civilisations, and the reciprocal contacts and influences of which "Mudejar" art is a good example, there was no lasting synthesis; there was at most, to use the expression of R. I. Burns, a "symbiosis". These societies living side by side, within the context of overall political, social and

economic domination of Christian over Muslim, were not, in my view, very compatible. Yet this did not prevent a certain "heritage" being transmitted from one civilisation to another, for example in the realm of irrigated agriculture, where the Christians had everything to learn from the Muslims. Whether because of the incompatibility of the respective mentalities and structures, or because of the unscrupulous character of the conquerors, promises made during the reconquest were often not kept, and Muslims very often found themselves subjected to a seignorial régime that reduced them to a harsh economic and social dependency vis-à-vis their Christian masters. Moreover, acceptance of Christian political authority was, in principle, difficult for Islamic orthodoxy, a situation which—after a more or less lengthy period characterised, often, by relatively harmonious coexistence, but more often, I feel, marked by open or covert conflict—led first to the forcible conversion, then to the final elimination of the Muslims.

¹ J. Ribera, *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid, 1928, I, 26.

² Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Espagne préislamique et Espagne musulmane", *Revue Historique*, 237, 1967, pp. 300-01.

³ P. Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-The Hague, 1977, pp. 140-41.

⁴ Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period. An Essay in Quantitative History*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1979.

⁵ Miguel Asín Palacios, "Un códice inexplorado del Cordobés Ibn Ḥazm", *Al-Andalus*, 2, 1934, p. 40.

⁶ Juan Vernet, *Literatura árabe*, Barcelona, n. d., p. 115.

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AŞLUḤU LI 'L-MA'ĀLĪ
ON THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ANDALUSĪ WOMEN

MARÍA J. VIGUERA

I. *Women's poetry: the expression of love*

Verses composed by women poets in al-Andalus, or put into their mouths, reflect¹ a considerable degree of personal initiative on their part: they did not seem, on the evidence of these poems, to be restrained by any obvious barriers, and they show surprising freedom in the expression and fulfilment of their feelings of love. Probably the best-known verses of this kind are those of the Umayyad princess Wallāda, the daughter of the briefly reigning Caliph of Córdoba al-Mustakfi (reigned 416/1025). In the words of W. Hoenerbach: "Where Romanticism saw a distinguished lady, our realistic century discovered in her the emancipated woman."² Schack refers to "beautiful, discreet Wallāda",³ while Cour, in 1920, approached matters from an entirely different perspective, finding in this woman poet "une émancipation quasi totale vis-à-vis du sexe fort ... elle se moquait des convenances ... L'amour pouvait-il être pour une 'garçonne' comme elle autre chose qu'une performance physique?". Wallāda broke off her relationship with Ibn Zaydūn "pour rompre avec celui qui l'excédait"; and her verses, even more openly than her behaviour, proclaimed "la liberté qu'elle tenait à garder vis-à-vis du sexe fort".⁴

Let us consider some examples of Wallāda's verses, beginning with the poem that opens: *Anā wa 'Llāhi aṣluḥu li 'l-ma'ālī*:⁵

Worthy am I, by God, of the highest, and
Proudly I walk, with head aloft.
My cheek I give to my lover and, to those who wish them,
I yield my kisses.

Challenging statements. Elsewhere she says:⁶

Wait for my visit when darkness falls;
night is the best concealer of secrets.
Such passion I feel for you that, if they felt so,
the sun would not shine, the moon not appear,
the stars not move.

These are just a few samples of a poetry far from prudish. Nor was Wallāda the only case:⁷ other, earlier women poets in al-Andalus had also frankly revealed their loves and spoken of them, like Mut'a,⁸ a slave of the poet Ziryāb, who came to al-Andalus from Baghdad in the 3rd/9th century. At a

literary gathering she openly declared to *Amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206/822-238/852) the passion she felt for him:

Oh, you that hide your passion! Who can hide the day?
I was owner of my heart, then love seized me and it fled away
Was it mine, alas, or only borrowed? I love a Qurashī,
and abandoned shame for his sake.

In the following century we have the case of Ḥafṣa of Guadalajara,⁹ who shows no fear before her mother:

I have a lover who does not bear my reproaches.
If I leave him he says with with disdain:
"Do you know one to compare with me?" And I say:
"Do you know one who resembles me?"

On a similar occasion, Uns al-Qulūb, a slave of al-Manṣūr, suddenly revealed her love for Abū 'l-Mughīra b. Ḥazm, who was among those present:¹⁰

Companions, wonder at an antelope, which, when close to me, is unjust
to my love.
Oh! if I could beat a path to him, and with his love fulfil my desires!

And in the same (5th/11th) century as Wallāda another princess, Umm al-Kirām, the daughter of al-Mu'taṣim, Petty King of Almería (443/1051-484/1091), sang of her love for a *fatā*, who will have been a servant in the palace:¹¹

Such is my love for him, if he left me,
my heart would run after him.

And she says frankly:¹²

Oh to be alone with him! The guardians' vigilance thwarts me.
A wonder it is! I yearn to be alone with one already within my breast.

In the 6th/12th century the libertine poet (*mājina*) Nazhūn, moving easily and as a peer¹³ in a circle of other poets of the kind, such as Ibn Quzmān, al-Kutandī and al-Makhzūmī, declared:

I paid a poem with another: tell me, by my soul, who is the better poet?
If woman be my nature, man is my poetry.

Not only was she conscious of her poetry's worth, but also used it to proclaim her love:¹⁴

Precious are nights! How good they are!
And the best is the night of Sunday!
Had you been with us, when the eyes of the guardian closed,
You would have seen the rising sun in the arms of the moon,
Or Khāzima's gazelle in the arms of a lion.

Such expressions of love are by no means unique. Let us take three more examples from the 6th/12th century. First, Qasmūna, from a cultured Jewish family:¹⁵

I see a garden with ripe fruit; yet the gardener, it seems,
will not stretch out his hands to it.
How pitiful!, youth fleets by and is lost, and something I will not name re-
mains lonely.

Then Ḥafṣa al-Rakūniyya, the most noteworthy Andalusī woman poet, who came from a rich noble family of Granada:¹⁶

I praise that mouth, and, upon my word, I know what I say .
I do it justice, I would not lie before God; it is sweeter than wine to the taste.

In another poem, she asks her beloved Abū Ja‘far b. Sa‘īd (d.560/1163):¹⁷

Will you come to me or I to you? My heart will go where you wish.
You will not thirst if you ask me to come, nor will the sun burn you .
My lips are a clear, sweet spring; the branches of my hair cast deep shadow.
Answer me at once; it is not just, oh Jamīl, to keep your Buthayna waiting!

Finally Zaynab of Almería, probably as late as the 7th/13th century:¹⁸

Oh you who ride so fast, stop and hear how I suffer!
No one, of all the others, has suffered such passion as I.
I am content to see him happy;
for his love and joy I will strive to the end of time.

II. *Proof of emancipation?*

As pointed out above, when considering Hoernerbach's remarks,¹⁹ some experts regard the poetry of Andalusī women as evidence of the very high—and very unusual—level of freedom the women of the country enjoyed. Shack, in the 19th century, noted: "The position of women in Spain was freer than in other Muslim countries. Women took part in all the intellectual and cultural events of their time, and the number of those winning fame for their scientific works, or by their contending with men for the palm of poetry, was not small".²⁰

20th-century critics have continued to follow this line. According to Henri Pérès: "... Andalusī women were not the prisoners Islamic rules would have us see in all Muslims ... the clearest example of female freedom in all Muslim Spain is that of Wallāda ... Her self-confident look, her disdain for the veil, her daring conversation and her sometimes eccentric attitudes show clearly that she had become free of many prejudices. She came under attack, naturally, but the very fact that she was allowed to lead such a life implies that Islam, so strict and rigid with regard to women, had singularly relaxed its rigour throughout al-Andalus, and we are compelled to admit that a more liberal concept of women's condition sprang from the

atmosphere created by Christian customs. The level of female emancipation becomes still clearer when we add to the portrait of the "liberated woman", as seen in Wallāda, another portrait, that of the slave of male appearance (*ghulāmiyya*), already known in the East, but acquiring distinct features in al-Andalus."²¹

According to Shawqī Dayf: "If we read what is related of Wallāda's life in the *Dhakhīra* and in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, and note also what the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* has to tell us about other noble women in al-Andalus, we will see that women in Andalusī literature played a similar role, in some respects, to that played by women in French literature in the 17th and 18th centuries."²²

Finally, Mahmud Sobh notes: "The freedom Andalusī women enjoyed, not only in the expression of their feelings and opinions, but in the fulfilment of their wishes in matters of love, arouses simultaneous admiration and surprise. This was, I think, the result of Muslims and Christians living together in al-Andalus, in a relation different from that existing in other Arab countries, both with regard to mixture of lineage, and to culture, and to ways of natural behaviour. Does it not seem strange that, in Abbasid times, with their similarly rich difference in cultures and races, there were no female poets possessing the freedom of Andalusī women?". Dr. Sobh notes, in this connection, the comparative lack of sociological studies on the subject of al-Andalus,²³

Re-examining the whole matter from such a sociological viewpoint, Pierre Guichard²⁴ begins by noting how these two aspects—the "freedom" of women and the original way in which women expressed their feelings of love—are used as basic arguments by those propounding the idea of "Occidentalism" in Andalusī society, but also notes how they conflict with the importance assumed by "Eastern" structures in Andalusī society—a contradiction he solved by pointing out "la dualité du milieu féminin qui caractérise la civilisation du Moyen Age musulman".²⁵ In this environment, he says, free women acted according to all the various requirements of Islamic family structures, while, on the other hand, slaves, singers and dancers "sont en effect au centre de la vie andalouse de la fin du 10e et du 11e siècle". After examining a number of literary references, especially Ibn Ḥazm's *Ring of the Dove*, he concludes: "les femmes libres ... sont, normalement, matériellement and moralement recluses; et les quelques exemples contradictoires que l'on peut invoquer à l'appui de cette assertion sont assez peu convainquants". He also mentions a very significant statement, made in a rather interesting overall context, by the Cordoban philosopher Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198): "The competence of women is unknown, however, in these cities since they are only taken [in them] for procreation and hence are placed at the service of their husbands and confined to procreation, upbringing, and suckling. This nullifies their [other] activities. Since women in these cities are not prepared with respect to any of the human virtues, they frequently resemble plants in these cities. Their being a burden upon the men [in these cities is

one of the causes of poverty of these cities. This is because they are to be found there in double the number of men, while not understanding through [their] upbringing any of the necessary actions except for the few actions—like the art of spinning and weaving—that they undertake mostly at a time when they have need of them to make up for their lack of spending [power]”.²⁶ For Guichard, then, Andalusī civilisation does not extend far beyond its Eastern roots.

M.J. Rubiera, reviewing the question of women’s poetry and social position in al-Andalus in the introduction to his book *Poesía femenina hispano-árabe*, mentioned above,²⁷ portrays domestic reclusion as being widespread for women of the upper social class; such women could only escape from their enclosed situation if they had no family patrimony, since then they had, to the best of their ability, to play their part in the working world as slaves did; there were “working” slaves just as there were “slaves for pleasure”, and these were “the only women who had access to the gatherings where poetry was created and spread”, being able, as such, to enjoy freedom of movement and feeling.²⁸

With the aid of these various contributions, the true facts concerning women’s poetry in al-Andalus can now, I think, be inferred; and it is clear, in the light of the remarks made by Guichard and Rubiera, that these facts do not admit the existence of genuine freedom for women in the country. The whole matter has not just interesting literary and historiographical implications, but historical, social, cultural and economic ones, which should be considered in the context of more wide-ranging studies about the position of women in al-Andalus. What follows is a brief attempt to set the subject within such a framework.

III. *Sources of information regarding women in al-Andalus*

Let us now supplement the poems quoted at the beginning of this article by considering more general sources of information relating to women in al-Andalus. What becomes immediately clear is that Andalusī sources refer, as a rule, to the central individuals within society, in other words, to men, with women appearing merely in connection with men, as either their relatives or their servants. These sources tend, moreover, to deal with women who undertake some kind of religious, intellectual or artistic activity,²⁹ although it should be pointed out, in this connection, that all the sources we know are the work of men (except for the verses of female poets, and such verses were in any case composed by men as well). The near total lack of directly relevant records deprives us of possibly essential sources, but we do, on the other hand, have many and varied written texts—chronicles, or works of a geographical, legal, bibliographical, artistic, scientific or technical kind—within which patient and systematic research may well yield interesting results.

The most useful among these, for our purpose, are legal texts—not simply theoretical legal sources, but, much more importantly, the factual ones: compilations of judicial decisions, of notarial deeds, and of all sorts of legal instances and behavioural patterns³⁰ which permit a more complete view of social reality because they set ideal norms of behaviour against actual facts. A systematic exploitation of such sources will notably increase our knowledge of Andalusī society, although much work still remains to be done before we can publish and analyse the huge amount of relevant material, even if we limit our reference to al-Andalus or the medieval Maghrib.³¹

Literature too—the particular case of Andalusī women's poetry has already been pointed out—can offer telling insights into the condition of women. The creative works in question may, indeed, be tinged by the author's particular mood and moulded into a certain aesthetic shape, may be conceived with the aim of instruction or amusement and be subject to cliché and fashion; nevertheless, they are, finally, a rich source of information about women. Among works in prose we may consider the miscellaneous genre of *adab*, collections of anecdotes and tales of belles lettres and good manners; we have, for example, the first Andalusī encyclopedia, *Al-'Iqd al-farid* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. Córdoba, 328/940), whose 21st book is dedicated to women, and, in later centuries, the *Bahjat al-majālis* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī (d. Játiva, 463/1070), who devoted many chapters to women (*bāb ma'nā 'ishq al-nisā'* ; *bāb fī waṣf al-nisā' bi 'l-husn wa 'l-riqqa* ; *bāb al-amthāl al-sā'ira fī 'l-nisā'*, and so on), and we also have other Andalusī books of *adab*, such as the late *Kitāb alif bā'* of Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh al-Mālaqī.³² These works all comprise almost exclusively arabo-oriental material; nevertheless their employment in al-Andalus is also proof of a generalised Andalusī-oriental literary mentality about women, with the extreme contrasted topics of misogyny and feminine idealisation clearly present.

The genre of *maqāmas* and *risālas*, also cultivated in al-Andalus, supplies further data, sometimes more realistic than that found in books of *adab*—with respect to slaves, for instance. We may consider, on this latter subject, the *risāla* of the Andalusī writer Abū Bakr al-Rundī describing his visit to a slave market (*sūq al-raḡiq*) in an Andalusī city, probably in the 7th/13th century: he finds a very beautiful female slave, who is described meticulously and with great sorrow (he was outbid in the auction). We also have the consolatory *risāla* of his friend Ibn Yazīd, which concerns further interesting references to the social status of slaves and to male attitudes towards them.³³

Some of the 8th/14th century prose texts of the Naṣrid vizier and polymath Ibn al-Khaṭīb provide a realistic picture of Andalusī women, who, in Granada, “go to extremes in adornment and colourful clothing, competing so much in the use of embroideries and brocades, and in the ostentation of their various garments, that it becomes licentious”. He also refers to women's abandonment of the veil in some Naṣrid cities, provoking discussion among modern scholars on how exactly the reference should be interpreted.³⁴

Collections of proverbs³⁵ and of tales³⁶ should also be considered, though we must be careful here to distinguish between local and universal elements. We have, for example, the rich collections of Andalusī proverbs made by al-Zajjālī al-Qurṭubī, in the 7th/13th century,³⁷ where we find a direct portrayal of Andalusī women: the free woman, for example, who does almost no work (proverb 856: *ḥurra mukarrashat al-zayf*, "a free woman with her dress tucked up"!), or the same free woman benefiting from an exclusive social prestige (proverb 193: *lā tabqā 'l-dunyā bi-lā walad ḥurra*, "no world without a free woman's son"), or the problems of unmarried daughters (proverb 1965: *wayyā 'alā man māt wa-khallā sab' banāt*, "woe to the one who dies leaving seven daughters"), or ridicule of unmarried women (proverb 1710: *'Azbat Bayyāna rāt qūl al-rajul wa-qālat: ish dhāk al-kināna!?*, "the unmarried woman of Baena, seeing the organ of a man, asked: What is that cartridge belt?"), or the possibility of sexual relations before marriage, with virginity nevertheless preserved (proverb 582: *būs wa-uqrūṣ wa-khallī mawḍi' al-'arūs*, "kiss and pinch, but preserve the place [of virginity] of the bride"). There is certainly no lack of references—but further systematic analysis is necessary. Much work remains to be done with respect to all these various sources, notably in connection with the large number of legal documents still unexamined; there are, too, other sources—historical chronicles, bibliographical compilations, etc.—which have not yet been completely, or sufficiently, classified or evaluated in this particular connection.

IV. General considerations

Women in al-Andalus were differentiated according to their ethnic origins, religion, economic class and politico-economic level: we have, specifically, Arab women, Berber women, indigenous women, Muslim women, Mozarab women, Jewish women, upper-class women (*khāṣṣas*) or common women (*'āmmas*), city women or country women, etc.—all aspects on which information needs to be gathered and classified.³⁸ Literary sources, in fact, occupy themselves almost exclusively with Arabo-Muslim women of the upper-class (*khāṣṣas*), or with those connected with them in some way; information on other women is scarce, and is generally found only in very special circumstances, as in the case of Mozarab women martyrs.³⁹

We must also consider that community values transcended all others in medieval Islam, and that representation of the community, in political, religious, economic and family matters, was, by explicit Islamic regulation,⁴⁰ the business of men, not women—this being based on the old concept of their "superiority". Thus, among the six natural qualities which must be possessed by an *imām*, the head of the political religious community, we find the condition that he must be a male (*dhukūriyya*), so that, as al-Ḡhazālī⁴¹ pointed out, "women, weak beings by nature" remained barred from that function. As Abdel Majid Turki⁴² notes (when drawing our attention to the

exception represented by the 5th/11th century Cordoban polymath Ibn Ḥazm), this weakness was regularly brought up by medieval Muslim thinkers.

Women's role within Medieval Islam was in fact confined to the family environment, family lying, of course, at the heart of society and being, as Cahen notes, "ruled by men".⁴³ The traditional Andalusī family was essentially patriarchal, or, more precisely, agnatic,⁴⁴ but it should be noted that recent studies present a less monolithic view of the Islamic family structure in general and of the Andalusī family, in particular;⁴⁵ possible modifications and changes in this respect should be viewed in the light of scattered but representative data—as, for instance, that found in the *Ihāṭa* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, which, as far back as the 7th/13th century at the very least, indicates a wish for monogamy of the kind expressed by the wife of the *amīr* Ibn Hūd, who rebelled against the Almohads in al-Andalus, and who, "as some people mentioned, had promised his wife not to take any other wife in his lifetime, but, as soon as he was in power, he fell in love with a Christian woman, who had responded to him among the captives ..." ⁴⁶ An analysis of family structures is essential for determining the position of women, and these can be established from legal documents, especially from the rich collections of Andalusī *fatwas* which provide wide-ranging evidence concerning marriages, divorces and economic aspects.⁴⁷

V. The "best-known" Andalusī women

Concrete information about the position and activities of Andalusī women becomes greater in proportion to their connection with men of social relevance; we hear, therefore, of women belonging to the families of kings or distinguished men, of women who were their servants (including slaves), and of those women figuring, in however restricted a fashion, in intellectual and/or artistic activities.

Women of the Court⁴⁸ are mentioned in Chronicles in connection with various distinguished persons; we know, by name at least, wives, concubines, mothers, daughters, and sometimes, grandmothers, grand-daughters and sisters of Umayyads in Córdoba, petty *ṭā'ifa* rulers, Almoravids, Almohads and Naṣrids.⁴⁹ Thus Ibn Ḥazm, for instance, in his *Naqṭ al-'arūs fī tawārīkh al-khulafā'*,⁵⁰ merely mentions "women who were related to caliphs", "those who were the mothers of two caliphs", "the mothers of two presumptive heirs", "the mother of a caliph, remarried after his son's caliphate", "extraordinary cases or royal marriages". True to his logic, he does not even mention the name of a Ḥammūdī princess, "the daughter of Idrīs b. 'Alī married to Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Ḥammūd, the sister of Muḥammad b. Idrīs ...", even though this lady was the main character in a family revenge—"when another of her brothers, Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, known as 'Ḥayyūh', was killed by her husband [Ḥasan], she killed her husband by poisoning him. This lady

had seen her father [Idrīs, as Caliph of Málaga], her grandfather [‘Alī b. Ḥammūd, as Caliph of Córdoba], her brother [Muḥammad, as Caliph of Málaga] and her husband [Ḥasan, also as Caliph of Málaga], all of them caliphs.”⁵¹ Chronicles also make mention of other upper-class women, both in the state capital and in different regions.⁵²

As a rule we know very little of them beyond their names unless some “extraordinary” circumstance attaches to them: if, for example, one of these Court women played a leading part in crucial events on the political scene, perhaps through significant influence over her husband’s actions, as was the case of I’timād with the king of Seville, al-Mu’tamid, whom she “dominated”, according to Ibn al-Abbār; enumerating al-Mu’tamid’s more illustrious sons, the latter concludes that all these were sons “of his slave (*jāriya*) I’timād, his favourite and the woman with all ascendancy over him (*al-ghālība ‘alay-hi*) ... she was formerly named “Rumaykiyya” by her owner Rumayk b. Ḥajjāj, from whom al-Mu’tamid acquired her ... and he, in exaggerated affection for her, adopted the title of “al-Mu’tamid” in order to adjust his name to the letters of her name. She induced him to kill Ibn ‘Ammār for his censorious verses”.⁵³ We also find the case of al-Mustakfi, Caliph of Córdoba, who, according to Ibn Ḥayyān, was criticised because he “consented to be ruled by a depraved woman” named Bint al-Marwaziyya—this domination being all we know of her.⁵⁴ Alternatively, we may hear of the outstanding influence of some king’s mother, as in the case of the petty king of Granada, ‘Abd Allāh, whose mother was omnipresent, notably in the final episode of the sovereign’s overthrow by the Almoravids; when the Almoravid *amīr* asked ‘Abd Allāh for all his possessions, the latter replied: “... ‘if the *amīr* will let me go in person to the palace, I will bring him everything. Otherwise, my mother can do this together with a number of his trusted followers, so that he will not lose a single thread’. On leaving, I was so apprehensive of being arrested that I was afraid I should be parted from my mother if I left her in the palace. I therefore left together with her, and paid no attention to anything else”.⁵⁵ According to Rachel Arié, the activities of some Naṣrid princesses were also very notorious:

En dehors des dons de l’esprit, les femmes acquéraient du prestige dans l’appareil social grâce à l’influence qu’elles exerçaient dans leur milieu familial, lorsqu’elles occupaient le rang d’épouse favorite du sultan ou de concubine choyée entre toutes. On se rappelle la conspiration ourdie par la mère d’Ismā‘īl, Maryam, qui avait été la concubine préférée de Yūsuf I, en 760/1359, contre le souverain légitime Muḥammad V. Non moins important fut le rôle que joua Fāṭima, épouse légitime d’Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī et mère de Boabdil, pour obtenir la libération de son fils, après la défaite de Lucena.⁵⁶

However, such participation in political events, being counter to the Law which removed women from politics, was usually censured and labelled as “court intrigue”—the standard term for any political activity undertaken by women.

Court women were expected to limit themselves to a decorative or strategic role within the entourage of the king or other important person in question, officially accompanying him in wars⁵⁷ or at celebrations,⁵⁸ and doing so in an ostentatious way, since luxury—as Ibn Khaldūn observed—“increases the strength of a dynasty”.⁵⁹ These women had property,⁶⁰ which they sometimes used to endow public foundations,⁶¹ thereby contributing to the future prestige of their family; this underlying political aim being, again, noted by Ibn Khaldūn.⁶²

Andalusī chronicles also occasionally mention the servants and slaves who supplemented the domestic surrounding of important persons, and more data about slaves is available from legal and medical sources.⁶³ Andalusī Kings often married slaves,⁶⁴ with the result that history has at least preserved their names, which usually give some indication of the ornamental and pleasing role they played: for example, Laymā (“Sweet lime”), Raḍiyya (“Delight”), Shams (“Sun”) or Murjān (“Coral”).⁶⁵ The number of servants and slaves was a symbolic indication of power and wealth: there were in fact 6,314 women in Madīnat al-Zahrā’, including wives, concubines, relations and servants. Slaves fall into two categories, being devoted either to serving (*jawārī* ‘l-*kḥadam*) or to pleasure (*jawārī* ‘l-*ladḥdha*).⁶⁶ As refined and highly cultivated⁶⁷ hetairas, they took part in literary gatherings⁶⁸ and served their masters, who usually demonstrated an outstanding predilection for them—there are numerous references to the way *ṭā’ifa* kings competed in acquiring the most and the best slave singers.⁶⁹ They also accompanied their masters in adversity: when Ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār, for example, fled his home and was subsequently pursued in Córdoba, he kept thirteen slaves (*jawārī*) at his side until they were finally taken from him and brought to the new caliph.⁷⁰

Bio-bibliographical compilations—a more specific kind of source material—and also literary anthologies refer to women who have carried out intellectual and/or artistic activities; these sources have been skilfully exploited in recent scholarly work.⁷¹ 116 well-educated Andalusī women are recorded in bio-bibliographical dictionaries between the 2nd/8th and 8th/14th centuries, of whom just two are designated as “scholars” (*‘ālima*)—the *faḳīha* Fāṭima ‘l-Maghāmī and Ḥafṣa bint Ḥamdūn—and three distinguished as cultivators of knowledge (*‘ilm*), while others are merely included by virtue of their connection with some outstanding family. Their principal activity is poetry (44 cases), while 22 are literary persons (*adība*), 11 secretaries (*kātiba*), 4 copyists, 3 lexicographers and 2 grammarians; 16 know or read the Quran, 6 have devoted themselves to Tradition (*ḥadīth*) and 8 to asceticism; 6 know jurisprudence (*fiqh*), 4 history (*tā’rīkh* / *akḥbār*), 1 arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), 1 scholastic theology (*kalām*) and 1 the law of descent (*farā’id*), together with many of her father’s *fatwas*). One woman, the wife of a *qāḍī* of Loja (Granada) in perhaps the 8th/14th century, was outstanding for her juridical knowledge—according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb she knew juridical sources bet-

ter than her husband;⁷² others had medical knowledge,⁷³ and even practised medicine, though only, as legal documents show, with women patients.⁷⁴ Further examination of such documents, which still remain largely unexploited, would permit a clearer view of the reality of Andalusí women's social position, far beyond the "taboos laid on women in traditional Arab society",⁷⁵ which at present, no doubt, form a barrier between our knowledge and that reality.

¹ Three recent books have appeared on the subject: Mahmud Sobh, *Poetisas arábigo-andaluzas*, Granada, 1985; Teresa Garulo, *Diwan de las poetisas de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1986; María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *Poesía femenina hispanoárabe*, Madrid, 1989. See also: J. M. Nichols, "Arabic women poets in al-Andalus", *Maghreb Review*, 4, Sept.-Dec. 1981, pp. 85-88; 'Abd al-Kareem al-Heitty, "The collection and criticism of the work of early Arab women singers and poetesses", *Al-Masāq*, 2, 1989, pp. 43-47.

² "Notas para una caracterización de Wallāda", *Al-Andalus*, 36, 1971, pp. 467-73; "Zur Charakteristik Wallādas der Geliebten Ibn Zaidūn", *Die Welt des Islams*, 13, 1971, pp. 20-25.

³ A. F. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sizilien*, Spanish trans. by J. Valera, *Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia*, reprint Madrid, 1988, p. 300.

⁴ Quoted in Henri Pères, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1953; Spanish trans. by M. García-Arenal, *Esplendor de al-Andalus. La poesía andaluza en árabe clásico en el siglo XI*, Madrid, 1983, II, 249, n.3.

⁵ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib fī ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, IV, 205; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-57; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-46; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-05.

⁶ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 206.

⁷ Also J. M. Nichols, "Wallāda, the Andalusian lyric and the questions of influence", *Literature East and West*, 21, 1977, pp. 286-91.

⁸ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, III, 131; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-09.

⁹ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 285-86; Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Mughrib fī ḥulā' l-Maghrib*, ed. Shawqī Dayf, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1955, II, 37-38; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-27; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84.

¹⁰ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, I, 616-18; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-40.

¹¹ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 170; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-71; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-34; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-17.

¹² *Al-Mughrib*, II, 202-03.

¹³ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, I, 192-93; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-93; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-18; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-29.

¹⁴ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 298.

¹⁵ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, III, 530; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-47; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-23; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-51; J. M. Nichols, "The Arabic verses of Qasmūna bint Ismā'il ibn Bagdāla", *IJMES*, 13, 1981, pp. 155-58.

¹⁶ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 171-78; L. di Giacomo, "Une poétesse andalouse du temps des Almohades: Ḥafsa bint al-Ḥajj ar-Rakūniyya", *Hespéris*, 34, 1947, pp. 9-101; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-115; Garulo, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-85; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-47.

¹⁷ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 178; W. Hoenerbach, "Los Banū Sa'īd de Alcalá la Real y sus allegados: Su poesía según la antología *al-Mugrib*", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 2, 1989, pp. 81-102; "Die andalus-arabische Dichtung im Allgemeinen und die Dichtung der Banū Sa'īd im Besonderen", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 140, 1990, pp. 260-89.

¹⁸ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, IV, 286; Sobh, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-19; Garulo, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Rubiera Mata, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-59.

¹⁹ See above, n. 2.

²⁰ *Poesie und Kunst*, p. 65.

²¹ *La poésie andalouse*, pp. 400-02.

²² *Al-Fann wa-madhāhibu-hū fī l-shi'r al-'Arabī*, Cairo, 1965, p. 440.

²³ Sobh, *op. cit.*, p. 136; see also his "La poesía amorosa árabe-andaluza", *Revista del Instituto (Egiptio) de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 16, 1971, pp. 71-109.

²⁴ *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris, 1977: "condition féminine et sentiments amoureux en al-Andalus", pp. 164-74.

²⁵ *Structures*, p. 166.

²⁶ *Averroes on Plato's "Republic"*, trans. with an introduction by R. Lerner, Cornell University Press, 1974, p. 59.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁹ As defined later, in the section entitled "The 'best-known' Andalusí women".

³⁰ M. J. Viguera, "La censura de costumbres en el 'Tanbih al-Hukkām' de Ibn al-Munāṣif", *Actas II Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 591-611.

³¹ See the significant references in Emilio Molina, "Preliminar" to the reprint of Jacinto Bosch, *Los almorávides*, Granada, 1990, pp. LXII-LXIV.

³² M. J. Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus. Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, Madrid-Seville, 1989, pp. 28-29.

³³ F. de la Granja, "La venta de la esclava en el mercado en la obra de Abū l-Baqā' de Ronda", in *Maqamas y risalas andaluzas*, Madrid, 1976, pp. 139-71.

³⁴ W. Hoernerbach, "La granadina", *Andalucía Islámica. Textos y Estudios*, II-III, 1981-1982, pp. 9-31; J. Bosch Vila and W. Hoernerbach, "Un viaje oficial de la corte granadina. (Año 1347)", *ibid.*, p. 41, n. 27.

³⁵ M. Ben Sharīfa, *Amthāl al-'awām fī 'l-Andalus. Proverbs andalous de Abū Yahyā 'l-Zajjālī, 1220-1294*, Fez, 1975, I, 242.

³⁶ See Nadia Lachiri's doctoral dissertation on "Literary sources concerning Andalusí women" at the Complutense University, Madrid, under the supervision of Dr. del Moral and Dr. Viguera. In contrast see, for example: H. Zotenberg, "L'histoire de Gal'ād et Schimas", *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, pp. 25-31; A. Llinarès, "Deux versions médiévales espagnoles de la laitère et le pot au lait", *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 33, 1959, pp. 230-34. Or the transfer of a subject, as in the literary fiction about "the Moorish woman of Antequera": F. López Estrada, "La leyenda de la morica garrida de Antequera en la poesía y en la Historia", *Archivo Hispalense*, 88-89, 1958, pp. 141-231; S.G. Armistead and J.T. Monroe, "A new version of *La morica de Antequera*", *La Corónica*, 12, 1984, pp. 228-40.

³⁷ See the work by al-Zajjālī mentioned above (n. 33), I, 242 and II, proverbs 856, 193, 1965, 1710, 582.

³⁸ On *khāṣṣa l'āmma* perspectives, see: Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres de las clases sociales superiores", in Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus*, pp. 105-27; Aḥmad al-Ṭāhīrī, *ʿAmmat Qurṭuba fī ʿaṣr al-khilāfa*, Rabat, 1971.

³⁹ K.B. Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge, 1988; Gloria López de la Plaza, *Ámbitos de la religiosidad femenina andalusí: la dinámica público-privado y sus correlaciones sociales*, Magister Dissertation, under the supervision of Dr. C. Segura, Complutense University, Madrid, 1990.

⁴⁰ ʿAbdul Raḥmān I. Doy, *Woman in Shari'ah (Islamic Law)*, London, 1989.

⁴¹ E. Laoust, *La politique de Gazālī*, Paris, 1970, p. 314.

⁴² "Femmes privilégiées et privilèges féminins dans le système théologique et juridique d'Ibn Ḥazm", in *Théologiens et juristes de l'Espagne musulmane. Aspects polémiques*, Paris, 1982, pp. 101-58.

⁴³ *El Islam I. Desde los orígenes hasta el cominzo del imperio otomano*, Spanish trans., Madrid, 1972, pp. 122-23.

⁴⁴ Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus*, pp. 25-26, n. 56, 56 and 57.

⁴⁵ Zuhayr Khaṭīb, *Taṭawwur binā' al-usra 'l-'Arabiyya*, 3th. ed., Beirut, 1983; Angela Degand, *Geschlechterrollen und familiäre Strukturen im Islam*, Frankfurt am Main, 1988; Pierre Guichard, "De la Antigüedad a la Edad Media: familia amplia y familia estricta", *Estudios sobre Historia Medieval*, Valencia, 1987, pp. 7-25; M.T. Bianquis, "La familia en el islam árabe", *Historia de la familia*, dir. A. Burguère and others, Spanish transl., Madrid, 1988, pp. 583-631. A complementary view may be obtained from the study of families notorious in the aristocratic or cultural sphere: on this subject, see Luis Molina, "Familias Andalusíes: los datos del Ta'rij 'ulamā' al-Andalus de Ibn al-Farādī", *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*.

lus, II, ed. M. L. Avila, Granada, 1989, p. 19, n. 1. On another crucial perspective, see: *Héritier en pays musulman. Habus, lait vivant, manyahuli*, dir. by M. Gast, Paris, 1987.

⁴⁶ *Al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Ḡharnāṭa*, ed. 'A. A. 'Inān, Cairo, II, 1974, p. 132.

⁴⁷ Amalia Zomeño is at present preparing a doctoral dissertation on the subject of Andalusí *fatwas* at the Complutense University, Madrid, under the supervision of Dr. Viguera. H. R. Idris has opened the way, with a number of articles on the subject: see, for example, "Le mariage en Occident musulman. Analyse de *fatwas* médiévales extraites du *Mī'yār d'al-Wanšārīšī*", *Revue de l'Occident musulman*, 12, 1972, pp. 45-62.

⁴⁸ See above, n. 37.

⁴⁹ Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus*, pp. 30-31, n. 80-84.

⁵⁰ *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1981, II, 43-116, especially pp. 65-67.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵² On Banū Qasī women, on the northern frontier, see: M. J. Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, 2nd ed., Saragossa, 1988, pp. 84 and 94.

⁵³ *Al-Hulla al-siyarā'*, ed. H. Mu'nis, Cairo, 1963, II, 62.

⁵⁴ *Apud Ibn 'Idhārī, Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1930, III, 141.

⁵⁵ G. Martínez Gros, "Femmes et pouvoir dans les Mémoires d' 'Abd Allāh", *La condición de la mujer en la Edad Media*, Coloquio Hispano-Francés, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 1984; A. T. Ṭībī, *The Tibyān, Memoirs of 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn, last Zīrid amīr of Granada*, Leiden, 1986, p. 156.

⁵⁶ Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris, 1973 (2nd ed., 1990), pp. 148-57, and 368.

⁵⁷ Seventy women accompanied the ḥājib Sanchuelo in a military campaign (Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, III, 72).

⁵⁸ Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus*, p. 31, n. 93.

⁵⁹ *Al-Muqaddima*, French trans. by V. Monteil, Beirut, 1968, p. 341.

⁶⁰ Joaquín Albarracín, "Un documento granadino sobre los bienes de la mujer de Boabdil en Mondújar", *Actas I Congreso Historia de Andalucía*, 2nd ed., Córdoba, 1982, pp. 341-42.

⁶¹ R. Valencia, "Presencia de la mujer en la corte de al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād de Sevilla", in Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus*, p. 136, n. 46; M. Marín, in *ibid.*, p. 112; Viguera, in *ibid.*, p. 32, n. 96.

⁶² *Muqaddima*, p. 345.

⁶³ P. Coello, "Las actividades de las esclavas según Ibn Buṭlān y al-Saqāṭī de Málaga", in Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus*, pp. 201-10.

⁶⁴ Some cases in Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, III, 140 and 145; Fatima Mernisi, *Sultanes oubliées. Femmes chefs d'Etat en Islam*, Paris-Casablanca, 1990, pp. 17-113: "sultanes et courtisanes".

⁶⁵ Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus*, p. 32, n. 99-102; M. Marín, "Notas sobre onomástica y denominaciones femeninas en al-Andalus (siglos VIII-XI)", in *Homenaje al prof. Darío Cabanelas*, Granada, 1987, pp. 37-52.

⁶⁶ Viguera, "Preliminar" to *La mujer en al-Andalus*, p. 32, n. 104.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 107. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, III, 56, 92 and 142 refers to slaves in the 5th/11th century, and we can find also many references in Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra fī mahāsīn ahl al-Jazīra*; these need classification for the purposes of coherent interpretation, as in S. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Furayḥ, *Al-Jawārī wa 'l-shī'r fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī 'l-awwal*, Kuwait, 1981.

⁶⁸ Rubiera, *op. cit.*, 14.

⁶⁹ The king of Seville, al-Mu'taḍid, had numerous concubines and boasted of them (see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, 2nd. section, Cairo, 1975, pp. 19-20).

⁷⁰ Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, III, 92.

⁷¹ M. L. Avila, "Las mujeres 'sabias' en al-Andalus", in Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus*, pp. 139-84; R. Valencia, "Tres maestras sevillanas de la época del Califato Omeya", in *ibid.*, pp. 185-90; M. I. Fierro, "Mujeres hispano-árabes en tres repertorios biográficos. *Yadwa*, *Šila* y *Bughya*, s. X-XII", in *Las mujeres medievales y su ámbito jurídico*, Madrid, 1982, pp. 177-82. And some contributions to *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*, I-IV, Madrid and Granada, 1988-1990; and I. Goldziher, "Women in the hadith literature", in *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, London, 1971, II, 366-68.

⁷² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, IV, 294.

⁷³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, I, 438-39.

⁷⁴ L. F. Aguirre de Cárcer, "Sobre el ejercicio de la medicina en al-Andalus: Una fetua de Ibn Sahl", *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes*, II, 1991.

⁷⁵ As observed by S.K. Jayyusi, "Two Types of Hero in Contemporary Arabic Literature", *Mundus Artium*, 10/1, 1977, p. 46.

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THE CULINARY CULTURE OF AL-ANDALUS

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Introduction

Around the middle of the 7th/13th century, on the western edge of the Islamic dominions, there appeared two cookbooks.¹ They described, in hundreds of preparations, the Arab-Islamic bourgeois urban culinary tradition of the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula.

Cooking traditions, whether high or low, are by their very nature conservative; it is therefore probable that these culinary manuals reflect not only the tastes and cooking techniques of 7th/13th century North Africa and al-Andalus but also of an earlier period, commencing perhaps with the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. They also clearly reflect influences from the East; the Abbasid political capital of Baghdad had also been the imperial cultural centre, where, among other developments, an *haute cuisine* had begun to emerge around the time of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 194/809).² The influence of this culinary high tradition subsequently spread westward.³

Culinary manuals are not, of course, the only source material from which information may be extracted concerning medieval tastes and attitudes towards food.⁴ Within the medical field, in addition to sections on dietetics and hygiene included in the large medical compendia, specialist works were written on diet; these describe, together with their properties, the benefit and harm of various foodstuffs and cooked dishes, and often recommend ways of recovering from their ill effects. Such works dealt with the individual's personal régime and implied a domestic context of food preparation and consumption; in this sense, the dietetic guides are the converse of the culinary manuals, which express, as well, a familiarity with the views on food current among the doctors. Certain *adab* works, such as the *Al-'Iqd al-farīd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī (d. 328/940) also reflect the later food lore of the urban and urbane population. Belonging to yet a different genre are works on the *ḥisba*, the market inspectors' manuals which record, among other matters, the way food in public market places ought to be prepared and sold. While this is not always explicitly stated, the *ḥisba* manuals strongly hint at the undesirability of eating prepared food in the market, owing to the endless dodges of producers to cheat their customers. Home cooking was not only better, but safer.

Yet for all the range of materials available (limited though these might appear to be), it is the culinary manuals alone which provide an insight into an aspect of medieval domestic life which has only begun to be explored.⁵ From the recipe collections it is possible to construct a picture not only of the

cuisine itself, but also of the many activities undertaken in the domestic kitchen, and of its place within the household and the neighbourhood community. Moreover, they implicitly point to the central role which food played in the social order of values, showing that the hospitality of the table, whether with family, friends, political allies or others, was a matter of the private, not the public domain.⁶ On these particular issues there is considerable uniformity across the medieval Arab/Islamic world, and cooking styles and techniques were not in fact distinctly different in urban al-Andalus and Iraq. Differences in food preference, however, are a matter of regional choice and speciality, and these may be illustrated from the culinary manuals themselves. In the discussion which follows, two aspects of the Andalusí food tradition will be treated: the kitchen as the locus of food preparation and the major characteristics of the cuisine.

I. *The kitchen*

The dishes described in the culinary manuals were prepared in the kitchens of homes belonging to urban families of "middle class" standing; they reflect neither the exclusive milieu of the courts of the period nor the hearths of the urban poor or country folk. Thus, a variation of the common dish *tharid*, called *al-kāmil*, comprising many meats and fowl, well spiced, with sausages, meatballs, eggs and olives all neatly arranged and served on a large platter, stands in such contrast to ordinary dishes that it is noted as being "one of the plates of kings and wazirs".⁷ Overall the culinary manuals implicitly represent the cooking customs of the broader-based artisan-scholar-bureaucratic segments of urban Andalusí society.⁸ Ibn Khaldūn is certainly correct in observing that the two main dietary characteristics of (presumably comfortable) urban dwellers was meat and fine wheat, although his generalised attribution of the Andalusis' good health to a spartan diet of the cereal sorghum and olive oil is not reflected in these culinary manuals. It is worth recalling in this context that al-Andalus experienced, in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, a rapid expansion of towns in which a leisure class enjoyed food for its own sake. Moreover the development of irrigation agriculture, the introduction and acclimatisation of new crops⁹ and the integration of the economy of al-Andalus into the Islamic Mediterranean trade network ensured ready access to the raw materials of the urban cuisine.

Kitchen activities and the *batterie de cuisine* are well depicted in the recipes. The picture is one of labour intensive preparation of daily meals, and of condiments and preserves stored for future use, the range of utensils used indicating the complexity of these labours.

There were two major appliances in the kitchen, the hearth (*al-nār*)¹⁰ and the oven (*al-tannūr*).¹¹ The former provided heat directly to the bottom of pots in which the ingredients of a dish were combined, while the latter provided dry heat for baking and roasting. The heat of both appliances could be

regulated to some extent. A recipe for roasting a whole animal in the *tannūr* describes how the prepared carcass is placed on a spit (*al-safūd*) and inserted through the open top of the oven with the spit end resting on a pan to catch the dripping fat. The oven top is then covered with a lid and both it and the other apertures sealed with clay to enclose the heat until the animal is thoroughly cooked.¹² In another, similar preparation, the embers of the fire are removed from the *tannūr* when it has heated and water is sprinkled on it before the meat is placed inside; the top is then again sealed but the bottom apertures left open.¹³ The recipe adds in conclusion that the dish could also be cooked in the neighbourhood or communal oven (*al-furn*).

Mention of the *furn* is common in the cookbooks. It was resorted to for a number of reasons: lack of adequate kitchen space or equipment for the preparation of large dishes, such as the one just mentioned, or for special occasions. It was perhaps most frequently used to bake the daily household bread, although certain types (e.g. *al-malla*, using an unglazed earthenware or metal utensil) were made at home. Some dishes, however, were half cooked in the home and then finished off in the neighbourhood oven, a combination of hearth cooking and baking.¹⁴ In another case, a recipe gives a home-cooked and *furn*-cooked option.¹⁵

The cooking pot (*al-qidr*) came in several sizes and materials. The most common was fired clay or earthenware (*al-fakhkhār*), glazed (*al-muzajjaj* or *al-muḥantam*) or unglazed, but tinned copper (*al-qidr min al-nuḥās al-muqaṣḍara*) or other metal was also used. Vessels of gold and silver were highly regarded,¹⁶ but it is unlikely that they were employed in households where the recipes of these cookbooks were prepared. Pots containing cooked food were covered, while still hot, with lids with tiny holes to allow vapours to escape; the belief was that if such vapours were not released, a toxic force would develop in the food.

Matters of cleanliness in the kitchen are addressed in almost all cookbooks, and the Andalusī ones are no exception. It seemed to be a common complaint that servants either did not wash pots at all or did not wash them thoroughly enough after use; the problem led to the advice that a new earthenware pot should be used every day, and a glazed pot replaced every five days.¹⁷ These somewhat drastic measures were probably not always adopted, as pots could be adequately cleaned, under proper supervision of the domestics, with hot water and bran. Nevertheless, such circumstances explain the opening expression found in not a few recipes to "take a new pot". In one preparation the cooking pot was deliberately broken when it returned from the communal oven, and the dough seal was removed by knocking it, which may have resulted in the pot's cracking.¹⁸

The cooking pots, or casseroles, just described were the vessels in which meat and poultry dishes were prepared. Fish however, was generally cooked in a pan (*al-tājin*) or fried in oil in a frying pan (*al-miqlāh*), although *quḍūr*

were used when the fish was sent to the communal oven (to acquire a crisp coating). Instructions state that fish must, before cooking, be descaled, scalded slightly, washed and then left to dry; depending on the size of the fish, it is prepared either in pieces or whole. One unusual home method was to place the fish in one pan and cover it with another, placing both over a hot fire which dried up the sauce in which it cooked. Fish were also barbecued over the fire on a skewer propped up on a stone and then turned by hand.

In all these operations involving the preparation of substantial dishes for the table, it is evident that the kitchen staff were working with fresh produce of meat, fowl and fish. For example, a recipe for a chicken dish opens with the words, "Take a fat castrated bird, slaughter it, scald it, open its belly to remove the innards, then joint it". Lamb was treated in the same manner, and recipes note how all parts of the animal could be used if the entire carcass is not to be cooked intact. With beef dishes, on the other hand, the specific parts of the calf or mature animal to be cooked are mentioned, or else the more general phrase "Take the best portions of the animal" is used. The meat for these latter dishes was obtained fresh from the market, although in the case of larger households the slaughter of a calf could as easily have taken place in the kitchen courtyard. The daily preparation of fresh meat, "on the hoof" as it were, and of poultry and fish, also indicates that the seasonings employed in cooking were not, as has often been claimed, used solely to conceal the odour of fetid meat. It is true that the essential oils of cinnamon and pepper (both common favourites in Andalusī dishes) were known for their antiseptic and preservative properties; yet culinary aesthetics were also acknowledged as important in producing dishes of balanced bouquet and flavour. The preservative function of the spices mentioned would have been useful if leftovers were served the following day.

The kitchen was also the scene of operations other than those directly related to the preparation of the daily meals. Butter and cheese were made by first preparing the starter, *al-ʿaqīd* in the case of cheese, using the rennet (*al-infāḥa*) from the stomach of a lamb or goat, and *al-rāʾib* in the case of butter. Cheese-making appears to have been a seasonal activity, the cheese being initially prepared in March-April, then left outside until May to cure in the shade. Hints are given as how to keep milk from souring too quickly and for restoring butter which has become rancid.

Common to all regions of the medieval Arab world from which culinary manuals are extant is a range of various prepared seasonings or condiments called *kawāmikh*, used both in the cooking process itself and alone as an accompaniment to other dishes. For example, olives, limes, capers, eggplant and fish were prepared in similar fashion for storage in large jars until they were needed. Olives, harvested in October or November, were placed in a *khābiya* along with small twigs of the olive tree, lime shrub and thyme, then filled with water and left for several days, salt being added if required.¹⁹

A prepared seasoning common to all Arab cooking of this period was *murri*. It required a long and complicated process, which took some ninety days from the end of March when preparation commenced. Shorter processes lasting only two days also existed, and these could be used the year round, although connoisseurs may not have regarded them as the real thing. There were two kinds of *murri*, the more usual made from barley flour, the other from fish.²⁰ The fast method of preparing *murri* was to make a "loaf" from two *raṭls* of barley flour and half a *raṭl* of salt; this was baked hard in the *furn*, pounded to crumbs and then soaked in water for a day and a night. The resulting mixture was then strained, this being called the first *murri*. Next raisins, carobs, seasonings of *rāziyānaj* (*Anethum foeniculum*), *shūnīz* (*Nigella sativa*),²¹ sesame, anis, mace, citron leaf and pine seed milk were covered with water and boiled, then strained. This second *murri* was mixed with the first in a pot and the mixture boiled until it thickened. *Murri*, used in small quantities, appears in every kind of substantial dish throughout the cuisine. Its flavour must have been distinctive, acting rather like salt in ordinary use; a suggested substitute mentioned in one of the eastern cookbooks was the rather acidic-tasting spice, *summāq*.

The medieval Arab cookbook was not merely concerned with food for pleasure but also with matters of bodily equipoise. Recipes for main dishes, as discussed above, frequently add a brief note on the particular advantage of a dish for a person's régime and hygiene. One preparation may "stimulate the appetite and strengthen the stomach"; another, a summer dish, was useful "for cooling the body"; yet another was suitable for the "elderly and those of moist temperaments"; another, a winter dish, was for those suffering from "cold ailments"; and so on. In addition to such helpful advice, a number of specific preparations are included in the cookbooks which deal more directly with the consequences of consumption, over-indulgence for instance, and also with other bodily functions and desires. These include recipes for *jawārish*, *ma'jūn*, *sufūf*, *rubb*, *sharāb* and *uṣhṇān*. For example, *ma'jūn*, an electuary, was made by combining a particular ingredient (e.g., carrot or green walnut) with honey and seasonings, such as cinnamon, clove and ginger, and boiling the mixture until a thick consistency was acquired which would then set. Eaten in walnut-sized portions with food or afterward, the benefits ranged from stimulating the digestion to warming the kidneys and increasing the sexual appetite and semen. *Sharāb* was made from a number of basic ingredients such as mint, citron leaf, sandal, unripe grapes (*hiṣrim*) and carrots. The process involved boiling the main ingredient to extract its "strength", straining and then adding to sugar or honey with seasonings and boiling further until the consistency of *sharāb* was obtained. The substance was evidently like syrup, as the instructions note that it should be diluted with two to three parts water and then drunk. The benefits of these beverages also varied but refreshment and the quenching of thirst were clearly in-

tended.²² Finally, a powdered substance, *ushnān* (or *ghāsūl*), was used for cleansing the hands, the body and the mouth and gums, and dispelling the odours of greasy food. One preparation, containing the valuable ingredient camphor and musk, is described as what "kings and great personages wash their hands with after a meal".²³ A more modest preparation, powdered *hum-muṣ*, was employed by the common man for the purpose. A third, "middle class" variety was made from the fruit of the *nābiq* bush,²⁴ dried oregano, rose petals, dried citron leaf, mace and sandal.

Some attention has been given here to these non-mealtime activities, because they further indicate the kitchen's central importance in the household. Not only were daily meals for the family, and special meals for friends and other guests, prepared here, but the kitchen appears at other times as a veritable atelier for the production and processing of a variety of ingestibles associated with family health, bodily welfare and future food consumption. The activities imply careful organisation and an organiser to oversee the smooth running of the enterprise, possibly a steward responsible to the head of the household, or of course, the household head herself. Our sources do not, unfortunately, permit us to make more precise observations on the nature of the household personnel.²⁵

It remains only to note briefly, in concluding this section, some of the other kitchen utensils not yet mentioned and cited in the cookbooks. The list is by no means exhaustive, but is rather intended to show the considerable refinement of the cooking processes. There were several types of vessel or container, apart from the ordinary *qidr*, the purposes of which appear to be associated with particular kinds of preparation; or else a particular one may be described by its main characteristic or in terms of an equivalent. The *qaṣriyya* was used in cooking fish. The *ṭanjīr*, used in a chicken preparation, was a shallow dish "with a wide mouth". The *ghidāra* appears to have been a vessel in which cooked food was placed, possibly for serving at the table. The *mi'jana* was, as its name implies, a container in which dough was allowed to rise before kneading, but it was also used in the preparation of mint vinegar. Other implements included a rolling pin (*shawbaq*) and a marble slab (*ṣalāya*) used in pastry making; a utensil for stirring (*qaṣaba*); a rod-like instrument used for beating meat (*qaḍīb*); a basket-like container (*al-quffa*) made from rushes (*ḥalfā*) used for draining the whey in cheese making; a fan (*mirwaḥa*) also made from rushes for the fire in the hearth or oven; various sizes and shapes of spoons (*mighrafa*) for measuring, stirring and, in one case, easing an omelette away from the sides of a pan; a sieve (*ghurbāl*), which could be made of different materials depending upon the degree of fineness required; a *khirqa*, used in the same manner as bouquet garnis in the modern kitchen; a thread used for slicing hard-boiled eggs in halves in the preparation of stuffed eggs; and the mortar (*al-mihrās*), made of white marble or wood (metal was not recommended) and used for crushing herbs and

other foods such as hard cheese. Finally, the kitchen had one utensil not found in the eastern kitchen (so far as we know), the couscouisière which will be treated below as we turn now to a description of the chief characteristics of the Andalusi cuisine.

II. *The cuisine of al-Andalus*

Many were the dishes, tastes and techniques which the people of al-Andalus shared with others throughout the Arab world. We have already noted that the Andalusi cookbooks included recipes called "eastern" (*Mashriqī*). Names and types of dishes, familiar in the eastern cookbooks, are found also in the Andalusi-Maghribi tradition. We have already noted above the pickled preparations called *kawāmikh*. Similarly popular in all regions were the numerous dishes with meat which went by the name of *tharid*; the common feature of these was the addition of crushed bread (from the verb *tharada*, meaning "crumble") to the stock in the pot at the last stage of cooking. The substitution of one meat for another, chicken for mutton for example, was another practice familiar in both eastern and western culinary traditions; recipes often note that a particular dish could be made with, for example, either chicken, lamb or veal. A close comparison of the dishes, eastern and western, is not, however, very rewarding, as multiple recipes for a dish of the same name can be found in the same cookbook.²⁶ Nevertheless, it is likely, as in other cuisines, that dishes were transformed as they moved from one region to another, very much as peasant fare was transformed when it appeared on the merchant's table.

One needs, therefore, to look for regional dishes peculiar to the Andalusi-Maghribi cooking tradition, or at least perceived by the compilers of recipes as being of local character. Al-Tujibī, for example, states in the introduction to his work that he has included many *al-andalusiyyāt*, one being a pastry preparation named after the city of Toledo (*al-Tulayṭuliyya*).²⁷ Made from fine wheat flour, the half-moon shaped pieces were filled with a mixture of fresh cheese and aniseed, together with mint and fresh coriander water, baked on a *milla* over the hearth, then, when ready, coated with honey, butter and cinnamon sugar. Another dish, a kind of gruel, was known both by its Andalusi names (*zabẓīn* or *zbīnā*) and its Moroccan name (*barkūs*).²⁸ The anonymous work mentions the proper manner for preparing fish, which was the way followed by the people in Seville and Córdoba: first the fish was scaled and dipped briefly in boiling water, then cut up and cooked in the communal oven.²⁹ One dish, apparently known throughout al-Andalus as the "seven stomachs" (*sab'a buṭūn*), was also known as *al-fayjāta*. This rather complicated formula required visits to the communal oven on three separate occasions during its preparation; it consisted of layers of thin bread and cheese, baked with milk added at the second stage, and finally topped with honey or spiced sugar.

Berber influence is explicitly noted in two recipes called *al-Šinhājī*, after the name of the tribe of Berbers who brought the Almoravid dynasty of the Maghrib to power in the Peninsula. One, a "plain dish enjoyed by the [tribal] élite",³⁰ was a well-seasoned stew preparation of lean beef, lamb, chicken, pigeon, partridge and small birds with types of sausage and meatballs topped with almonds. The inclusion of beef in this and other recipes is interesting, forming as it does a feature of the cooking of al-Andalus which was virtually absent in the East, at least as far as the evidence of cookbooks permits us to judge. It is not possible to tell whether an appreciation of beef was actually a Berber introduction or whether it was enjoyed in al-Andalus before their arrival. Al-Tujībī devotes a section of his work to recipes with beef, and there are scattered references to it in the anonymous work. However, mutton and lamb—again on al-Tujībī's evidence—were still by far the most popular meats consumed, followed by poultry and fowl of various kinds. This is true, too, of eastern recipes where a meat dish is indicated simply by the use of the word *lahm*, which implied mutton, while beef (*al-baqar*) is rarely mentioned explicitly. Thus, the inclusion of beef in the Andalusī cookbooks suggests a different taste preference.³¹

A dish of particular interest is the one called *tafāyā*, which has survived to this day in Morocco.³² Both al-Tujībī and the anonymous work have more than one version of the preparation, and it could be made with chicken, fish or, more usually, with mutton. It came in two basic varieties, "white" and "green". In the former type dried coriander³³ is called for among other seasonings, while in the latter fresh coriander water is used, the purpose being to colour the stock green. The compiler of the anonymous work notes the particular benefits of the dish, as being of "balanced nutrition, appropriate for a weak stomach, producing good blood, and suitable for both healthy and convalescent persons. It is an element basic to all types of cooking".³⁴ The compiler, however, also calls the simple "white" version of *tafāyā* by a name well known in the East, namely *isfīdbāja*, whose healthy properties are similarly acknowledged.³⁵ This name was not the one by which it was apparently widely and popularly known in al-Andalus.³⁶

The same compiler notes *al-tafāyā* as being one of several types of dish common to the cooking tradition in al-Andalus.³⁷ Another was a substantial preparation called *al-muthallath*. It could be made from beef or mutton, and its special feature appears to have been the amount of saffron employed—a feature which might have passed unremarked by a modern reader of the recipes, but for the words of a poet who expressed his detestation of *al-muthallath* because of the saffron, but his fondness for *al-tafāyā* on account of its green colour.³⁸

Al-mujabbana was clearly a favourite throughout al-Andalus. The anonymous compiler mentions its being made in Toledo, Seville, Córdoba and Jerez as well as in the Maghrib, and the word survives in Spanish as *almojáb-*

bana.³⁹ It was a pastry filled with fried cheese and eaten coated with cinnamon-sugar, honey or *sharāb* of roses. It was advised to use cheeses made from both sheeps' and cows' milk, mixed together in the proportion of three quarters to one quarter respectively. This mixture would hold the filling together during cooking and prevent it from seeping out.⁴⁰ As the pastry was judged difficult to digest, it was recommended that one take *sharāb* or *ma'jūn* after eating them.⁴¹

A preparation known in eastern cookbooks as *laqāniq*, appears in the Andalusī tradition as *al-mirqās*, a kind of sausage made of spiced mutton and fat.⁴² *Laqāniq* was known to al-Tujībī but, although he describes its preparation in the same terms as that for *mirqās*, it was seasoned not with *murri* but with onion and fresh coriander, and a larger and wider intestine was used to contain the filling. A flat meatball was known as *al-aḥraṣh* (called in Marrakesh, *isfiriyyā*).⁴³ Round ones were called *banādiq*, and were included, pre-cooked (sometimes along with *mirqās*), as part of other meat dishes, a feature more common to the cooking tradition of al-Andalus than to that of the East.

A striking feature of dishes included in the two Andalusī cookbooks we possess, and thus evidently representative of that culinary tradition, is the frequent use of eggs in a wide range of substantial dishes. One method was to cover the cooked dish with a layer of beaten egg (sometimes mixed with flour), with seasonings sprinkled on top.⁴⁴ This must have been a popular way of finishing off a dish, for in one of the Andalusī *ḥisba* manuals of the period the market cooks (*al-ṭabbākhūn*) are expressly forbidden to cover the top of the cooked dishes with an egg layer because this concealed what was underneath.⁴⁵ Sometimes the egg, beaten, was stirred into a cooking dish as a kind of binding agent. Another method was to allow eggs to set whole on top of a dish as a decoration (*yunajjam bil-bayḍ*).⁴⁶

Modern specialist cookbooks on the Middle East mention *kuskusū* as a characteristic part of North African cuisine; and that it was a very traditional and widely known dish in al-Andalus as well is evident from the cookbooks. The compiler of the anonymous work considered the dish so common that he mentions only a version of it, called *al-fityānī*, made in Marrakesh. Al-Tujībī, on the other hand, provides five recipes, four variations on one basic preparation:

Joints of beef are cooked in a large pot in seasoned water together with whatever vegetables are available at the time; these could be, for example, cabbage, turnip, carrot, lettuce (*al-khass*) and eggplant. The couscous (*al-samīd al-raṭb*) is prepared beforehand by placing it in a bowl, sprinkling water and a little salt on top and then moving the grains between the finger tips so they stick together; then the grains are rubbed between the palms of the hand until they become the size of ants' heads. The *couscousière*, with holes in the bottom, is filled and placed on top of the large cooking pot, and any space between them is sealed with dough; the top of the *couscousière* is covered with a thick cloth to keep the vapours in

and to cook the couscous. The indication that the couscous is done is the strength of the vapours rising to the top, and, when the pot is struck with the hand, one hears it hiss. The couscous is then rubbed with clarified butter, cinnamon, mastic and spikenard, and placed in a serving dish over which the sauce of the meat and vegetables is poured, sufficient for it to be absorbed. The meat and vegetables are then placed over the couscous and more cinnamon, and some pepper and ginger, are sprinkled on top.

More of a paraphrase than a translation of the recipe, the passage nevertheless reveals the degree of detail and explanatory comment common in medieval Arab culinary manuals. Quantities are seldom mentioned, although the process of preparation is clearly laid out and the cook can judge the proper proportions of ingredients to suit the family taste.

Finally, a point of interest in the anonymous work is the appearance in it of four dishes described as Jewish preparations,⁴⁷ two being dishes of partridge, one of chicken and the last of mutton. There is nothing in the ingredients used, or in the methods of cooking, which sets these apart from other dishes, but their inclusion (unique, I believe, in Arab culinary collections) is interesting in view of the considerable presence of Jewish communities in Muslim Spain.⁴⁸

A broad survey such as this cannot hope to deal with all the points of interest which might have been raised. Implicit in the argument presented here is a degree of special pleading for cookbook sources to be taken more seriously by scholars of medieval Arab culture than has been the case up till now. What has been attempted here is to describe some of the practices of the urban high cooking tradition which al-Andalus (and the Maghrib) shared with other regions of the Arab world, while, at the same time, illustrating some of the features peculiar to the region itself. If the attempt has been successful, then further interest may be kindled in two of the most fascinating culinary works in the vast treasury of Arab recipes, and in their relation to broader aspects of the culture of al-Andalus.

¹ The two works are Ibn Razīn al-Tujibī, *Faḍālat al-khiwān fi ṭayyibāt al-ṭaʿām wa 'l-alwān*, ed. Muḥammad Bencheḡroun, Beirut, 1984, and the anonymous work edited by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *La Cocina Hispano-Magrebī en la Época Almohade*, Madrid, 1965. Al-Tujibī was an Andalusī author, originally from Murcia, and he compiled his book sometime between 636/1238 and 640/1242, the latter being the year Murcia fell under Christian control. Huici Miranda suggests that the anonymous author too was Andalusī, and lived before the fall of large cities such as Seville (646/1248).

² An account of these developments will be found in David Waines, *In a Caliph's Kitchen*, London, 1989.

³ Al-Tujibī includes in his book a number of recipes which he calls *Mashriqī*, while the anonymous work contains a section dedicated to the memory of the Abbasid prince and erstwhile caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had most likely compiled the first cookbook in the Arabic language. See Waines, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-15.

⁴ A good general treatment of the source material is to be found in Expiración García Sánchez, "Fuentes para el estudio de la alimentación en la Andalucía Islámica", in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I.*, Málaga, 1985, Madrid, 1986, pp. 269-88.

⁵ Peter Heine has made an important contribution to these studies in his book *Kulinarische Studien*, Wiesbaden, 1988.

⁶ Arab customs of entertainment contrasted with those of another major contemporary culture, China, where the practice of eating together in public places such as restaurants and tea houses was well established. See the excellent treatment of Chinese food traditions in K. C. Chang (ed.), *Food in Chinese Culture*, New Haven, 1977.

⁷ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, pp. 179-80. In his stimulating work on *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, Cambridge, 1982, p. 129, Jack Goody writes of the medieval Arabic cookbooks that they "referred to the cuisine of the court, a court that had developed patterns of conspicuous consumption, based upon their Roman, Greek and Persian predecessors. They were composed not by cooks, but by great personages who concentrated upon their favourite recipes, omitting any reference to ordinary dishes". While there is much of value in Goody's notion of hierarchical cooking traditions, he has misunderstood the nature of Arabic cookbooks. In the case of the two works considered in the present article, neither—as can be judged from internal evidence alone—was compiled by a "great personage". They do include "ordinary dishes", of a kind familiar within the milieu of an urban leisure class outside the court or ruling circles.

⁸ I am not proposing that the society of al-Andalus was rigidly class based. There is greater explanatory potential in the view of social stratification based upon groups where membership was ascribed on some basis other than strictly economic, for example, ethnicity, religion and kinship. Nevertheless, since we must assume these dishes were not confined to one ethnic or religious group (Arab, Berber or other; Muslim, Jew or Christian), the cookbooks do in fact strongly reflect the prosperous economic standing of households participating in this cooking culture, indicating a co-existence of class and status structures. Evidence from the cookbooks with respect to the political sphere would suggest, interestingly, that the view attributing the cause of the collapse of the Caliphate to "the absence of a middle class interested in maintaining a strong central government" (W.M. Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh, 1965, p. 87) is much oversimplified. See Thomas Glick, *Islam and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1979, chapters four and five on social structure and ethnic relations.

⁹ Glick, *op. cit.*, p. 77, gives a list of the edible crops introduced into the peninsula by the Arabs. They are the olive [*sic*], apricot, artichoke, carob, rice, saffron, sugar, jujube, eggplant, parsnip, lemon, orange, grapefruit and carrot. On the complicated question of the diffusion of food crops in the medieval Middle East see Andrew Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1983.

¹⁰ This is the word used almost exclusively in the texts. From one passage in al-Tujibi, *Faḍāla*, p. 71; however, it is likely that this was a shortened form of the expression *kānūn al-nār*, or used for the *kānūn*, whether of the moveable or stationary variety, upon which cooking pots and pans were placed over the heat.

¹¹ The word and appliance are of ancient Mesopotamian origin. Cylindrical, bee-hive shaped, it gave the appearance of a large inverted earthenware pot, from which it had probably evolved. Fuel, preferably good charcoal, was inserted through a bottom side opening, and then ignited. The top of the oven was open, and bread was placed through this opening to bake on the inner walls, or meat, and sometimes pots, lowered to bake.

¹² Another roasting method, probably less usual, was to dig a hole in the ground, place the meat inside and cover with a large pan (*al-ṭājin*), sealing the sides with mud so heat could not escape. Firewood placed on top of the pan was lit and the meat was first cooked on one side and then turned over on the other, in a rather slow and lengthy process. Only after the meat was ready was it seasoned with salt and pepper. See al-Tujibi, *Faḍāla*, p. 125.

¹³ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 103.

¹⁴ Al-Tujibi, *Faḍāla*, p. 168. In this instance the mouth of the pot was sealed with a plate and dough. The reason for the use of the *furn* in cases like this could have been the absence, in the home, of a *tannūr* with a sufficiently wide opening for an awkward shaped pot to be inserted. The *furn*, being a much larger apparatus, could also cook dishes at different temperatures depending on the proximity of the pot to the source of the heat (see *ibid.*, p. 51).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212, recipe No. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31. Al-Tujibi adds that gold and silver pans were best for frying, but not copper, which reacted to dishes cooked in a lot of oil. The same view is expressed in the anonymous work. See Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 83.

¹⁷ Al-Tujibī, *Faḍāla*, p. 31, and Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 84.

¹⁸ In a preparation for *khabiṣ*, the vessel in which the doughy substance is made is sent to the communal oven for slow baking, and when returned to the kitchen it is gently broken to preserve the shape of the contents. See Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 99.

¹⁹ Al-Tujibī, *Faḍāla*, p. 255.

²⁰ There has been much confusion over the exact nature of *murri*, the prevalent view being that it derived from the Roman *garum*, a fish preparation. In fact the most common form to which the recipes refer is *murri naqī* made from cereal grain.

²¹ These are the identifications found in H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin's edition of the *Tuhfat al-ahbāb*, Paris, 1934, Nos. 358 and 454 respectively.

²² E. Lévi-Provençal rather underestimates the variety of beverages available when he states of Andalusis that "no bebían más que agua, perfumada a veces con esencias de azahar o de rosa". See *España musulmana*, volume V of the *Historia de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1957, p. 274. For the *sharāb* recipes, see Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, pp. 236-40.

²³ Al-Tujibī, *Faḍāla*, p. 279.

²⁴ Jujube or "fruit de *sidr*", as identified in Renaud and Colin, *Tuhfat*, No. 293.

²⁵ In a recent work on the subject of women in al-Andalus, the lack of data on the activities of persons outside the ambience of the ruler's court is acknowledged. Even of women in the upper classes (not those involved in the kitchen activities of the cookbooks) Manuela Marín states: "Aunque ... los datos sobre las mujeres de la corte son relativamente numerosos, ello no quiere decir que nos permitan construir una visión más o menos completa del tema que nos ocupa." See "Las mujeres de las clases sociales superiores", in *La mujer en al-Andalus*, ed. María J. Viguera, Madrid, 1989, p. 105. Again, there is no textual evidence for Lévi-Provençal's observation that "En los familias de las clases baja y media era la dueña de la casa quien guisada las comidas" (italics mine). See *España musulmana*, p. 272.

²⁶ An exception, the dish *zīrbāj*, tends to underline the general point. In both the Andalusī cookbooks and the earliest extant culinary manual, the *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh* of Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, edited by K. Ohrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki, 1987, p. 152, the basic ingredients and procedure of cooking are the same. It is a chicken dish, with almonds, and cooked in a sweet-sour combination of vinegar and sugar. See also al-Tujibī, *Faḍāla*, p. 155 and Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 39.

²⁷ *Faḍāla*, p. 85. A similar recipe appears in the anonymous work; Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 201.

²⁸ Al-Tujibī, *Faḍāla*, p. 60.

²⁹ For example, Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 173.

³⁰ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 24. There had, of course, been *ṣinhājis* in al-Andalus long before the Almoravids became the rulers of the whole territory; for example, the Zirids of Granada. There is no way, therefore, of knowing when Berber influence on the eating habits of Andalusis actually began.

³¹ Indirect support for this conclusion comes from the nutritional work of Ibn Zuhr, who notes that beef is slow and difficult to digest, although the meat of a suckling calf would be easier than that of a mature animal. But the custom of eating beef at the table was, he states, a matter outside medical opinion, implying thereby that its consumption was popular. I have consulted the typescript of this work edited by Expiración García Sánchez, which she has re-edited for publication, using additional manuscript sources, and which is in press.

³² See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Paris, 1927, s. v. *tafāyā*. The actual recipes in the cookbooks are, however, more complex than Dozy's simple description of the dish.

³³ In the medieval culinary manuals it is unclear whether dried coriander, a frequently mentioned ingredient, means the dried seeds of the plant or the dried leaf. In modern adaptations of these recipes, I have, for convenience, always used the dried seed.

³⁴ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 85. In a recipe for a dish called *al-lamtūniyya* (*ibid.*, p. 187), obviously also of Berber origin, which was made from almost any kind of fowl, the instruction says the dish should be prepared half-way as though one were cooking *tafāyā*. The dish itself was said to have been prepared in *al-Andalus wa 'l-gharb*, i.e., both in al-Andalus and in North Africa.

³⁵ Two recipes for a "green *isfidbāja*" appear in al-Warrāq's early cookbook and each contains the water of fresh coriander (*Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, p. 159-60). The introduction of *tafāyā* into al-Andalus is attributed to a Baghdadi, Ziryāb.

³⁶ In his treatise on food and health, Ibn Zuhri also comments on the value of chicken cooked in the manner of *tafāyā*. In his treatise on foodstuffs, al-Arbūlī notes that the greater the amount of coriander in the dish, the more it would tend towards the nature of "coldness", as understood in humoral theory, while if less were used it would be more in "balance". The Hippocratic-Galenic terms used by the physicians were, as this case illustrates, well known to the compilers of culinary manuals. On al-Arbūlī, see Amador Díaz García, "Un tratado nazari sobre alimentos: *Al-Kalām 'alā 'l-agḏhiya de al-Arbūlī*. Edición, traducción y estudio, con glosarios (II)", *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 1973, pp. 5-91.

³⁷ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 85, where seven types of dish are mentioned. The passage is obscure, as one type of dish (*al-mu'assa*) is mentioned twice and it is unclear from the recipes of the various types of dish what their special characteristics were. They could, however, possibly be divided into three groups: main, or substantial dishes, which include *al-tafāyā*, *al-muthallath* and *al-jumli*; pickles and condiments; and sweetbreads.

³⁸ Confusion as to the nature of the dish arises because there are preparations called *al-muthallath* which do not contain saffron. Two, however, which do emphasise its use are found in al-Tujībī, *Faḍāla*, p. 97, and Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 222. The poet's comment is to be found in Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1953, p. 315.

³⁹ The modern preparation is sweet pastry, but not, however, made with cheese.

⁴⁰ Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, pp. 199-200. See also Pérès, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁴¹ Al-Arbūlī, in "Un tratado nazari", p. 33.

⁴² This was possibly the forerunner of the modern Spanish *salchichón* and *chorizo*, although pork meat was naturally not used in the Muslim cooking of al-Andalus. Of the pig, *khanzir*, Ibn Zuhri states laconically in his book on nourishment that "according to our law, we should not mention anything about it". Nor does he. Recipes for *mirqās* can be found in al-Tujībī, *Faḍāla*, pp. 144-45 and Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 21, where it is spelled *mirkās*. Emilio García Gómez notes that the word *mirkās* is attested to in the Iberian Peninsula from antiquity, and probably derives from the "romance hispánico". See his translation of Ibn 'Abdūn, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*, Madrid, 1948, p. 140, n.1.

⁴³ A version of *isfiriyya* which was made in the market is found in the anonymous work, Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 137, and another home-made preparation with eggplant, p. 169.

⁴⁴ An example of this method will be found in al-Tujībī, *Faḍāla*, p. 114; see Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, p. 127. Ibn Zuhri expresses the opinion in his work on nutrition that the combination of egg and fish was poisonous, yet the anonymous compiler includes dishes with just this combination. See, *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁵ E. Lévi-Provençal (ed.), *Documents arabes inédits, Trois traités hispaniques de ḥiṣba*, Cairo, 1955, p. 97, in the treatise of Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf.

⁴⁶ One is tempted to see in this widespread use of eggs an early attestation of the modern Spanish dishes known as *revuelto*.

⁴⁷ See recipes in Huici Miranda, *La Cocina*, pp. 67, 70, 71, 74.

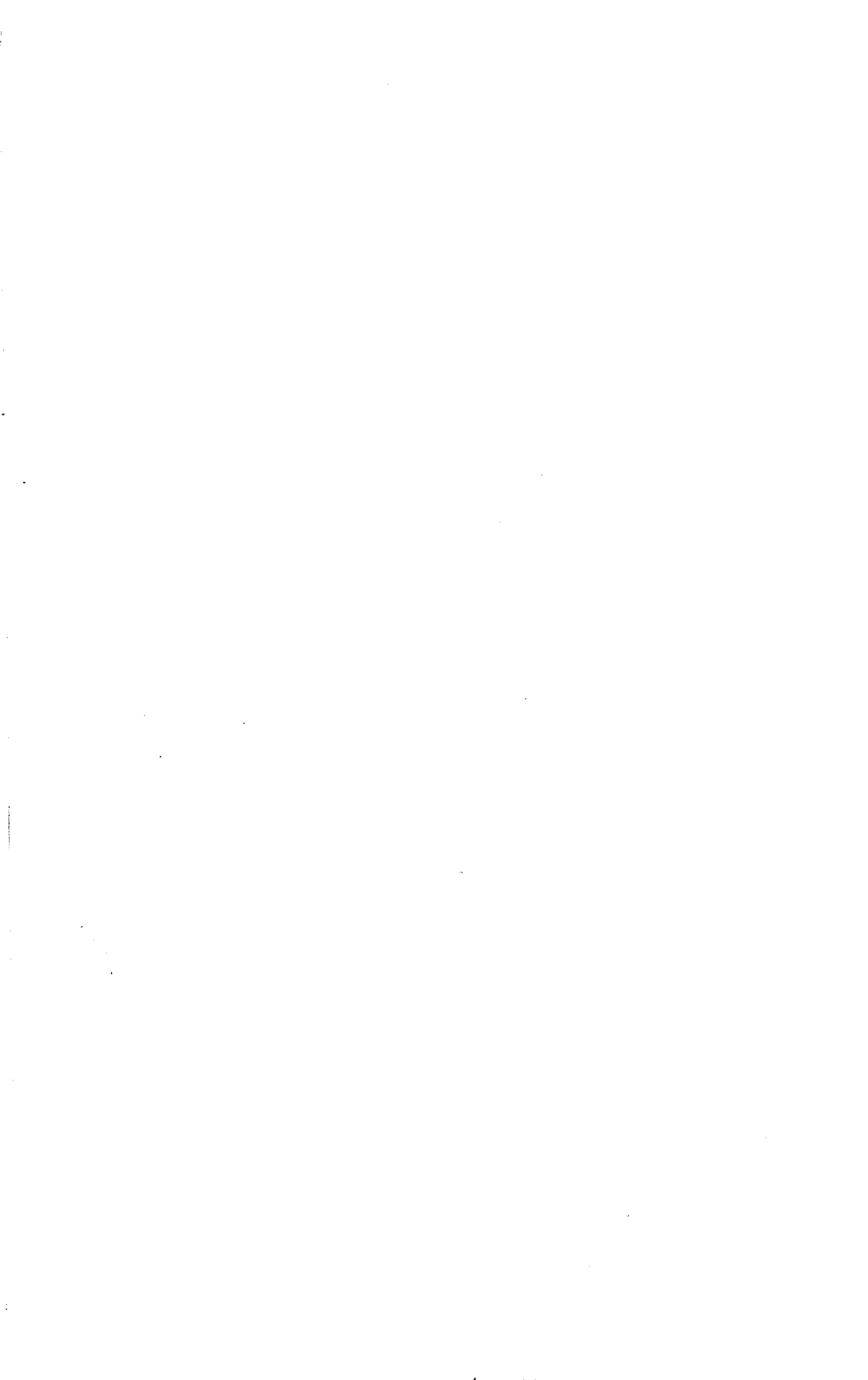
⁴⁸ There is just one reference in the Andalusī manuals to the cooking traditions of Christians (*biḷād al-rūm*); the only other reference to Christian eating customs appears in the early eastern cookbook of al-Warrāq, concerning dishes prepared by Christians for the fast.

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ECONOMIC HISTORY



AN APPROXIMATE PICTURE OF THE ECONOMY OF AL-ANDALUS

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Introduction

The study of this aspect of al-Andalus—an entity which vanished several centuries ago—constitutes a chapter of medieval economic history, and this means that we must, as a preliminary, precisely limit the geographical area and period under consideration and define what we mean by economic history. There can perhaps be a degree of pedantry in insisting too strongly on the definition of concepts, but we must, nevertheless, know what we are speaking about, and it is therefore as well to indicate the precise scope of the terms used, so as not to vitiate the study, from the beginning, with fundamental ambiguities.

I. Concepts

Al-Andalus, as everyone knows, was the Arabic term referring to Muslim Spain. It is, however, too often forgotten that the precise signification of this name varied over the centuries. Around 102/720-112/730 it implied the whole Iberian Peninsula, together with a good part of Languedoc-Rousillon, while in 885/1480 it corresponded to no more than the present provinces of Málaga, Granada and Almería. Between these two extreme points there was a particular period of more than two centuries when conditions were fairly stable, and in which a correspondingly fixed geographical area was in evidence. In this period al-Andalus referred, strictly speaking, to the part of the Peninsula south of the Duero, together with the Ebro Valley.

The period under review (that following the phases of the Conquest, the recognition of Islamic politico-military superiority and the setting up of an Islamic administrative structure) corresponds with this geographical area, and stretches from the fall of Barcelona and Tarragona at the hands of the Franks (185/801-192/808) to the abolition of the Córdoba Caliphate in 422/1031. This particular time span has been chosen because it corresponds to the existence of a coherent overall picture, from the political, administrative, economic, institutional and cultural viewpoint alike. It was followed by the upheaval of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, which led to the establishment of ephemeral regional units emphasising local differences already present; and none of the attempts at "re-establishment", Almoravid, Almohad or Naṣrid, was to prove capable of reconstructing an entity coherent and self-sufficient from every point of view.

The term "economics" will be used to imply the study, over a certain period, of events, norms and institutions which are properly speaking economic; those, in other words, connected with the production, circulation, apportioning and consumption of goods and services where these elements are geared to satisfying the needs of society through the joint efforts of its members.¹ It is a known fact that the exercise of such efforts follows a certain "model", which the society in question fixes as its goal and attempts to realise; the model thus depends on this society and is subordinate to it. As such, production, circulation, apportioning and consumption will vary in their organisation according to whether the needs to be met are those of all the members of the society or those of a group. From the model adopted by a society will stem the priorities and aims this society fixes for itself, and, therefore, the way it is organised.

We need, therefore, to study the volume of agricultural or industrial production and its forms of organisation: whether an undertaking is carried out by individuals or by co-producers, whether it is directed, in a particular case, by the individual producer, by co-producers, by non-producing owners or by the State. Auto-consumption, though essential for the vast majority of the population (for the mass of agricultural producers and even for a good many owners living in towns) has a merely negative effect on economic analysis, for the latter can only be carried out by evaluating the relative importance of such auto-consumption, its fluctuations vis-à-vis that part of goods produced which enters into circulation. Circulation and redistribution occur on the basis of provision forced on the producer, of immediate bilateral exchanges between producers, and of movement from producers to intermediaries and from producers or intermediaries to consumers. Such relationships are shaped within the context of institutions: the fiscal system, the various regulations concerning property, the ways the item produced is apportioned between producers and owners, contracts of sale and purchase, and, finally, the market. On the other hand, exchange can be carried out between intermediaries: exchanges of things produced, of means of production, of tokens of exchange. From this spring such institutions as associations of traders, and means of circulation like transfers of debt, cheques, promissory notes, etc. Finally, distribution with a view to consumption can also be achieved by furnishing or by exchange, by direct or indirect sale or by furnishing without payment.

This enumeration is far from complete. It will allow us, nevertheless, to grasp the complexity and enormous extent of the field covered—or influenced—by economic factors within a given society. The analysis of any one of these aspects would require, as a preliminary step, the preparation of a whole series of monographs—a task which is still, unfortunately, far from being completed.

II. *Approach*

Given the limitations of space, this study will confine itself to a presentation of the broad outlines of the economy of al-Andalus, with a much greater use of macro-analysis than of micro-analysis. I shall in fact be attempting a strictly economic analysis here, without becoming entangled in the kind of geographico-enumerative studies which have been almost exclusively produced up to now. While there is no wish to ignore the efforts—meritorious for their time—of C. Dubler² and E. Lévi-Provençal,³ this study will be undertaken on a different level, with the aim of making advances in conceptual analysis and going beyond the stage of simple, straightforward enumeration. Rather than merely establishing an exhaustive list of commodities and original appellations, the main effort will be devoted to an attempt to explain, rationally, the overall way a particular society functions. Three essential aspects will be studied with a view to attaining this: (a) the production of goods; (b) the furnishing of services; and (c) the apportioning of the surplus obtained.

To this end, and given that the selected frame of reference is economic history, it will be necessary: (1) to describe the sources utilised; (2) to demonstrate the representative nature of the materials used; (3) to set out the limits of a statistical analysis applied to the period and area under study; and (4) to verify the relative exactness of the figures obtained, by setting them against descriptive sources capable of furnishing “judgements and estimates”.

III. *Sources*

There is little point here in detailing sources to be used in providing an economic study of al-Andalus, since there is already a published treatment of the subject to which the reader may be referred.⁴ The same also applies to study of the society.⁵

Let us simply note, to ensure the clarity of the economic treatment, that al-Andalus embodied a pre-capitalist structure based on the exploitation of the rural community. We are dealing, essentially, with an agrarian society, in which the vast majority of income derived from the tilling of the soil. Given that the appropriation and transfer of the surplus produced took place through the levying of various taxes, al-Andalus must be classed, in economic terms, as a fiscally based society.

IV. *Representative nature of the materials*

To venture on a numerical analysis of a collective economic phenomenon—albeit a medieval one—presupposes the use of statistics. The first question, therefore, must be whether these existed in al-Andalus. The answer is: yes. Of course the “lists” in question are not, for all the administrative

curiosity of al-Manṣūr, as complete and ubiquitous as the statistics of our present-day world. Nevertheless, they did exist, and in fact formed the basis of administrative efficiency in every area of organisation. There were: (a) censuses of adult males in the subject population—these were indeed made from the beginning, under the governorships of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (95/713-97/715), ‘Uqba (116/734-123/740) and Yūsuf al-Fihrī (129/746-138/756), together with updates (that of Hostegesis for the diocese of Málaga being compiled in 248/862); (b) registries of lands created for fiscal purposes, to establish whether a property was liable to *kharāj* or *‘ushr* (al-Samḥ, 100/718-103/720); (c) lists of urban taxpayers (under al-Manṣūr); (d) lists of fiscal levies by province (such as the one partially preserved by al-‘Udhri for the various *iqlims* of the *kūra* of Córdoba); (e) a statement of revenues (partly recopied by Ibn ‘Idhārī and Ibn Ḥawqal); (f) an overall register of lands made to establish the basis of taxation *pro exercito* (Amīr ‘Abd Allāh, al-Turtūshī).

The second question is: have these statistics come down to us? And here we have to admit that we know only fragments of them. It should, nevertheless, be possible—with a reasonable margin of error and allowing for a degree of approximation—to *reconstruct* the amount of certain net receipts. The figures set out below stem from such a hypothetical reconstruction of total sums, carried out on the basis of such details of component sums as have come down to us. While they do not actually drift into the realm of “created and invented” statistics (as described by W. Kula), it must be admitted that the results obtained are far more speculative and problematical in their nature than is scientifically desirable. The difficulties of the undertaking are undoubtedly considerable; S. D. Goitein declared, bluntly, that “the study of prices ... let alone in Arabic literary sources is like attempting to solve an equation with four unknowns,”⁶ and this opinion is shared by W. Kula.⁷ Yet it seems preferable, in spite of everything, to follow the principle *meglio fare e pentirsi che stare e pentirsi* (“it is better to act and repent than to stand back and repent”) so dear to Machiavelli.

The data reproduced by geographers allows us, at the very most, to prepare embryonic lists, with names of products, regional specialities, a few large centres, etc.—data which, however useful it may be for giving us an idea of the diversification of production, cannot in any way be used to establish its volume. We must therefore adopt an approach other than the piling up of data which is in any case misleading because so many elements are lacking; an approach which allows us to reconstruct the overall picture. Since the fiscal system is based on the collection, by the State, of a percentage of production, it becomes possible to calculate the latter; it is merely necessary to have the following data available: the amount of tax paid, the means of imposing taxation and the official accounting procedures. This should provide us, *a priori*, with an approximate figure for the population,

the amount of agricultural production and the total volume of money corresponding to the annual budget.

V. Fiscal system

As far as the fiscal system is concerned, al-Andalus was a "classic" Muslim country, in that taxation was imposed on the basis of religious faith. As such, there was one kind of tax (*'ushr*) imposed with respect to the Muslim, and another, different one for the "protected" non-Muslim (*dhimmī*), this latter being divided into a poll tax (*jizya*) and a territorial tax (*kharāj*). Grafted on to this basic scheme were: (a) extracanonial levies made up of indirect taxes (*mukūs*, *ḍarā'ib*, *maghārim*, etc.), which affected the whole population; (b) payments for release (*fidā*) from military or other obligations (applying only to Muslims); and (c) the census tax (*ṭabl*, *ṭasq*), which had, in principle, to be paid only by the Muwallads, or neo-Muslims.⁸

This fiscal system employed different kinds of collector according to the object of the taxation and the individual liable. The tithe, or *'ushr*, levied in kind, was handed over to the *qābid*, or *'ashshār*. The *kharāj* and the *ṭabl*—after estimation of the *'ibra* by the *khāriṣ*—were levied in money by the agents of the *'āmil*. The *jizya* was gathered either by a tax collector or by the head of the local community (the bishop, or the *qūmis*).⁹ The indirect taxes were gathered by the *makkās* or *mutaqabbil*. Fiscal liability was either individual (for large properties, or *ḍay'as*) or collective (for members of village communities, or *qaryas*). These last represented the basic lower administrative unit. This description, summary though it is, will perhaps give an idea of the complexity of the Andalusi fiscal system and the variety of agents responsible for collection, and will make it clear that there had, by force of circumstances, to be several accounting procedures.

VI. Accounting procedures

Let us, before going any further, note the precise extent of the documentation preserved. The data reproduced by the geographers (al-Bakrī, al-'Udhri, Ibn Ḥawqal) or the historians (Ibn 'Idhārī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Maqqarī) all demonstrate the same particular characteristic, which forms a kind of common denominator: they are taken from works written by Muslims for Muslims, and are thus concerned only with subjects (*ra'āyā*) who are Muslims, exhibiting no data that does not affect their co-religionists. References found in a text to the *jibāyat al-Andalus* only, therefore, apply to Muslims; the authors have nothing whatever to say about *dhimmī* taxation. It would seem, then, that we must, for the latter, add the appropriate quantity (an extremely difficult one to evaluate) to the amount of the *jibāya*. If we fail to do so, we shall see only the total taxes paid by Muslims, not the true revenues of the Andalusi Umayyad State.

VII. *Basic data*

Al-ʿUdhri has preserved for us details of rural taxation (the number of *qaryas*, taxes in kind and taxes in money) for the province (*kūra*) of Córdoba around 206/822. Unfortunately, the list is incomplete due to the disappearance of the *iqlims* of Awliyya, al-Wādi and A... Maryam. The *Dhikr* gives the figure for the *qaryas* and that for the total fiscal revenues. Al-Maqqari has preserved the amount of taxation in kind and in money. Using the data provided by these authors and the geographer al-Bakrī, we shall attempt, through cross-checking and comparison, to define the characteristics of the *kūra* of Córdoba. Then, proceeding with the utmost caution (we are dealing with an exceptional province, in that its proximity and relationship to the capital made it islamised, large, taxed and superintended to an unusual degree), we shall attempt to calculate, by reference to the Cordoban receipts, what the overall Andalusi receipts might have been.

The statistics of al-ʿUdhri note 773 *qaryas* for the *kūra*.¹⁰ This figure must be supplemented by the list of the *Dhikr*, giving us a total of between 1,079 and 1,083. The *qaryas* are not all homogeneous. Some were subject to the *ʿushr* ($(1080 \times 560) : 773 = 782$). The figure for this *ʿushr* was 3,336 *mudis* of wheat and 4,734 of barley (making a total of 8,070 *mudis* of cereals) for the 12 *iqlims* noted by al-ʿUdhri. This would give, for the 15 *iqlims* of the province, cereal taxation of 11,275 *mudis*. Ibn Ghālib, in al-Maqqari, gives 4,600 m.¹¹ of wheat and 7,646 of barley, making a total of 12,246 to 12,600 m. There is thus a divergence of about one-tenth—by default—between our calculations and the results from the sources—a reasonable discrepancy, but one which emphasises the extreme prudence with which hypotheses must be advanced. This *wazīfa* in kind would represent a monetary value of 31,344.5 to 34,043 D., according to whether we base ourselves on our own calculations or on the figures given by al-Maqqari (which must correspond to the 53,000 m. and 73,000 m.—to be divided by 10—of al-Bakrī).

Al-ʿUdhri's statistics next note the monetary revenues:

— The *naḍḍ lil-ḥaṣḥd*, or discharge from military obligations (for Muslims) amounts to 21,267 D., which would suppose a sum of 29,713 D. for the province as a whole. This pecuniary substitution constitutes the *ḍarībat al-ḥuṣūd wa 'l-bu'ūth*, also known as *wazīfat al-naḥīr*.¹² It appears to have been established around 184/800 by the *amīr* al-Ḥakam, and to have been sufficiently burdensome for the *amīr* Muḥammad to make its suppression, in 238/852, his accession gift to the inhabitants of the capital. The economic importance of this "ransom" (*fidā'*) was considerable, involving probably something like the amount collected by means of the *ʿushr* and *ṭabl*.

— The *naḍḍ lil-ḥaṣḥd* is followed by the *ṭabl*, which amounts to 13,782 D., giving 19,255 D. for the province as a whole. This *ṭabl* is none other than the former territorial tax which the indigenous cultivator paid—a tax which received a new appellation on the owner's conversion to Islam without the

actual amount paid undergoing any change. It was thus the *kharāj* by another name¹³ and was a tax for neo-Muslims (Muwallads), while the *‘ushr* constituted the taxation proper of Arabo-Muslims.

The fiscal scheme of al-Andalus was therefore as follows: (a) The Arabo-Muslim paid only the *zakāt* / *‘ushr* on what he produced; (b) the *dhimmi* had to pay the *kharāj* (calculated according to cultivable land area) and the *jizya*; (c) the neo-Muslim ceased to pay the *jizya*, but continued, in al-Andalus, to make payment in respect of cultivable land area—a tax (*ṭabl*), the amount of which was identical to that of the former *kharāj*. It seems unlikely, in fact, that the fiscal authorities would expect the Muwallad to add commercial definition of his crop (so as to be able to hand over the *ṭabl ṭasq*) to the collection of the tithe on lands. This would suppose the incredible complexity of a measurement of fields, plus a calculation of the crop, carried out by two teams of agents belonging to different “administrations”. It seems equally hard, on social and political grounds, for the ideologico-juridico-fiscal change arising out of his conversion to be seen as representing anything more than a simple substitution of names: *kharāj* becoming *ṭabl* and *jizya* being transformed into *‘ushr*. It is probable, therefore, that the neo-Muslim assumed the moral duty of disbursing the *zakāt* (which he could fulfil through direct almsgiving to the poor and to travellers), but not the fiscal obligation to pay it—this situation, whereby discharge of the *zakāt* was entrusted to people’s good faith (*kāna ‘l-nās mu‘minīn ‘alā mā yu‘ṭūnahu min zakāt amwālihim ilā ‘l-masākīn*), being exactly that described by the *Tibyān* (p. 17) with respect to the end of the Caliphate.

The relative importance of the *ushr* and the *ṭabl* within a region would thus correspond to the relative importance of the properties in the hands of descendants of the conquerors or descendants of early converts (i.e., the heirs of Witiza, of the *comes* Fortun b. Casius, etc., whose conversion predated the land survey of al-Andalus carried out by al-Samḥ in 100/718-102/720), as against those owned by neo-Muslims. As such it provides an index for the extent and chronology of islamisation within a particular region. Unfortunately, we still lack numbers for the *dhimmis*.

The *ṣadaqa* is reckoned in terms of money—an abnormal procedure, since it was payable in kind. This may, however, reflect a conversion to money values subsequently carried out by the fiscal authorities for the creation of reserves, rather than the actual collection. This fiscal income amounts to only a tiny sum, which would indicate the small extent of animal husbandry in the province (or else the extreme fragmentation and dispersion of property).

The total revenues of the *kūra* come to 110,020 D. (Maqqarī), 112,000, 120,000, 142,000 D. (Bakrī), 133,023 D. (*Dhikr*). The sums collected in cash (50,955 D.) are very much lower than these figures, there being a “gap” ranging from 59,065 D. to 91,045 D., according to the overall figure taken. Such

a proportion (between 53.6% and 64%) is far too high to be taken as representing simple "supplementary entries" (*mukūs, maghārim*); clearly we are lacking one of the key elements of the Andalusī fiscal system.

This element can only be the *kharāj*, which is not reflected in our sources since it was levied on non-Muslims and could not therefore be included in the *jibāya*, but which would be included within the overall provincial revenues. If we attempt to relate the "gap" to the sums collected with respect to the *ṭabl*, we obtain a ratio between 3 and 4.7—a figure which (supposing, as posited above, an identical fiscal levy for lands subject to *ṭabl* and those subject to *kharāj*) would indicate that, in the province of Córdoba around 206/822 *dhimmī* properties were somewhere between three times and five times more numerous than those of the Muwallads.

To round off this summary of Cordoban taxation, let us note that, around 238/852, "Serbandus ... in centum milia solidos daris sibi postulavit a rege"—the *jizya* of the Christians.

VIII. Overall revenues of al-Andalus

There is no text available which has preserved the amount of the overall Andalusī yield. We are, therefore, obliged to *deduce* it, in the hope that errors arising from gaps in our information will not distort the results too much. We shall attempt, in other words, to move on from the non-existent to the theoretical and approximate.

The problem is the following one: if we know the revenue of a province, is an equation available through which we can obtain a coefficient of multiplication that will give the overall volume for al-Andalus? I believe it is. Let us therefore proceed to determine this coefficient. Al-ʿUdhri notes revenues in money from the provinces of Moron, Niebla, Siduna, Seville, Algeciras and Ilbira as totalling 250,802 D., whereas Córdoba paid 120,000 D. Thus the taxation from this province was equivalent to a little more than double that of another. The *Dhikr* records 13,950 *qaryas* for 11 *kūras*. Since al-Andalus was divided into 33 *kūras*,¹⁴ this will give $(33 : 11) \times (13,950 : 3,000) = 13.95$, following the enumeration of the *Dhikr*. If we follow al-ʿUdhri, on the other hand, we have $(33 : 6) \times (250,802 : 120,000) = 11.49$. Let us take the average of these coefficients, namely 12.72.

Basing ourselves on revenues of 120,000 D. for the Province of Córdoba, the Muslim Andalusī total will be $120,000 \times 12.72 = 1,526,400$ D.

Any attempt to posit the number of non-Muslims living in al-Andalus is extremely hazardous. They appear to have been especially densely concentrated in Córdoba, Málaga, Ilbira, Ronda, Cabra, Jaén, Moron, Carmona and Ecija, and, very probably, far more scattered in the Borderlands (*thughūr*). Proceeding with the most extreme prudence, and as a simple hypothesis, we may put forward a coefficient of 10 (it should be stressed that we are acting

solely on the basis of "impression" here). This will give $100,000 \times 10 = 1,000,000$ D. as the amount of *jizya* paid out by the *dhimmis* of the whole of al-Andalus.

IX. Net agricultural product

Agricultural production can be established only on the basis of calculating the amount collected with respect to the *'ushr*. The tariff for this was, as everyone knows, 5% for artificially irrigated lands and 10% on those which were not. Yet it is too often forgotten that there was a minimum rate payable (*niṣāb*) of 5 *wasq*—in other words $252.34 \times 5 = 1,261.7$ l., or the equivalent of $194.3 \times 5 = 971.5$ kgs. Thus all calculations based on the tithe necessarily "forget" small undertakings with a production below this quantity (which is sufficient for the annual consumption of 7 persons at 140 kgs. per head).

The revenues are recorded in *mudis*. From the palaeographic point of view, it is difficult to decide whether we should read *mudd* (which would be preferable from the point of view of *sharī'a*) or *mudī* (the measure normally used in al-Andalus). The *mudd nabawī* had a capacity of 1.05 l., or 0.812 kgs. The capacity of the *mudī*, on the other hand, poses serious problems on account of its extreme variability. Al-Nuwayrī makes it the equivalent of 2.5 *qafīz* of Qayrawān (504 kgs.), while for Ibn Ghālib it represented 12 *qafīz* and a weight of 8 *qinṭārs*. Since al-Saqāṭī gives the weight of the *qinṭār* as 100 *riṭls*, a *mudī* would represent between 368.6 and 384 kgs. (we shall return to this figure later).

Taking as our basis the collection of the *'ushr*, we can calculate the value of *Hispano-Muslim* cereal production (the *dhimmis* did not pay in kind). Let us use the figure of 7.5% as an average one between the rates payable on irrigated and non-irrigated lands, and regard wheat and barley as homologous. The Cordoban *waṣīfa* (the only one we know) is thus equivalent to 7.5% of the gross old-Muslim agricultural product, in other words $(12,446 \times 100) : 7.5 = 163,280$ m. This is a figure below the real one, to which we must add the appropriate figure for undertakings with a yield inferior to the *niṣāb*. It is also virtually certain (though not demonstrable) that property in mortmain (*waqf-ḥabīs*), that of State Lands (*ṣawāfī*, *ṣafāyā*), and that of the "private sphere" (*māl al-khāṣṣa*) were regarded as exempt from payment of the *'ushr*. Their economic importance was quite considerable, since the returns from the *mustakhlaṣ* (not counted in the *jibāya*) and from commercial transactions amounted to 765,000 D. at the time of al-Nāṣir. The multiplication of this volume by the coefficient proposed above gives $163,280 \times 12.72 = 2,076,921$ m. (between 768,453 and 797,539 tons)—a quantity sufficient to feed between 5,123,020 and 5,316,864 persons per year.¹⁵

The *kharāj* quota varied between 20% and 50% of the value of the crop (the lower figure will be adopted here). This allows us to estimate Muwallad

and *dhimmī* production. It could attain a maximum of (*ṭabl* + *kharāj*) : commercial value = 28,172 to 39,676 m. This would make, for Córdoba, a production of $(28,172 \text{ to } 39,676) \times 5 = 140,860 \text{ to } 198,381 \text{ m.}$ The volume for the whole of al-Andalus would be 12.72 times greater, amounting, therefore, to between 1,791,739 and 2,523,406 m. (between 674,000 and 950,000 tons), a quantity sufficient to feed between 4,500,000 and 6,333,000 persons. This supposes (between '*uṣhr*' lands and *kharāj* properties) the possibility of sustaining a population of around 10,600,000. This is, however, a theoretical maximum which takes no account of the need to reserve one-fifth of the crop for the following year's seed (and small expenses for repair and replacement of materials), plus one-sixth (average yield was 6 to 1) so as to be able to carry out the sowing and keep going for 24 months in the event of loss of the crop anticipated. It would seem, therefore, that the actual population cannot have exceeded 7,000,000.

X. Economic growth

The historical significance of this production should be stressed. Around 206/822 about half the area under cultivation in al-Andalus seems to have been made up of '*uṣhr*' lands; that is to say, they belonged either to those "collaborating" with the Occupation (the heirs of Witiza with their 3,000 properties, the descendants of the former Visigothic aristocracy, etc.) or to Arabo-Muslims of the first wave (the Syrians received no lands). There are several possible interpretations, all of them interlinked, to account for the fact that such a system of division of landed property could be established without provoking any notable reaction. The number of the new occupants was relatively low. The progress from the Visigothic to the Arabo-Muslim system was effected fairly smoothly, with a good proportion of people remaining in place and integrating into the new structures. The settlement of the invaders took place in a context of deep demographic recession and of contraction of the level of production. In such circumstances the former peasants, if they should in fact be dispossessed, could resettle without too much difficulty by undertaking tillage of some of the abundant uncultivated lands. In this respect the Berbero-Arab invasion checked the process of Visigothic decline and then set in train a new forward movement for agricultural production and the Hispanic economy.

Clearly a *jibāya* of 5,480,000 D. such as that attributed to al-Nāṣir by Ibn 'Idhārī 125 years later represents a considerable increase—3.6 times compared with fiscal revenues recorded at the time of al-Ḥakam I. Such a rise can only be accounted for by a growth in population (after 339/950 there are 3,000 Cordoban *qaryas* compared to 1,080 earlier) and a considerable increase in the amount of land under cultivation, with these two factors leading to a raising of overall production, and the whole situation occurring against a

background of economic and social acceleration and a more efficient system of taxation. Yet the really interesting thing is not so much the growth of fiscal revenue as the basis of taxation: between 206/822 and 339/950 al-Andalus underwent significant evolutionary change on the qualitative and quantitative level alike.

In fact the fiscal system of the 3rd/9th century involved, in decreasing order of importance, first agricultural taxes levied in kind, then "dispensations from military duties", and finally the *ṭabl*. Revenues under the Caliphate, though, were no longer so exclusively based on agriculture as under the Emirate. According to Ibn 'Idhārī, they derived first and foremost from "[income] from the provinces and from the villages", but to these had to be added "[income] from royal lands [*mustakhlaṣ*] and [taxes on] commercial transactions".¹⁶ And in fact this new factor, involving 765,000 D., amounted to one-seventh of the first-named in terms of revenue.

Let us now attempt to determine the importance of the *mustakhlaṣ*. If customs duties (which, according to Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, amounted to 100,000 D.) are taken as "commercial transactions", we are thinking of property (*khāṣṣ*) yielding 500,000 D.; this would be equivalent to the market value of 180,000 m. of cereals, i.e. 11.3% of the total produce from 'ushr lands in the Province of Córdoba. We are thus led to conclude that the *mustakhlaṣ* must have been very greatly enlarged if, in the 4th/10th century, it amounted to 150% of the *jibāya* of the *kūra* a century earlier. The accumulation of land as a result of acquisitions and "recoveries/confiscations" (*muṣādarāt*) was clearly of considerable proportions.

The description given by Ibn Ḥawqal¹⁷ serves to supplement the picture presented above, and bears witness to the existence of revenues known to al-'Udhri but not explicitly treated by him, and also to the appearance of new sources of taxation which had been either non-existent or regarded as negligible in the earlier period. Their existence, and, above all, the actual amount imposed, is an indication of the importance now assumed by commercially-based transactions, and also of the increased control exercised by the State with respect to the economy of the country. "... The resources [*marāfiq*] and tax revenues [*jibāyāt*] available [to the Andalusī caliph], the abundance of his treasures and goods. One indication of this abundant wealth is that annual payments for the right to mint money came to 200,000 D. To this we must add the *ṣadaqa* [on livestock] of the country, its taxes [*jibāyāt*], territorial levies [*kharājāt*], agricultural tithes [*a'shār*], proceeds from tax farming [*ḍamānāt*], tolls [*marāṣid*], levies on the individual [*jawālī*], customs duties [*amwāl*] gathered on merchandise imported or exported by sea, and rights over commercial sales [*rusūm al-buyū*]."

The socio-economic and political evolution of al-Andalus brought certain changes in its wake. Besides regions directly administered by the Caliphate (taxed on a *qarya* basis), there were others governed by local powers re-

cognising the hegemonic sovereignty of Córdoba. It is probably to the latter that Ibn 'Idhārī is referring when he speaks of *al-jibāya min al-kuwar*; this, for example, would be the status of the Upper Frontier. While the fiscal system did indeed continue to be based on agricultural production and the rearing of livestock, the amount derived from these must have increased considerably as a consequence of new land cleared for cultivation and improvements in farming techniques.¹⁸ The increase in agricultural production implies a proportional increase in the *zakāt*. On the other hand, the accelerating process of conversion within the indigenous population—under the caliphate of al-Nāṣir a little more than half the population was already Muslim—together with the emigration of local Christians,¹⁹ must have reduced collections of the *jizya-jawālī* by 50 to 60 per cent. It is symptomatic, in this respect, that the enumeration of Ibn Ḥawqal places them after proceeds from tax farming and tolls (which automatically implies their lesser importance relative to these) and just before customs duties—which amounted to only 100,000 D.—and rights over (urban) transactions, which must have been worth 150,000 D. The importance assumed by these commercial elements can be seen from the fact that the amount imposed was greater than that of the overall revenues for the Province of Córdoba around 206/822. There is, unfortunately, no evidence available as to the extent of taxes on the transit of merchandise (*marāṣid*).

XI. Monetary movement

Ibn Ḥawqal treated "the annual amount payable for the right of the Mint to strike money as the significant index of the wealth and opulence of the Cordoban Caliphate", and set it at 200,000 D. This was a considerable sum, equivalent to double the income derived from the customs of the time and to 166% of the revenue of the Cordoban *kūra* under the Emirate. The figure for this *ḍamān*, which must necessarily be lower than the overall figure anticipated by the tax farmer, will allow us to calculate the volume of money struck under the Caliphate and to deduce, from this, the total amount of taxation anticipated by the State.

The charge for minting was 1.75% for silver and 3% for gold, with a rate of 17 dirhams to 1 D.²⁰ The number of dirhams issued must have been around 20 times the number of dinars. The anticipated minting was thus greater than a figure from 6,666,666 to 11,428,571, according to the metal used in striking. There was obviously no need to mint this amount in order to collect 6,250,000 D.; the amount issued must be seen in relation to far greater fiscal revenues. Ibn Ḥawqal does indeed state that he has "heard from several collectors [*muḥaṣṣils*] worthy of belief and possessing an intimate knowledge of the taxes of the country and the [liquid assets] [*ḥāṣil*] of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad that this wealth, around the year 340/951, amounted to a little under 20,000,000 D". Let us attempt to establish the pre-

cise amount of this income, which seems to vary, between Ibn 'Idhārī's account and that of Ibn Ḥawqal, in the proportion of one to three.

The *Dhikr*, which postulates a continuity of fiscal resources throughout the Caliphate and the 'Āmirid dictatorship, states that "the taxes of Córdoba and its dependencies [*jibāyāt ... wa aḥwāzihā*] amounted to 3,000,000 D" (p. 27). If we suppose the taxation in the capital to have been equal to that of the provinces, we will have, as a figure for al-Andalus, $3,000,000 \times 6.36 = 19,000,000$ D. Various writers claim that the budget was divided into three, with one-third being destined for the army. It would seem, according to Ibn Ḥayyān,²¹ that military expenses could be in excess of 4,000,000 D. (giving us, therefore, a total of 12,000,000 D.), and that there were always supplementary sums. According to al-Maqqarī, "the emoluments of each vizier (there were always more than ten of them) amounted to 40,000 D. per year"²²—and viziers' salaries of 440,000 D. would equal 8% of the Andalusi *jibāya*. Such a disproportion is unacceptable, unless we accept the following:

(1) The *jibāya* represented only a fraction of the State's income. Such a notion—difficult to accept by our modern criteria for taxation—is supported by the following points: (a) al-'Udhri did not enter the *jizya* in the *jibāya*; (b) Ibn 'Idhārī noted the *mustakhlaṣ* and duties on commercial transactions in addition to the amount given for the *jibāya*; (c) for Ibn Ḥawqal the *jibāya* represented just one component out of nine within the taxation system under the Caliphate; (d) Ibn Ḥayyān,²³ writing of the situation under al-Manṣūr, states that "to the amount of taxes [*mablagh al-jibāya*] we must add [sums arising from] property where no one inherits, and proceeds from the sales of captives and spoils of war, proceeds from confiscations, and other similar [sources] which do not fit into normal [fiscal] categories [*mimmā lā yarjī'u ilā qānūn*]"²⁴ This effectively recognises the existence, on the edge of the official fiscal system regularly recorded and quoted, of another, parallel system which was ignored by *sharī'a* because it was "outside the law", and which was swept under the carpet in the official statistics.

This was undoubtedly the case with the 'Āmirid fiscal system, where the same text, which calculated its *jibāya* at 4,000,000 (73% of the "official" total for the Caliphate), omitted to mention the supplementary taxation levied for military purposes—a "voluntary" form of taxation which made the Andalusi fiscal load significantly heavier—for which we have the double testimony of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh and al-Ṭurtūshī. For all the self-justifying view of things put forward by the *amir* 'Abd Allāh, not only did the 'Āmirid dictatorship see a very clear increase in the burden of taxation imposed on the *ra'āyā* (subjects), but, also, it is clear that there was nothing spontaneous about what was paid. We are no longer dealing with some people electing for a voluntary "redemption" in respect of a fixed sum, but rather with a percentage of the produce of the lands of the whole population, designed to pay the army: "He levied a charge [*iqṭā'*] on them, and had all of people's pro-

perty entered in the fiscal registers [*ḥaṣṣala fī 'l-dawāwīn jamī' amwāl al-nās*]. Dividing up this [charge] among [those liable to pay], he fixed a rate appropriate for the maintenance of the army." This was, in plain language, a compulsory extension of the option to buy off one's military obligations, with the *naḍḍ lil-ḥushūd* now become a fixed source of income for the Treasury. And for all attempts to convince us that such income "was not related to landed property or profits [*min gayri uṣūlihīm wa lā iktisābihīm*]", it is perfectly clear that it represented the major source of revenue, since there was an army of Maghribi mercenaries to be paid, an army so numerous as to be thoroughly burdensome.²⁵ Thus, even when they speak of totals, authors are generally setting out only part of the sums collected by the Cordoban state.

(2) According to normal administrative procedure, the provinces, instead of sending the entire sum levied to the Treasury, settled initial local expenses by means of sums obtained on the spot and remitted the outstanding sum [*fā'id*] thereafter. A question therefore poses itself: do the amounts set out by the various authors correspond to the total sums levied, or only to the effective returns in the *khizānat al-māl*? Indeed, it seems physically impossible that al-Manṣūr, with an annual budget of a mere 4,000,000 D., and the constant drain on resources of expensive military campaigns, should have been able to construct (in two years) a palace for which the cost of materials amounted to 5,500,000 D. and from which 1,500,000 D. in coin was excavated²⁶—unless the sums embezzled by al-Nāṣir's officials, from a budget of 5,480,000 D., were so enormous that they led to a recovery/confiscation of 20,000,000 D. by al-Ḥakam II.²⁷

Let us, in the light of the points noted above, attempt to establish the volume of money in circulation. This should in principle correspond to the total amount of taxation, plus the quantity necessary to maintain continuous market operations, the appropriate sum in respect of imports and losses from destruction and breakage, and sums held and kept by individuals. We should also note that it was not necessary to mint the same quantity every year, for once the system had been set in motion, an amount equal to the internal expenses of the State would be returned to circulation (supplemented by the amount which individuals in need of liquidity caused to be minted). Since the State, in theory, held a third of its revenues in its coffers, it had to issue only a quantity equal to its savings, plus withdrawals due to imports, amounts saved by individuals, destruction, etc. The injection of new specie necessary to maintain a fluid economy did not need to exceed a third of fiscal revenues. These latter should have been around 18,000,000 D. annually²⁸, and we will take this sum as corresponding to the total amount collected by the Cordoban Caliphate. This gives us a gross revenue for the country as a whole of between 36,000,000 and 54,000,000 D. These figures, together with figures for size of population, will enable us to calculate the mean per capita income and the mean per capita fiscal charge.

XII. *Population*

Recent studies of the Hispano-Roman period tend to indicate a considerable fall in numbers as against the censuses of the Augustan era, which, by Beloch's estimates, gave a total of 60,000,000 inhabitants for the Empire as a whole and 7,000,000 for Hispania. Estimates for the population of the Iberian Peninsula around the year 700 now stand at between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000, while our calculations concerning the number of persons Andalusī agricultural production was probably capable of feeding around 206/822 gave a figure of about 7,000,000—which should be increased to accommodate production from gathering, hunting and fishing, rearing of live-stock and arboriculture (probably 10%), plus all those things which escaped taxation. This would give a population of between 7,000,000 and 7,700,000. The *Dhikr*, for the period 206/822-339/950 (a span of six generations), appears to indicate strong demographic growth, with the number of *qaryas* in the Province of Córdoba possibly tripling. Thus, the population of al-Andalus under the Caliphate will have exceeded 10,000,000. Let us attempt to verify the accuracy of these figures by other means.

In 300/913, the town of Evora contained 4,730 inhabitants, and thirty or so population centres of comparable importance may be identified under the Caliphate; this gives us $4,000 \times 30 = 120,000$. The archaeologico-demographic studies of L. Torres Balbás, based on urban perimeters and areas under habitation, have calculated the population of ten other towns at 310,000. The length of the walls of Córdoba was 10 miles according to al-Bakrī, 14 miles according to Ibn Ghālib and 15.83 miles according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, which would give population figures of 220,000, 294,000 and 330,000 respectively. The city had 21 outlying districts. Al-Bakrī (followed by the *Dhikr*) states that a census of the whole agglomeration [*wa bi-arbāḍihā*] ordered by al-Manṣūr showed 213,077 households of ordinary citizens (=852,308 inhabitants), plus 60,300 houses belonging to notables, officials and others. I myself will adopt, for Córdoba, the mean between these figures: $(850,000 + 220,000) : 2 = 500,000$ inhabitants approximately. The urban population of al-Andalus would, therefore, be $120,000 + 310,000 + 500,000 = 930,000$. Taking a proportion of ten rural dwellers for one urban dweller, the rural population would be 9,300,000 and the population of al-Andalus $9,300,000 + 930,000 = 10,230,000$.

XIII. *Mean fiscal charge*

The fiscal charge per head of family or household (not per capita) may be obtained by dividing the total charge by the number of those liable to payment—the latter being itself derived by dividing the population figure by that of the number of persons making up the household, which may be assessed at between four and five. For between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 taxpayers, then, we have a per capita levy of between 9 and 11.25 D. In the

knowledge that the earnings of a worker varied between 1 and 1.5 d. per day (20.6 to 31 D.) and those of a military colonist were 2 D. monthly, this will give us, according to the figure taken for number of taxpayers, percentages varying between 45.7% and 54.6% in the first case, and between 29% and 36.3% in the second.

XIV. *Mean income*

Working still on a household basis, the mean income may be derived through dividing the total amount coming in²⁹ by the number of taxpayers. According then, to the values assigned to these:

- (1) The State collects half the product of the taxpayer's work, giving us figures of $36,000,000 : 2,000,000 = 18$ D., or $36,000,000 : 2,500,000 = 14.4$ D.
- (2) The State gathers in only a third of the product of the taxpayers' work, i.e. $54,000,000 : 2,000,000 = 27$ D., or $54,000,000 : 2,500,000 = 21.6$ D.

This gives us sums ranging from 14.4 D. to 27 D., figures which do in fact correspond to data given by al-Saqāfi and al-Maqqārī on workers' earnings.

Conclusion

For purposes of conclusion—and of verification—it is sufficient to re-read the travellers' impressions and geographers' descriptions so beautifully summarised by Ibn Ḥawqal: "The cities vie with one another in their situations, and by [the amount of] their taxes and their incomes ... There is no town which is not well populated and surrounded by a huge rural district, by a whole province rather, with numerous villages and labourers living in prosperity, owning large and small livestock, good equipment, beasts of burden and fields... The price of goods is pretty much that of a region with a good reputation for commerce, prosperous and rich in resources, where life is easy ..." ³⁰

For the inhabitants of the Christian kingdoms in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, al-Andalus represented a kind of El Dorado, or Promised Land. Very soon these feelings gave birth to predatory, covetous ones, which became so widespread as to give rise to a policy of systematic oppression geared to economic ends. The subsequent conquest and exploitation of al-Andalus was the avowed aim of the upper classes of Hispano-Christian society, which, rather than developing its own internal resources, preferred to bend all its efforts to a "protection/extortion" policy towards its neighbours, aiming, essentially, at obtaining *botín y las parias*. If we really wish to understand the importance and wealth of al-Andalus, we must remember that its economy was self-sufficient and enjoyed continuous growth over three centuries. For 75 years from 400/1009 al-Andalus was also capable of sustaining and (involuntarily) financing the development of another, external

and parasitical social entity: the Christian kingdoms of the North. It would be difficult to provide a better indication of the economic situation and importance of al-Andalus from its establishment up to the Almoravids' seizure of power.³¹

¹ See M. Rodinson, "Histoire économique et histoire des classes sociales dans le monde musulman", in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, Oxford, 1970.

² "Über das Wirtschaftsleben auf der Iberischen Halbinsel vom XI zum XIII Jahrhundert", *Romana Helvetica*, 22, 1943, pp. 1-185.

³ *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, III, 233-324.

⁴ See P. Chalmeta, "Sources pour l'histoire socio-économique d'al-Andalus: essai de systématisation et de bibliographie", *Annales Islamologiques*, 20, 1984, pp. 1-14.

⁵ See P. Chalmeta, "Al-Andalus: société féodale?", in *Le cuisinier et le philosophe. Hommage à Maxime Rodinson*, Paris, 1982; "La sociedad andalusí", in *Historia General de España y América*, III, Madrid, 1988.

⁶ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Berkeley, 1967, I, 217.

⁷ *Problemas y métodos de la historia económica*, Barcelona, 1973, p. 271.

⁸ See P. Chalmeta, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, s. v.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ M. Barceló, "Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del emirato omeya de Córdoba (138-300/755-912) y del califato (300-366/912-976)", *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 1984-85, was the first to provide an extended analysis of this. Even so, his conclusions will not be totally followed here.

¹¹ This should probably read 5,427-5,517, following the figures of al-'Udhri and al-Bakri.

¹² Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, Vol. II, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, 1951, p. 109; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas min anba' ahl al-Andalus*, Vol. II, ed. M. 'A. Makki, Beirut, 1973, p. 271.

¹³ P. Chalmeta, "Au sujet du *ṭabl'*", in preparation.

¹⁴ J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana*, Madrid, 1986.

¹⁵ This supposes an average ration of 150 kg. per person—a quantity which must exceed the real one, since the Muslim diet, although cereal-based, involved heavy consumption of fresh and dried vegetables, greenstuff, fresh and dried fruit and olive oil. This diet is confirmed by the taunts, criticisms and descriptions of the Christians with respect to Mudejar and Morisco foodstuffs. To give an example, in 324/936, the provisions sent by al-Nāṣir to Mūsā b. Abi 'l-Āfiya comprised 1,000 m. of wheat and barley, 50 m. of beans, 10 of chick peas, 300 *qafiz* of figs, 30 *qists* of honey, 30 of *samn* and 100 of oil (*Muqtabas*, V, 263). Non-cereal items form around 19% of the total, with a very high calorific value.

¹⁶ *Bayān*, II, 231-32.

¹⁷ *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938, I, 108.

¹⁸ L. Bolens, *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Age*, Geneva, 1981.

¹⁹ Chalmeta, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, s. v. "Mozarabe".

²⁰ P. Chalmeta, "El dirham *arba'inī*, *dukh*, *Qurṭubī*, *Andalusī*: su valor", *Acta Numismática*, 1986; "Monnaie réelle, monnaie fiscale, monnaie de compte", *Annales Islamologiques*, 1980.

²¹ *Apud* Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl al-a'lām fī man būyi'a qabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut, 1956 p. 98.

²² *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, I, 356.

²³ *Apud* Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, p. 98.

²⁴ This passage should be considered in conjunction with one in Ibn Sā'id (see al-Maqqari, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, I, 146), which is grammatically incorrect, but whose sense is clear: "in the past the sum of taxes levied annually by the Umayyads, in the normal run of things [*qawānīn*], was 300,000 dinars of Andalusī dirhams."

²⁵ According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, p. 99, it amounted to 46,000 horsemen and 26,000 foot-soldiers.

²⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, III, 61; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, p. 111.

²⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, I, 112.

²⁸ See above, pp. 13-14.

²⁹ See above, p. 15.

³⁰ *Šūrat al-arḍ*, I, 114-16.

³¹ P. Chalmeta, "Murābiḥūn", in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

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MUSLIM MERCHANTS IN ANDALUSĪ INTERNATIONAL TRADE

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During the medieval period, the cities of Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) were important economic centres for merchants and commodities from all regions of the Mediterranean world. They provided markets where Andalusī and foreign merchants could transact the business of long-distance, or “international”, trade. Throughout most of the period of Muslim rule, from the central Umayyad period, in the 4th/10th century, until the main victories of the Christian *reconquista* in the middle of the 7th/13th century, Andalusī commerce remained closely tied to other regions of the Islamic Mediterranean. Goods and merchants moved freely along the land- and sea-routes linking Andalusī markets to those of the Maghrib and the Near East.

Cities such as Almería, Seville and Málaga functioned as commercial clearing-houses where imports and exports were handled by Muslim, Jewish and Christian traders. An Andalusī Muslim trader might have purchased indigo, wool or grain from a North African colleague, and sold Spanish silk, timber or singing girls (captured from the Christian north) in return. Likewise, a Jewish trader from Egypt might have arrived with a cargo of flax, pearls and brazilwood (a red dye), with perhaps a packet of eastern medicines as a gift for his Spanish partner’s family; on the homeward journey, he may have carried Andalusī saffron, qirmiz (another red dye) and paper back to Alexandria. By the 7th/13th century, Italian merchants came to trade in Andalusī markets, seeking local products such as Cordoban leather, textiles, ceramics and olive oil.

The organisation of the merchant population into religious groupings reflected the composition of Andalusī society as a whole. Significant changes are evident in the relative status of these three merchant groups, and commercial shifts went hand in hand with more general political and social changes in the balance of power in medieval Iberia. During the years of Muslim hegemony, the Muslim merchants formed the dominant group—economically, politically and socially—in Andalusī trade. At the same time, however, Jewish traders from Spain and the eastern Mediterranean were also an important element in the Andalusī commercial world. This situation had changed by the middle of the 7th/13th century, when much of the Iberian Peninsula became part of the Christian political and commercial sphere. Whereas Iberian international trade had once been controlled by Muslim and Jewish traders, economic power now shifted into the hands of Christian merchants.

Information on the activities of Muslim merchants in Andalusī international trade is scarce, in part because these businessmen were rarely of sufficient importance to merit inclusion in chronicles and most other non-economic sources. Nevertheless, existing documentation provides information on two fronts. First, the sources tell something about the different types of Muslim trader active in Andalusī commerce, in terms both of their professional operations and of their group affiliations. Second, and more important to this paper, the distribution of references to Muslim merchants suggests clear chronological patterns, even if the limited availability of information indicates the need for caution in making quantitative estimates for any given period. It is particularly striking that references to Muslim merchants engaged in long-distance trade become rare after the shift from Muslim to Christian rule in the south of Spain. While it is possible that their activities continued in the later 7th/13th century, Muslim merchants no longer appear in the sources of that time, when they would have been in competition with increasingly powerful Christian merchants who had the advantage of support from the new Christian rulers.

Among the materials that are available to document Muslim trade, Arabic biographical dictionaries (*tarājim*) provide valuable data on Muslim merchants working in al-Andalus during the Islamic period. However, these books focus on a single type of businessman, namely the merchant-scholar. Since biographical records were concerned with scholarly rather than commercial credentials, they provide details on names, dates and itineraries, but give little information on trade specialisation, associates or social class.¹ Other Arabic sources, including handbooks for market inspectors (*ḥisba* manuals) and collections of legal opinions (*fatwas*), also yield scattered information, as do geographies, travel narratives and other literary materials. Some further details of Muslim mercantile activities can also be gleaned, though sometimes only through extrapolation, from non-Islamic sources such as the Judaeo-Arabic letters from the Cairo *Geniza* and Latin Christian documents.

According to the sources, several different types of merchant were active in medieval Andalusī trade, and these men were differentiated by their business activities as well as by their religious and regional affiliations. The focus here is on long-distance traders, the "international" merchants who travelled and carried goods between Andalusī markets and other regions of the Mediterranean world and who maintained a far-flung network of business communications and partnership ties.² These international traders cannot be studied in isolation, however, since every merchant in Andalusī trade must have had dealings with other types of merchant. A sedentary importer, for example, would have acquired goods through a travelling partner (either in a long-term arrangement or for an individual commercial voyage), while in-

ternational traders needed to maintain relations with local merchants (probably wholesalers) in order to buy and sell their wares in particular markets.

International traders were described as *tujjār* (sing. *tājir*), which is the most common Arabic term for a merchant. The word could signify men engaged in a variety of commercial dealings, including simple local trade, but it most frequently applied to merchants involved in large-scale, long-distance commerce. In one description of different merchant types in the medieval Islamic world, the eastern writer Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī cited three basic categories of *tujjār*. His first category was the *khazzān*, or stapler, a sedentary merchant who stocked goods when their price was low for later resale when the price rose. Next came the *rakkād*, who travelled on business for himself or in the employ of a third variety of merchant, the *mujahhiz*, a sedentary importer/exporter.³ Of the three, the *mujahhiz* seems to have operated on the largest scale, frequently acting as the central organiser for a wide network of travelling and sedentary partners abroad.

Most data on Muslim merchants active in Andalusī international commerce describes men conforming to the category of the *rakkād*, or travelling merchant. However, this picture is distorted because it was often the very fact of their travels that earned these traders a place in the historical record. It is likely that the travelling merchants mentioned in the documents operated within a larger Andalusī mercantile network roughly following the pattern of al-Dimashqī's description.⁴

Mercantile interaction and partnerships did not mean that the businessmen trading to and from al-Andalus formed an open community. On the contrary, by their choice of associates the merchants separated themselves into groups based on geographical origin and, more importantly, on religion. The ties of allegiance and identity apparent in the merchant community were in line with more general trends in Andalusī society, since economic collaboration often grew out of social and religious collaboration. To some degree, it appears that Andalusis—merchants and otherwise—were bound together by their common geographical identity.⁵ Nevertheless, strong divisive forces were also present in Andalusī society. While there may have been a bond of Andalusī affiliation, religious and ethnic diversity tended to override any regional identity.

One example of this tendency can be found in a letter written by Moses Maimonides cautioning his son Abraham to beware of strangers on his travels and not to "befriend intimately any group except our own loving brethren of Spain, who are known as Andalusians". By this, Maimonides intended that Abraham should be friendly with Andalusī Jews, not necessarily with Andalusī Muslims or Christians.⁶ It is probable that Muslim Andalusis subscribed to similar sentiments. Thus, although geographical origin was important, causing merchants and other travellers to seek out the company of their compatriots, they particularly identified themselves with their own religious communities.

This pattern of religious segregation was true of society throughout the Islamic world, and shows up clearly in the differentiation of sources. It is rare, for instance, to find a genre or individual source which contains general information on merchants of different religions. Further evidence for religious segregation is provided by data on routes of travel and commodity specialisation.⁷ Christian shipping routes were not necessarily the same as those followed by Muslims and Jews. In general, Christian merchant ships tended to prefer routes along the northern Mediterranean littoral, bordering Christian territories, while merchants from the *dār al-Islām* favoured more southerly itineraries.⁸ Nor did merchant groups carry identical cargos, although most medieval merchants dealt in a wide spectrum of goods. For example, both Christians and Muslims—but not Jews—traded in timber, even in the face of religious prohibitions against trading shipping materials to “the enemy”. Similarly, merchants did not sell or transport slaves of their own religion: Muslims bought and sold Christian slaves, while Christians did the same with Muslims.

Separate identification on the grounds of religion and geographical origin remained the norm, in spite of strongly similar traits that inevitably existed between the individual merchant groups. Businessmen of different religions certainly had contact with one another, particularly in exchanging commercial information, acquiring goods and organising marine transportation. Likewise, these merchants engaged in individual commercial transactions, but they never—or very rarely—formed lasting interfaith partnerships. By and large, they preferred commercial dealings and partnerships with their co-religionists.

Thus, Muslim merchants active in Andalusī commerce formed a distinct, though not an isolated or homogeneous, group. Sources show that these men pursued a variety of commercial interests and traded in many different goods, including textiles, foodstuffs, spices, precious stones, furs, animals, books and slaves. Some travelled to and from al-Andalus as merchant-scholars, while others came for more exclusively commercial purposes. Some merchants were of Iberian origin, seeking economic and spiritual gains abroad, while others arrived in Andalusī markets from homelands in North Africa and the Near East. Overall, however, the Muslim merchant population in Islamic Spain followed a common chronological pattern of success and decline over the period from the late 3rd/9th to the middle of the 7th/13th centuries.

The documentation on Muslim merchants shows commercial traffic between al-Andalus and other regions of the *dār al-Islām* for most of this period, although there may have been some fluctuation in merchant business under different Muslim regimes. Differences also appear, at times, between the activities of Andalusis and non-Andalusis. Both of these perceived trends, however, may result from the nature of the source materials. In contrast, the

sudden drop in data after about 650/1250 is much more striking and potentially informative.

Arabic sources show that the final century of Umayyad rule in Córdoba was a fertile period for mercantile activity. During the 4th/10th century, the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal referred to Andalusis trading in Tabarca and noted a Spanish merchant colony in Tripoli.⁹ By 361/972, the historian al-Rāzī had noted another Muslim merchant, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, plying similar routes between al-Andalus and Ifrīqiya.¹⁰ At about the same time, Andalusī merchants were trading with the eastern Mediterranean, and a large merchant ship is known to have been dispatched to Egypt in 344/955 and to have returned to Spain from Alexandria loaded with goods.¹¹

Muslim Spanish merchants also travelled farther afield—even if only in legend. According to one 4th/10th-century tale, a ship sailing from Sirāf with “a crowd of merchants ... from every country” foundered in the China Sea and was brought to safety through the wisdom of “an old Muslim from Cádiz”.¹² Indeed, history could match imagination, as in the case of a merchant-scholar, Abū Muḥammad b. Mu‘āwiya al-Marwānī, who left his native Córdoba to go eastward on pilgrimage in 295/908. Having completed the *ḥājj*, he travelled on commercial business to Baghdad, Kufa, Basra and India, whence, after amassing 30,000 dinars, he set out for home with his profits, only to be shipwrecked in the Indian Ocean or Red Sea. After thirty years he returned, penniless, to teach in Córdoba.¹³

Compilers of biographical dictionaries, including Ibn al-Faraḍī, al-Ḍabbī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn al-Abbār, mentioned several Cordoban merchant-scholars who traded in the Mashriq during the late 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century. Of these, two traders lived during the 3rd/9th century, and the rest were active in the mid-to-late 300s/900s. Two of the latter died in 378/988, after travelling extensively in Syria, Egypt and Iraq, and a couple of their close contemporaries (both dying near the turn of the Christian millennium) traded less widely in Egypt and the Near East.¹⁴ As with many figures in Islamic history, the best-known facts about Andalusī Muslim merchants are their deaths—which are recorded in their biographies and occasionally on their tombstones. Among two hundred and fifty epitaphs inscribed on Muslim tombs in Qayrawān, only five of the dead were noted as being Andalusis. One merchant, who died in 249/862, is found among them.¹⁵

Biographical dictionaries include only a few references to eastern merchants arriving in Islamic Spain at this period. Ibn al-Abbār noted one early merchant, Muḥammad b. Mūsā (d. 273/886), who worked in al-Andalus. Later, Ibn al-Faraḍī mentioned a 4th/10th-century trader from Ceuta who, after wide travels through the Maghrib and Mashriq, lived for a period on the Andalusī frontier as a merchant and soldier.¹⁶ Likewise, Ibn Bashkuwāl cited a Baghdadi merchant-scholar who arrived in al-Andalus in 356/966 and two more who came from Egypt and Qayrawān early in the next century.

The latter scholar was particularly known for his excellent grasp of commercial matters (*kāna min ahl ... al-nafādh fi ummūr al-tijāra*).¹⁷

Ordinary merchants also arrived from the East to trade in the markets of Umayyad Spain, even during periods of political tension between the Umayyads and other Islamic rulers. Writing during the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III (300/912-350/961), the Jewish official Ḥasday b. Shaprūt extolled the natural wealth of Spain, and listed the merchants who flocked to the Peninsula for trade. Among these, he particularly noted Egyptians (who brought perfumes, precious stones and other luxuries) and the "merchant-envoys of *Khurāsān*".¹⁸ At about the same time, Ismā'ilis were also coming to Spain to spread Shi'ism, although according to the 5th/11th-century Cordoban jurist, Ibn Sahl (d. 486/1093), they hid "their true purpose under the pretext of legitimate activities such as commerce, or science, or itinerant Sufism..."¹⁹ Towards the end of the Umayyad period, under the *hājib* al-Muẓaffar (392/1002-398/1007), Ibn Ḥayyān also recorded the appearance in Spain of foreign merchants from Egypt, Iraq and elsewhere.²⁰

During the 5th/11th century, it is not uncommon to find evidence of Muslim Spanish businessmen involved in commerce with Maghribi ports, as well as with more distant destinations.²¹ The geographer al-Bakrī mentioned the presence of Andalusī traders in al-Mahdiyya, and provided detailed and varied itineraries for their maritime crossings of the channel between North Africa and al-Andalus.²² Many other more general indications of Andalusī commerce with the Maghrib also exist, both in legal documents and in geographical descriptions of this period. We often learn in passing of travelling merchants when their absence caused family members or acquaintances to take cases to court. Ibn Sahl recorded several suits of this type. In one, dated 458/1066, a merchant was seeking a partner missing in Fez. A later *fatwā*, collected by al-Wansharīsī, concerned the case of a servant girl in Granada whose merchant master had been long absent in Tunis.²³

The number of references to native Andalusī merchant-scholars travelling abroad decreased during the *ṭā'ifa* and Almoravid regimes, even in biographical works largely devoted to scholars living in these periods. Ibn al-Abbār noted a Cordoban merchant who died in Valencia in 419/1028, and Ibn Bashkuwāl cited two further Andalusī merchant-scholars, both from Seville, who were active in the early 5th/11th century. One, clearly of Arab origin (bearing the name al-Qaysī), was reported to have "wandered for a time through the lands of Ifriqiya and al-Andalus, searching for knowledge and trading" before his death in 424/1033. The other Sevillian, possibly of Berber heritage, also traded in Ifriqiya.²⁴

In contrast to this paucity of references to Andalusī merchant-scholars travelling eastward in the early 5th/11th century, there is a relative abundance of biographical information on merchant-scholars arriving in Islamic Spain between the years 414/1023 and 432/1041. Ibn Bashkuwāl recorded

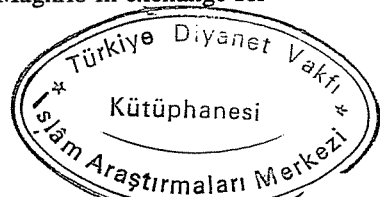
the names of twenty-two merchant-scholars active during this short period (while he noted only two further foreign merchants for the century following). The Muslim traders whom he cited came from all over the Islamic World. A few had origins as far away as Yemen and Iraq, some came from North Africa, while the majority had travelled to Spain from Syria and Egypt.²⁵

The time frame is intriguing, because these twenty years span the gap between the final years of the Umayyad dynasty and the emergence of the early *īā'ifa* states, an era thought to have been troubled by unrest and civil war. One would expect to see a decrease in merchant activity in this period, as is suggested by the data on native Andalusī traders.²⁶ In contrast, although the sample is small, *tarājim* references indicate that foreign merchants continued to arrive in Andalusī markets during this period of political turmoil and weak government control in Islamic Spain.

After this brief heyday of abundant references, biographical information on eastern merchant-scholars suddenly becomes scarce after the middle of the 5th/11th century. As noted above, Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl cited only two more examples, a Syrian trader and a Baghdadi, who came to Spain in 466/1073-4 and 483/1090 respectively, and Ibn al-Abbār remarked on a merchant-scholar from Qal'at Banī Ḥammād who visited al-Andalus, then died in Fez in 567/1172.²⁷ Information on Andalusī scholars shows a similar trend. Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl recorded only one 6th/12th-century merchant, who lived in Almería until his death in 531/1136, while Ibn al-Abbār mentioned a single merchant from Denia who died in 547/1152.²⁸

This apparent decrease in the activities of merchant-scholars should probably be attributed to non-commercial causes—perhaps the arrival in Spain of the Almoravids and Almohads—since it was not reflected in sources pertaining to the rest of the merchant population. Outside the sphere of the *tarājim*, a *fatwā* recorded by the jurist al-Māzārī (d. 536/1141) concerned a Maghribi merchant selling goods in Spain earlier in the century, and *Geniza* letters from 1138 and 1140 reported that Muslim merchants had arrived in Spain from Alexandria and Libya.²⁹ Three epitaphs from Almería, dated 519/1125, 527/1133, and 540/1145, also attest to the mercantile presence in the first half of the 6th/12th century. Their accompanying Quranic quotations show that the deceased were all Muslim, and one was certainly of Spanish origin, as shown by his *nisba*, al-Shātibi (from Játiva). Another, named Ibn Ḥalīf, was a merchant from Alexandria who presumably died in Spain while on a voyage.³⁰

Information on Andalusī Muslim merchant activity increases slightly in the Almohad period, which began in the middle of the 6th/12th century and continued into the 7th/13th century. The geographer al-Idrisī reported that Andalusis were trading with Salé and other Moroccan ports around 550 A. H. (the 1150s A. D.), bringing Andalusī oil to the Maghrib in exchange for



local grain. Meanwhile, merchants from western Muslim lands, including al-Andalus, were seen in the markets of Alexandria by the Spanish Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela in about 560/1165.³¹ Perhaps one of these Andalusis was the merchant-scholar Aḥmad b. Marwān who, according to the biographer al-Silafī, travelled to Alexandria, Isfahan, and Iraq at roughly this period.³² Ibn al-Abbār provided information on five more merchant-scholars, all probably of Andalusī Arab heritage, who died between 580/1184 and 642/1245.³³ Eastern traffic with Spain also continued to operate through the 6th/12th century, as indicated by al-Shaḡundī (writing 595/1199-609/1212) when he casually mentioned Muslim commercial shipping in Málaga.³⁴ Somewhat later, we learn in passing of another merchant, the brother of a Murcian scholar Abū 'l-Abbās, who travelled to the East on pilgrimage with his family in 640/1242. Shipwrecked off Bône, only Abū 'l-Abbās himself and his elder brother, the merchant, survived from the family. The brothers went to Tunisia, where the older one continued to work in commerce, and the younger opened a Quran school.³⁵

Thus far, we have looked at Muslim traders trafficking within the borders of the *dār al-Islām*, but Muslim merchants from al-Andalus also traded with the Christian Spanish kingdoms to the north. In this respect, Andalusī merchants differed from their eastern counterparts. Given the common border between Islamic and Christian Spain, the opportunities for Muslim Spanish merchants to trade in Christian lands were greater than in most other areas of the Islamic World. Despite Muslim religious sanctions against commercial traffic to non-Muslim lands, northern Spanish sources show Muslim Andalusī merchants trading in Christian markets during the 5th/11th, 6th/12th, and early 7th/13th centuries.³⁶

A number of 12th-century Castilian and Aragonese town charters (*fueros*) included tariff lists that cited people and goods coming "from the land of the Moors". The 1166 Fuero of Evora, for example, listed "Christian, Jewish, as well as Moorish, merchants and travellers" among those people affected by its rulings.³⁷ Likewise, another late 12th-century *fuero*, from Santa María de Cortes, promised that "free Saracens will be secure if they come to this town for the purpose of trading in animals".³⁸ In the next century, the 1231 *fuero* of Cáceres permitted Christians, Jews and Muslims to come to an annual fair, whether from Christian or Muslim territories.³⁹

Little is known of Muslim Spanish trading ventures north of the Pyrenees. Probably most of Christian Europe lay outside of the direct Andalusī Muslim trading sphere during the medieval period. This apparent lack of interest in commercial expeditions to Europe fits into more general patterns of Islamic commerce. It was characteristic throughout the medieval Mediterranean world to find Jews and Christians trading freely with all regions, whereas Muslim merchants generally restricted their sphere of ope-

ration to the *dār al-Islām*. For some reason, Muslim traffic with Christian Spain appears to have been an exception to this rule.

The lack of data on Muslim merchants after the middle of the 7th/13th century does not necessarily indicate their absence from Andalusí markets. Nevertheless, the concurrent appearance of Christian mercantile traffic in the region when important port cities came under Christian political control strongly suggests that the earlier mercantile hierarchy had been overturned. Although some of the most important Andalusí ports, notably Almería and Málaga, remained in Muslim hands for another two and a half centuries, much of the western Mediterranean, including the strategic Balearic channel and the Straits of Gibraltar, was now patrolled by Christian shipping. At the same time, Ferdinand III of Castile and James I of Aragon granted special concessions to Christian merchants operating within their domains. These privileges extended not only to their own subjects, but often to foreign merchants as well. The Genoese, for example, were awarded extensive liberties in the newly-Christian regions of southern Castile, and in 1264 Alfonso X of Castile went so far as to put a Genoese admiral in command of his kingdom's navy.

Thus, the relative power and prominence of different merchant groups in Andalusí commerce underwent a distinct change between the 4th/10th and the 7th/13th centuries. During the Umayyad, *ṭāʾifa*, Almoravid and Almohad periods, Andalusí international trade was dominated by Muslim and Jewish merchants, both from Spain and from other regions of the Islamic world. These men travelled between east and west either overland or by southern Mediterranean shipping routes, and they often maintained close commercial networks with their co-religionists throughout the Maghrib and the Near East.

While Muslim rule remained firm in al-Andalus, the southern Spanish markets in which these Jewish and Muslim merchants traded functioned as international emporia, handling a wide range of goods from all over the Mediterranean world and beyond. Through the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century, al-Andalus played the role of a mediator and distributor in western Mediterranean trade. Merchants brought goods from the East (such as textiles, indigo, pepper and other spices) to Muslim Spain for local sale and redistribution to the Christian north; they carried away Andalusí products (silk, saffron, olive oil, leather, dye-stuffs and other items) and goods of more northerly origin (mainly furs and slaves) which had come south into Andalusí markets.

Thus, a 5th/11th century merchant might have arrived in Almería from Cairo or Tunis, bringing a cargo containing cinnamon, pearls, wheat or flax. Having sold these goods, he would return eastward, taking a load of—perhaps—raw silk, cumin, paper and coral (all products of the western Mediterranean). Since merchants rarely specialised in particular goods, it is likely

that this merchant's Spanish purchases were dictated by his perception of favourable prices and his knowledge of demand for these items elsewhere. The goods which he had brought from the East and sold in Almería may have been disposed of locally, or they may have been traded (or sent as tribute) to Christian Spain, or shipped further on to markets in southern France or Italy.

This commercial situation began to change in the middle of the 6th/12th century, when increasing numbers of Christian merchants began to enter the Andalusī trading sphere. These traders came to dominate western Mediterranean commercial routes by the early 7th/13th century. With the expansion of Christian naval power in the era of the Crusades, Christian shipping acquired a monopoly over the safest and fastest Mediterranean routes (those running along the northern shores). References to Muslim merchants in Andalusī trade decline in this period, so that by the later 7th/13th century Iberian international trade seems to have been largely in the hands of a new set of merchants. In Naşrid Granada and southern Castile, Genoese traders controlled most commercial activity. In northern Castile a nascent Castilian merchant class dominated trade through Atlantic ports. At the same time, Catalan merchants were building a Mediterranean trading empire to rival that of the Italians.⁴⁰

The development of Christian sea routes and shipping in the later 6th/12th century lent support to rapidly growing southern European ports and to their merchant communities. New routes also began to spring up between Italy and North Africa, and with them, the southern Iberian coast lost its preeminence as a shipping channel linking the markets of the northern and southern Mediterranean. In consequence, by the 7th/13th century, Andalusī ports had ceased to be distribution points for goods travelling between the eastern and western Islamic world, or between the markets of the northern and southern Mediterranean. In their place, Genoa and other Christian cities took over as the new international emporia and entrepôts. The same goods which might once have come to southern Europe by way of Andalusī markets, now began to come to Spain on Italian ships.

By the 7th/13th century, we begin to see changes in the commodities of western Mediterranean trade, including those coming to and from southern Spanish ports. The appearance of new goods in Andalusī markets, together with the southward progress of the Christian *reconquista*, effected the internal Andalusī economy. For instance, cloth from the nascent textile industries of the Low Countries, Italy and France began to be sold in the Mediterranean world, and must have had an effect on Spanish textile production. During this period, there were dramatic changes in Iberian commercial industries, and a decline in production of some of the region's staple exports. Earlier, al-Andalus had been an important source of raw silk and woven silk textiles to Mediterranean trade, and silk cultivation and weaving had been

the dominant industry in many of the towns and rural areas along the southern Andalusī coast. In contrast, Christian Spain (particularly Castile) began producing wool in the late 13th century, so that, by 1350, the Peninsula competed with England in exporting wool for European looms. Meanwhile silk production dropped sharply, and Spanish silk was replaced by Italian silk in Mediterranean markets. At the same time, other new Iberian exports—including iron and alum—also appeared on the scene, replacing earlier Andalusī products such as copper. In only a few instances, as with Cordoban leather and Játiva paper, was continuity of production and export maintained through the transition from Muslim to Christian rule. It is noteworthy that these particular items—leather and paper—were not faced with the same kind of external competition as in other industries.

The role of Iberian markets changed in the 7th/13th century, just as the merchant population had changed. By the time Spanish trade was in the control of Christian merchants, the Peninsula had lost the commercial importance which it had enjoyed in earlier times. Once, at the edge of the Islamic West, al-Andalus had played a vital role within the Islamic trading sphere, producing, consuming and redistributing goods. Later, Spanish markets—on the southern frontier of the Christian West—became an appendage to the European commercial orbit. Spain continued to be a consumer of imported goods—from both the Islamic world and from Europe—and it increasingly became a source of raw materials for European markets and industries. However, it was no longer a major international entrepot.

The Mediterranean commercial world had been turned upside-down, and Muslim merchants now found it difficult to operate in the Iberian markets which they had once controlled. By the middle of the 7th/13th century, it appears that most Muslim merchants had abandoned the newly-Christian markets of southern Spain, and transferred their commercial attention to the more economically promising ports of North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

¹ It should be remembered that biographical dictionaries were written for the purpose of recording the lives and scholarly connections of learned men in order to verify the transmission of religious knowledge. These books were not intended to record individual professions aside from those connected to scholarship. Other problems also arise with their use. First of all, a person with *al-tājir* ("the merchant") as part of his name was probably, but not necessarily, a merchant. Instead, it may have been a family profession. Only in cases where he is described as "making his living as a merchant" or coming to a place "as a merchant" (*tājiran*), is his trade certain. I have only included examples of the latter type in this survey. Secondly, one finds a high percentage of people coming to Spain "as merchants" from the East, but relatively few Andalusis going East for the same purpose. The reasons for this are obvious: trade was a reasonable explanation for a journey to Spain, but biographers preferred to cite pilgrimage as the motivation for Andalusis venturing to the East. If these Andalusis were also trading on the side, it was not necessarily mentioned.

The primary biographies used in this study are the *Kitāb ta'rikh 'ulamā' al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Farāḍī (d. 403/1013) ed. F. Codera, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (BAH) Madrid, 1890; *Al-*

Šila fi ta'rikh a'immat al-Andalus by Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183), Cairo, 1955; *Bughyat al-multamis fi ta'rikh rijāl ahl al-Andalus* by Aḥmad al-Ḍabbī (d. 598/1202), ed. F. Codera, BAH, Madrid, 1885; and the *Takmilā* of Ibn al-Abbār (7th/13th c.), ed. F. Codera, BAH, Madrid, 1886. The *Šilat al-šila* by Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308), ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1938, contains no merchant interlopers among the scholarly ranks. One further source is the *Akhbār wa-tarājim Andalusīyya* of al-Silafi (d. 576/1180), of which the section on Andalusis travelling in the East has been edited separately by I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1963.

Merchant-scholars were by no means unique to al-Andalus. In a study of the professional affiliations of Eastern scholars through the 5th/11th century, H. J. Cohen has found that 4,200 out of 14,000 entries describing scholars in biographical dictionaries contained information on their trade. Among these, 22% were employed as merchants or artisans in the textile industry, 13% in foods, 4% in jewels, 4% in perfumes, 4% in leather-work, 4% in books, 3% in metals, 2% in wood, 2% in general commerce and 9% in other commodities. Besides these straight traders, 3% acted as bankers and 2% were middlemen or commercial agents. See "The Economic Background and Secular Occupations of Muslim Jurisprudents and Traditionists in the Classical Period of Islam", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 13, 1970, pp. 26-31.

² This paper will not consider purely local merchants (shopkeepers and the like), for although their volume of business could have been reasonably large, their sphere of action was limited. Only in the Iberian frontier regions (*thughūr*) were they engaged in anything approximating international trade. Local merchants, markets and trade in al-Andalus have been extensively treated by P. Chalmeta in his *El señor del zoco en España*, Madrid, 1973.

³ Abū 'l-Faḍl Ja'far al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb al-īshāra ilā maḥāsīn al-tijāra*, Cairo, 1318/1900, pp. 48-52. The dates of this author are disputed. He may have lived as early as the 3rd/9th century, but he is more generally believed to have been a 5th/11th-century figure.

⁴ Documents from the Cairo Geniza show Jewish merchants of all three types active in Andalus trade, and it is likely that their activities were paralleled in the Muslim commercial sphere.

⁵ The issue of Andalusī identity has been much debated. See, for example, D. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086*, Princeton, 1985, p. 165; and N. Roth, "Some Aspects of Muslim-Jewish Relations in Spain", *Estudios en homenaje a D. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, II, Buenos Aires, 1983, p. 203. Also: M. Benaboud, "Asabiyya and Social Relations in al-Andalus during the Period of the Taifa States", *Hespéris-Tamuda* 19, 1980-81, pp. 5-45; M. Shatzmiller, "The Legacy of the Andalusian Berbers in the 14th-century Maghreb", *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb*, ed. M. García-Arenal and M. J. Viguera, Madrid, 1988, pp. 205-36; P. Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris, 1977.

⁶ *Letters of Maimonides*, trans. Leon D. Stitskin, New York, 1977, p. 157. This tendency to associate with religious compatriots is abundantly demonstrated in letters from the Cairo Geniza, which show partnership networks of Andalusī Jewish merchants operating in the eastern Mediterranean.

⁷ For more on the professional specialisation of different religious and ethnic groups in Andalusī society (although not relating to international merchants), see M. Shatzmiller, "Professions and Ethnic Origins of Urban Labourers in Muslim Spain", *Awraq*, 5-6, 1982-83, pp. 149-59.

⁸ On shipping routes, see J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, Cambridge, 1988.

⁹ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šurat al-ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938, p. 78, and in *Journal asiatique*, 1942, p. 168. See also C. Courtois, "Remarques sur le commerce maritime en Afrique au XI^e siècle", *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'occident musulman: Hommage à Georges Marçais*, Algiers, 1957, p. 54.

¹⁰ E. García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, Madrid, 1967, pp. 110-11.

¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leiden, 1851-76, VIII, 384-85. French trans. by E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Algiers, 1898, pp. 358-59.

¹² Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *The Book of the Wonders of India*, trans. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, London, 1981, pp. 13-18. The story is fiction, yet there is no reason to believe that the mention of Spaniards was part of the wonder related. The storm, not the unfortunate travellers, was the subject of the tale. As in the *Arabian Nights*, the genre of 'ajā'ib literature usually contains enough of daily life properly to set off the wonders described.

¹³ Al-Marwānī was known as a transmitter of the *Kitāb nasab Quraysh* of al-Zubayrī; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, "Le 'Kitāb nasab Quraysh' de Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī," *Arabica* 1, 1954, p. 95. Un-

like the names of most merchants, al-Marwānī's name may tell us something of his class, since it suggests that he was a member of the Umayyad family.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Faraḍī, pp. 51-52, #181; p. 53, #184; pp. 68-69, #235; pp. 130-31, #453; pp. 179-81, #650; Ibn Bashkuwāl, p. 31, #43; p. 456, #1042 (no date!); al-Dabbī, pp. 186-87, #455; Ibn al-Abbār, I, 96, #320. Ibn Bashkuwāl mentioned a further Cordoban, probably of this period, whom I have not included among these seven since the author provided no dates and listed his name, though not necessarily his profession, as *al-tājir* (p. 492, #1135). Since the source of most of these 4th/10th-century examples, Ibn al-Faraḍī, died in 403/1012-3, the trend towards early dates is not surprising.

¹⁵ B. Roy & P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, Paris, 1950, I, 114.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Abbār, I, 366, #1048; Ibn al-Faraḍī, II, 61, #1604. No dates are given for this second man, Yahyā b. Khalaf al-Sadafī, but it is reasonable to assume that he lived during the 4th/10th century, as did the majority of scholars described by Ibn al-Faraḍī.

¹⁷ 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Ja'far ... al-Baghdādī, Ibn Bashkuwāl, pp. 356-57, #802; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad ... al-Miṣrī arrived in Spain from Egypt in 394/1003-4 where he made his living through commerce [*kāna ma'āshuhu min al-tijāra*] (*ibid.* p. 337, #756); Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim ... al-Qarawī, came to Spain ca. 400/1009-10 (*ibid.* pp. 564-65, #1309).

¹⁸ Egyptians: W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig, 1885, I, 49. Khurāsānī: D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 134-35. There has been considerable debate concerning the authenticity of Ḥasday's correspondence. Dunlop considered that the letters written by Ḥasday himself were genuine, although the replies may be later fabrications (p. 120 *et seq.*).

¹⁹ Ibn Sahl, *Thalāth wathā'iq fi muḥārabat al-ahwā' wa 'l-bida' fi 'l-Andalus*, ed. M. A. Khallāf, Cairo, 1981, p. 44.

²⁰ Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakḥira fi maḥāsin ahl al-jazīra*, Cairo, 1364/1945, IV/1, 65. Ibn Bassām attributed his information to Ibn Ḥayyān.

²¹ There is some evidence, though it is not specifically commercial, that Andalusī scholars began travelling abroad more frequently in the early 5th/11th century. M. L. Avila, *La sociedad hispano-musulmana al final del califato*, Madrid, 1985, p. 83, has determined the percentage of scholars journeying abroad (for pilgrimage and other reasons) from biographical evidence: 350/961 (29%); 360/970 (34%); 370/980 (38.4%); 380/990 (35.5%); 390/999 (38.4%); 400/1009 (37.6%); 410/1019 (36.5%); 420/1029 (34.6%); 430/1038 (23.4%); 440/1048 (24.1%). High figures may be due to political turmoil in al-Andalus in the early 400s/1000s.

²² Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. & trans. M. de Slane, Paris, 1911, p. 67.

²³ Ibn Sahl, *Al-Ahkām al-kubrā*, General Library, Rabat, MS 838Q, fols.180, 183-86, 189-90; Al-Wansharisi, *Al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib wa 'l-jāmi' al-mughrib*, Rabat, 1981, V, 281. The latter case was brought before the Qāḍī of Granada, Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Sirāj.

²⁴ Ibn al-Abbār mentioned Khalīl al-Qurṭubī as being "by profession a merchant" [*muḥtari-fan bi 'l-tijāra*] (I, 59, #187); Ibn Bashkuwāl referred to Nizār b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaysī (who *jāla fi bilād Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus zamānan tāliban lil-'ilm wa tājiran*) (p. 606, #1407), and Marwān b. Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūrqaṭ al-Ghāfiqī (d. 418/1027) (*ibid.*, p. 581, #1347). These two only partially qualify as belonging to the 5th/11th century, but they were active in the early 400s/1000s, and belong to a later generation than the late 4th/10th-century merchants.

²⁵ See Ibn Bashkuwāl, entries 779, 652, 528, 674, 1314, 1406, 285, 957, 1311, 948, 1313, 1402, 1312, 269, 1366, 654, 960, 1400, 247, 1316, 1338, 1445. These are arranged chronologically by the date when the traveller arrived in al-Andalus, and origins are based on *nisha*. The phrasing which Ibn Bashkuwāl generally uses reads: "he came to al-Andalus as a merchant in the year ..." [*qadima 'l-Andalus tājiran sanat ...*]. Also on Ibn Bashkuwāl and his references to merchant-scholars, see M. A. Khallāf, *Qurṭuba 'l-Islāmiyya*, Tunis, 1984, pp. 98-100.

²⁶ It should be noted, however, that evidence provided by M. L. Avila (see note 21 above) shows many Andalusī scholars travelling abroad in this period, although we do not know whether these men were also merchants.

²⁷ Ibn Bashkuwāl: Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan ... al-Shāmī, p. 602, #1399, and Mubārak b. Sa'id ... al-Baghdādī, p. 599, #1391. Ibn Bashkuwāl also recorded two further non-Andalusis arriving in Spain (p. 113, #264; p. 409, #924) but included no dates. Ibn al-Abbār, I, 370, #1054.

²⁸ Ibn Bashkuwāl, p. 410, #927. The Denian, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Maqqarī, was cited by Ibn al-Abbār (pp.193-95, #669).

²⁹ Al-Māzari: H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris, 1962, p. 678. *Geniza*: Bodl. D74.41; TS 16.54.

³⁰ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1931, pp. 116, 121, 127. The origin of the third merchant was not noted, but it seems likely that he was Andalusī.

³¹ Al-Idrisī, *Opus geographicum*. Vol. III, Naples, 1972, p. 239; and Benjamin of Tudela, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela", trans. M. N. Adler, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 18, 1906, p. 686. It is clear from the context of this latter passage that the author is referring to non-Jewish merchants.

³² Al-Silafī, *Akhbār wa tarājīm*, p. 21, #5. It is possible that Aḥmad travelled in the East during an earlier period, but since al-Silafī (d. 576/1180) does not provide a date for his death, he was probably a contemporary of the biographer.

³³ Ibn al-Abbār: Three of these merchants bore the name "al-Anṣārī", but do not appear otherwise related; the other two were "al-Undī" and "al-Bāhili". The three Anṣārīs were from Seville (d. 580/1184) (p. 249, #803); Valencia (d. 598/1201-2) (p. 274, #864); Baeza & Jaén (d. 630/1232-3) (p. 340, #993); the others were respectively from Valencia (d. 622/1225) (p. 650, #1810) and Málaga (d. 642/1244-5) (p. 519, #1456).

³⁴ Al-Shaqundi: Arabic text in al-Maqqarī, *Analektes*, ed. R. Dozy, Leiden, 1855-60, II, 148. Because these Muslim merchants were mentioned together with Christian (Italian) merchants and the context of their shipping appears international, I am assuming that al-Shaqundi is here referring to foreigners rather than Andalusīs.

³⁵ G. Elshayyal, "The Cultural Relations between Alexandria and the Islamic West in al-Andalus and Morocco", *Ma'had al-dirasāt al-Islamiyya*, Madrid, 36, 1971, p. 65.

³⁶ Although travel to and trade with non-Islamic lands was discouraged [*makrūh*], it was not usually reckoned among things forbidden [*ḥarām*] by Islamic law (see B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, 1982, p. 61). However, perhaps as a consequence of the geographical proximity between Christian regions and al-Andalus (and, to a lesser extent, North Africa), western Mālikī jurists tended to adopt a more rigid stance against travel and trade to the *dār al-ḥarb* (non-Islamic lands) than did other schools of Islamic law. The early jurist Ṣaḥnūn (3rd/9th-century) cited Mālik as having a "strong repugnance" [*karāhiya ṣhādida*] for Muslim commercial activity in non-Muslim territories, and later Andalusī legal scholars, including Ibn Ḥazm (a Zāhiri, d. 456/1064) and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), also ruled against trade to *ḥarbī* lands (Ṣaḥnūn, *Al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1323/1905, X, 102; Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Muḥallā*, Cairo, 1347/1928-29, VII, 349-50; Ibn Rushd, *Muqaddimāt al-mumahhidāt*, Cairo, 1325/1907, II, 285. A later Maghribī scholar, Ibn Juzayy (d. 741/1340) was also strict on this matter, ruling that "it is not permitted to trade to the *dār al-ḥarb*" (*Qawānīn aḥkām al-sharī'a*, Beirut, 1968, p. 319).

As with most legal evidence, however, there seems to have been a considerable disparity between judicial theory and commercial reality. For more on this topic, see also M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore, 1955; J. Yarrison, *Force as an Instrument of Policy*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1982, p. 269 *et seq.*

³⁷ *Mercatores vel viatores christianos iudeos sive mauros*; see *Portugaliae monumenta historica: Leges et consuetudines*. I, Lisbon, 1856, p. 393. The *Fuero* of Mós (1162) referred to Moorish textiles [*rouba de terra de mauros*] (*ibid.*, p. 391).

³⁸ *Saraceni liberi, si cum pro recua mercaturam venerint ad eandem villam sint securi*; see A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1920, II, 529.

³⁹ ... *omnes qui ad istam feriam voluerint venire, tam Christiani, quam Judei, quam Saraceni ... tam de terra Saracenorum quam de terra Christianorum ...* See T. González, *Colección de privilegios, franquezas, exenciones, y fueros*, IV, Madrid, 1833, p. 94.

⁴⁰ On Genoese activity in southern Castile, see J. Heers, "Les hommes d'affaires italiens en Espagne au moyen âge: le marché monétaire", in *Fremde Kaufleute auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, ed. H. Kellenbenz, Cologne-Vienna, 1970, pp. 74-83; R.S. López, "Alfonso el Sabio y el primer almirante de Castilla genovés", *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 14, 1950, pp. 5-16; and "Il predominio economico dei Genovesi nella monarchia spagnola", *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, 11, 1936, pp. 65-74. On northern Castile, see T.F. Ruiz, "Burgos y el comercio castellano en la baja Edad Media", in *La ciudad de Burgos. Actas del congreso de historia de Burgos*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 37-55. On Catalonia, see C.E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris, 1966, and other works by the same author.

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PHILOSOPHY



ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

MIGUEL CRUZ HERNÁNDEZ

I. *Origins of Ibero-Islamic thought*

I.1 *The Eastern sources of Andalusī thought*

Islam established itself in the Iberian Peninsula between 92/711 and 139/756. However, while the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya's persevering campaign to gain mastery over different social groups (*baladī* Arabs, Berbers, Syrians, Mozarabs and Jews), and structure them within an Arab Islamic monarchy, established the political and social bases of Islam in al-Andalus, the antagonism between the Umayyads of Córdoba and the Abbasids of Baghdad ensured that the former would always view with suspicion anything coming from the East. The fourth Umayyad monarch, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, was obliged, nevertheless, to restructure his "administration" in accord with the Baghdadi model, which was none other than that inherited from the Sassanids, and commercial relations, together with journeys made in accordance with the precept of pilgrimage (*hajj*) to the Islamic holy places, encouraged the arrival of Eastern "novelties" in al-Andalus.

Learning was introduced into al-Andalus through five cultural vehicles: (1) Islamic law (*fiqh*), first of the Awzā'ī school and later of the Mālikī school, which was the official one of the Umayyad monarchy and in subsequent periods; (2) ascetic and mystical spirituality (*taṣawwuf*), which is recorded early; (3) esoterism (*bāṭiniyya*), of which examples are found from 271/851; (4) Mu'tazilī theology, with which the Cordoban physician Abū Bakr Faraj b. Sallām was familiar as early as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century; and (5) the sciences (astronomy, mathematics and medicine). It was only later, as we shall see, that philosophy in the strict sense (*falsafa*) became established.

I.2 *The Masarri school*

Muḥammad b. Masarra (7 *Shawwāl* 269/19 April 883-8 *Ramaḍān* 319/October 20 931) was responsible for the first structuring of Andalusī thought. His father, 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra (who died in Mecca in 266/899), had initiated him into the Bāṭinī, Mu'tazilī and spiritual doctrines he had acquired in the East, and he himself founded a small retreat for friends and companions in the caves of the Sierra de Córdoba, where prayer and penitence were practised. However, the group awakened the suspicions of the official establishment, and Ibn Masarra was, as a result, obliged to spend several years in North Africa and the East, probably returning at the end of the *fitna* (civil war) of the reign of the *amīr* 'Abd Allāh. Thereupon he summoned a group

of followers to his new retreat. We know that he wrote at least two books: *Kitāb al-tabṣira* ("The Book of Discerning Explanation") and *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* ("The Book of [the esoteric meaning of] Letters"), of which we have only the titles. His thought has been reconstructed by Asín Palacios, thanks, above all, to the evidence of Šā'id of Toledo, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn 'Arabī.

The thought of Ibn Masarra is a synthesis of Mu'tazilī doctrines concerning the unity of God, divine justice and free will, and of Sufi theory and practice as expounded by Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and al-Nahrajūrī. However, he articulated these ideas, if we are to believe the accounts that have come down to us, in an original and personal way. God is that essence to which unity pertains *per se*; and, as there is no analogy whatever for such a sublime mode of being, the divine essence can only be known through ecstatic union with God. In order to make some kind of reference, Ibn Masarra compares the cosmos to a cubic building: its roof is the Divine One; the walls are created beings; five columns symbolise the five basic substances; an interior room, lacking doors and windows, is the unknowable Divine Essence, the implication being that reason can find no orifice to penetrate and know it. Outside the building, however, leaning against the walls, is another column of the same essence as that of the five interior ones; and if man clings to this, it serves as an intermediary (*farzāj*) enabling him to attain the ecstatic union which leads to God.

The cosmos has its origin in prime matter, symbolised by the Throne, from which all creatures proceed—none can be created directly by God because of His essential sublimity. All creatures have a twin reality: the apparent, or perceptible, and the inner essence. Apparent reality is maintained by Adam, Abraham and Muḥammad. Intimate reality is displayed by the angels Gabriel, Isrāfil, and Michael; Mālik governs the inferno, and Riḍwān paradise. Four kinds of phenomenon occur in the cosmos: the creation of the material world; the creation of the spiritual world; the preservation and providence of creation; and the last judgment, which rewards or punishes.

Prime matter, or the Throne, is structured as a reflection of the divine light which produces the celestial forms, luminous bodies capable of receiving angelic spirits. The first is the universal intellect in which God instils infinite and universal knowledge; this is the divine Pen, whose writing is the universal soul, which gives rise to pure nature. The superabundance of being which springs from God through the intermediary of pure nature finally covers the ontological hollowiness of darkness itself, and this is the origin of secondary matter, which constitutes the universal body out of which the world of generation and corruption proceeds. Upon this world God again sheds His light, engendering in each one of its forms an immaterial, indivisible spirit, each one of these being distinguished by its relative capacity to receive the divine light. Its conservation is due to its sustaining principles, which are reason and illumination for the spirit, and food and drink for the

body. Finally, God has created for all beings four kinds of happiness: distributive, according to the intention of the subject; commutative, according to its constitution; essential, in accord with the perfection of being; and legal, according to obedience to positive law. God knows everything universally and eternally, but does not on this account determine human acts, since, in his omnipotence, he wished to create men free and responsible for their acts.

The human condition, free and responsible, means that man requires a rule of life to cleanse the soul of imperfections inherent in the carnal condition of our life here and now. This rule includes the ascetic practices of mortification, penitence, fasting, patience, poverty, silence, humility, prayer, service, brotherly love, faith in God and the conscientious examination of positive acts, this last practice being the most highly prized, since it permits us to discover the progress of the spiritual intent of our acts. Thus, the spiritual rule provides the human spirit with a perfection similar to, but not equal to, that of the prophetic spirit. This gift is the apex of spiritual life, permitting the human soul to reflect, like a well-polished mirror, the image of divine wisdom, in preparation for the definitive joy of union with God.

I.3 *The disciples of Ibn Masarra*

For all the fears aroused by the Masarris, Muḥammad b. Masarra's teachings were highly successful. Mistrust of the thinker had probably emerged by the time of the *amīr* 'Abd Allāh, grandfather of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, and the *faqīh* al-Zajjālī (d. 301/914) later promulgated an "edict" of harsh condemnation which the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III ordered to be updated and published after Ibn Masarra's death, the Masarris being then condemned and their persecution ordered. These Masarris can be grouped into two circles, that of Córdoba and that of Pechina. To the first belonged, among others, three members of the distinguished Muwallad family of the Banū Ballūṭī, namely the physician al-Ḥakam (d. 420/1029), Sa'īd (d. 404/1013) and 'Abd al-Malik (d. 436/1044), while members of the second group included Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ru'aynī (ca. 339/950-432/1040), his son Abū Hārūn, a daughter whose name has not survived, her husband Aḥmad, and a grandson of al-Ru'aynī named Yaḥyā.

The Cordoban group involved few notable divergences from the thought of Muḥammad b. Masarra. On the contrary, al-Ru'aynī was regarded as the *imām* of the group, receiving the *zakāt*, or canonical tithe, and proclaiming that only he knew the authentic esoteric significance of Masarrī thought, which he interpreted in a communistic sense, not only with reference to the ownership of goods, but also with respect to sexual relations: "All the things which are owned in this world are illicit ... the only thing which a Muslim is permitted to possess is his daily sustenance, whatever means he might employ to procure it."¹ According to Ibn Ḥazm, "Ismā'īl approved marriage or sexual unions contracted for a [specified] period of time as licit".²

1.4 *Influence and significance of the Masarrī school*

Masarrī ideology became the principal root of the dialectical thought of the Sufis of al-Andalus, and was highly influential within what Asín Palacios called the "School of Almería", whose central members acquired such power that the *fuqahā* of Almería, led by al-Barjī, were the only ones of their time who dared to condemn the burning of al-Ghazālī's writings ordered by the chief *qāḍī* of Córdoba, Ibn Ḥamdīn. The principal figure of the group was Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Aṭā' Allāh b. al-'Arīf, who was born in Almería in 485/1088 and died in Marrakesh in 361/1141 after eating a poisoned eggplant. Leaving aside his strictly Sufi doctrines, which will be discussed in the appropriate section, I will here simply point out his use of Masarrī neo-Platonism, as it appears in his book, *Maḥāsīn al-majālis*. His main disciples were Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn of Majorca, Abū 'l-Ḥakam b. Barrajan (d. ca. 536/1141) and Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Qasī (d. 546/1151), author of a book called *Khāl' al-na'layn*, which was used by Ibn 'Arabī.

Acquaintance with the Masarrī school is fundamental for understanding the history of Andalusī thought, its continuation in the Almería School, and the latter's influence on Ibn 'Arabī, giving it a basic role in Andalusī Sufism as a vehicle of the neo-Platonic ideology which structures its dialectical formalisation. Nevertheless, neither the ideological constructs that we will call "encyclopaedic" nor Andalusī philosophy were receptive to its ideology. Ibn Ḥazm, the best authority on Masarrī thought, rejected it, and the Andalusī philosophers were ignorant of it. Asín Palacios pointed out certain parallels between Masarrī ideology and the thought of Ramon Llull, but these are insignificant coincidences and did not in any case come directly from Ibn Masarra, but rather from the ideas of popular Sufi circles at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, more or less contemporaneous with Ibn 'Arabī.

II. *The period of the encyclopaedias*

The first half of the 5th/11th century witnessed a second formulation of Andalusī thought, one which was both removed from esoterism and Sufi mysticism and also very difficult to fit into the traditional parameters of Islamic thought, whether in the realm of philosophy, theology, esoterism or mysticism. The nature of these works leads me to name this era "the period of the encyclopedias", and it involves, in particular, three important figures, Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba, Šā'īd of Toledo and Ibn al-Sīd of Badajoz.

II.1 *Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba*

II.1.1 *Life and work*

The eminent polymath Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥazm (Ibn Ḥazm) was born in Córdoba, probably of Muwallad ancestry, on 7 *Ramaḍān* 384/November 7 994. His grandfather and father were palatine functionaries

of the Andalusi Umayyads, and had been steadfastly loyal to their cause, this leading to his imprisonment and exile during the *fitna*, or civil war, that followed the death of the second son and successor of al-Manṣūr. His character, perhaps forged in his childhood years among the women of the house, led him into precocious and more or less unfortunate love affairs, and also provided him with an accusingly polemical cast of mind, aggravated by his adherence to the Zāhirī (literalist) juridical school. Finally weary of polemics he retired to an ancestral residence called Casa Montija, near Huelva, where he died on 28 *Shaʿbān* 455/July 15 1063. His written production was extraordinary, the following (leaving aside his historical and juridical works) being central to an understanding of his thought:

- *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī 'l-milal* ("Book of Divine Solutions") [about religions, sects and schools].
- *Kitāb al-akhlāq wa 'l-siyar* ("Book of customs and characters")
- *Kitāb al-iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* ("Book of the principles of juridical foundations")
- *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* ("The dove's neck-ring") [about love and lovers]
- *Kitāb fī marātib al-ʿulūm* ("Book of the classification of the sciences")
- *Faṣl fī maʿrifat al-naḥs bi-ghayrihā wa jahlihā bi-dhātihā* ("Article about the knowledge that the soul has of things different from it and of the ignorance it has of itself")
- *Risālat al-tawqif ʿalā shārat al-najāt bi-ikhtisār al-ṭarīq* ("Epistle about divine aid in finding the road to salvation by an exhaustive method")
- *Faṣl hal li 'l-mawt alam, aw lā* ("Chapter about whether or not death is painful")
- *Kitāb al-taqrīb li-ḥudūd al-kalām* ("Introduction to theological definitions")
- *Kitāb al-taḥqīq* ("Book of certification [against the metaphysics of Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzī]")
- *Kitāb al-naṣāʾih* ("Book of sincere advice [against Muʿtazilis, Murjiʿis, Khārijis, and Shiʿites]")

II.1.2 *Classes and classification of the sciences*

Ibn Ḥazm was an extraordinary historian, an excellent jurist and a great writer, but a notable acquaintance with philosophy, in the ancient sense of the term, is also a feature of his "encyclopaedic" mind. Thus he wrote: "The following are the sciences of the ancients: (1) philosophy and the laws of logic, about which Plato, his disciple Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisia and those who followed in their steps wrote. This science is good and of lofty status, because upon it is based the intuitive knowledge of the entire world and all that is in it, its kinds and species, substances and accidents; and in addition it sets out conditions which apodictic demonstrations must display, without which one could not ascertain the truth or error of anything. Thus this science is most useful in discerning the real essences of beings and in eliminating what is irrelevant to them. (2) The science of numbers. ... It is also a good, true and apodictic science; but its usefulness extends only to life on earth because it is only worthwhile for dividing up wealth ... (3) The science of geometry, which the compiler of the Book of Euclid and those who fol-

lowed his lead discussed. This is also a good, apodictic science. Its basic principle is the intuitive knowledge of the proportional relation that lines and figures have with one another. This knowledge is applied to two things: first, to understanding the description of the exterior form of the heavenly spheres and of the Earth; second, to the lifting of weights, to architecture and surveying. ... (4) Astronomy, which Ptolemy, Hipparchus and, later, those who followed in the path of both of them, discussed, as well as those who followed the path of other [astronomers] who preceded them both, Indians, Nabataeans, and Copts. It is an apodictic science [based in] sense experience and is morally good. Its objective is to know the celestial spheres, their circular motion, their intersections, their poles and distances; and to know as well the stars, their movement of translation, their magnitudes, their distances, and the orbits of their revolutions. The usefulness of this science consists solely in that by means of it one attains knowledge of the perfection [of the cosmos] and the great wisdom of the Creator. (5) Medicine, as treated by Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides and those who followed them. It teaches how to heal bodies of their illnesses. ... It is a good, apodictic science, but useful only for the present life. Moreover it is not a general art, inasmuch as we frequently see that the inhabitants of deserted places ... are cured of their diseases without any physician and their bodies enjoy good health without any treatment, as good as those who use medicines and even better."³ All the sciences can be classified according to whether they be generic or peculiar to certain peoples.

II.1.3 *Attitude towards knowledge*

For Ibn Ḥazm men are divided into two dichotomous groups with respect to knowledge. Some renounce all scientific knowledge and are content with religious knowledge, while others overvalue strictly rational thought. Most people entertain the first attitude, as he himself did until he learned "the methods of logical demonstration which, thank God, I mastered, but they did not increase at all the certainty of my previous faith".⁴ By contrast the *fuqahā'* continued secure in their rutinary method, "repeating the letter of the texts mechanically without understanding their meaning and not bothering themselves to understand it; or else they devoted themselves to casuistry, but without recurring to the textual sources ... , because their only preoccupation is to maintain their prestige and their social position ... This school, moreover, despises all apodictic demonstration, and to justify their hate they merely say, 'Dialectics is forbidden us'. But I would like to know who prohibited it."⁵ Nevertheless, the study of revealed truth itself requires the education undertaken by the philosophers, who "devoted the first-fruits of their intelligence to mathematics ..., passing on gradually to study the position of the stars ... and all the other physical and atmospheric phenomena and accidents. To this they add the reading of some of the books of the Greeks in

which the laws that regulate discursive reasoning are determined."⁶ Therefore, "philosophy, considered in its constitutive foundation, in its meaning, its effects and the end to which its study leads, is none other than the correction or improvement of the human spirit, whether by means of the practice of moral virtues and of good conduct in this life in order to achieve salvation in the next, or by means of good social organisation, not only domestic but political."⁷

Having explained the need for revelation and clarified certain physical and metaphysical doctrines (such as the formal distinction between essence and being), together with the concepts of body and its accidents, Ibn Ḥazm goes on to study divine attributes, creation and divine knowledge in its relation to human freedom.

II.1.4 *Social behaviour*

In his treatise entitled *The Characters and Conduct Concerning the Medicine of Souls*, a work quite similar in intent to the *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* of the Persian Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Ḥazm traces the principles of human moral behaviour, which should be based upon the equilibrium of action. The end of all ethical conduct consists in attaining a life that balances and calms the soul. But these generic principles, which are as old as Socrates, are particularised in Ibn Ḥazm through the framework of his own experience: "In this book," he writes, "I have gathered together many ideas which the Author of the light of reason inspired in me as the days of my life passed and the vicissitudes of my existence succeeded one another. God granted me the favour of being a man who has always been concerned with the vagaries of fortune ... so much so that I have spent the greater part of my life in this kind of meditation."⁸ Adding stoic imperturbability to the Aristotelian principle ("Virtue lies between excess and deficiency. The extremes are hateful. That virtue which lies between both is praiseworthy."), Ibn Ḥazm holds that the rule of life which leads to happiness is temperance in all things.

The foregoing ethical concept could lead to a degree of moral rigorism, but Ibn Ḥazm softens it through balance, not only in the book just mentioned, but, even more, in the *Dove's Neck-ring*. Here, love is seen as the union of souls which are divided and which are also attracted to one another, such an impulse explaining not only the supreme love of God but also human love. In the latter love is excited by "some accidents of bodily attraction and visual approval which do not extend more than to physical appearance"⁹ But in this attraction there appear a number of gradations: sweetness, harmony, beauty and grace, with beauty defined as a "thin gauze which adorns the face with a certain splendour and fleeting glow towards which hearts are attracted"¹⁰ Personal, concrete love begins with sympathy (*istih-sān*), proceeds through fancy (*i'jāb*), produces love (*ulfa*), reaches adulation (*kalāf*) or passion (*'ishq*) and culminates in amorous obsession (*shaghaf*),

"which neither sleep, nor food, nor drink can conciliate, except very little, and one can even grow sick or fall into swoons and ecstatic states, speaking to oneself like a madman, or reaching the extreme of dying of love".¹¹

As for the political dimension of social behaviour, Ibn Ḥazm is a decided partisan of traditional Islamic monarchy and of Umayyad legitimism. Nevertheless, his political experience leads him to put aside historical legitimacy and accept a *de facto* version in order to avoid the dangers of civil war which he himself had experienced.

II.2 *Ṣā'id of Toledo*

The *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Ṣā'id, known as Ṣā'id of Toledo, was born in Almería in 419/1049, and was the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, a work of great value for understanding Andalusī culture of the 3rd/9th century and first half of the 4th/10th. Part of its originality lies in its inclusion of Jewish thinkers, notably Ibn Gabirol. The sections referring to Antiquity and the East have their origin in eastern sources, but those referring to al-Andalus are from local sources, and include personal observation. Al-Kindī is the only "philosopher" he seems to know of. He holds that no Andalusī, up to his own time, had cultivated physics or metaphysics with true zeal, but does note various authors who were interested in logic (Sa'id b. Faṭḥūn of Saragossa, Aḥmad b. Ḥakam b. Ḥafṣūn, Ismā'il b. Badr, who was known as the Andalusī Euclid, Ibn Baghūnīsh of Toledo, and others). Four authors are mentioned as students of physics (Ibn al-Fawwāl of Saragossa, Abū 'l-Faḍl Ḥasday, who studied the treatise *De Coelo*, Ibn al-Nabbāsh of Pechina and Abū 'Āmir). He says of the physician and mathematician al-Kirmānī that "when he returned to al-Andalus he brought with him the treatises known as the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and we know of no one before who had introduced them in al-Andalus ... [Even though] he was poorly acquainted with scientific astronomy and logic ... he had no rival in al-Andalus in the theoretical sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naẓariyya*)".¹²

II.3 *Ibn al-Sid of Badajoz*

Ibn al-Sid was born in Badajoz in 444/1052, lived in Albarracín (Teruel), Toledo and Saragossa, and died in Valencia in 521/1127. His philosophical education depended above all on the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* mentioned above, but he is also the first Andalusī to cite al-Fārābī, revealing his acquaintance with the logic of that author, since he wrote on a question "concerning whether al-Fārābī had erred when enumerating the first three Aristotelian categories or not".¹³ Among his works were "The Book of Improvisation, by way of commenting on the 'Secretaries' Guide' of Ibn Qutayba", "The Book of Equanimous Advice concerning the Causes that Engender Discrepancies of Opinion in Islam", "The Book of Questions" (*Kitāb al-masā'il*), and, above all, "The Book of Walls" (*Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*).

As in the case of Ibn Ḥazm, he had some notion of philosophy, which is conceived as a love of learning, increased by his partial knowledge of al-Fārābī. His philosophical and theological concordism owes a good deal to the *Rasā'il*, but he is clearer than Ibn Ḥazm in his analysis of the existence of God, divine science, the procession of created beings, and the gradations of the soul and the intellect. Thus he holds that happiness is attained "when one achieves the acquisition of intellect, inasmuch as man only possesses natural dispositions and aptitude for the attainment of happiness; if in fact he understands his own essence and the status in the cosmos which pertains to him, he is saved and is happy".¹⁴

II.4 *The development of logic*

Šā'id of Toledo has left us the names of some of the first Andalusī logicians, Ibn Ḥazm demonstrates knowledge of the field and Ibn al-Sīd has left some logical questions in his treatises. Nevertheless, the first Andalusī book of logic seems to be the "Rectification of the Mind" (*Taqwīm al-dhihn*) of Abū Šalt Umayya, who was born in Denia in 406/1067, resided in Seville, Cairo and Alexandria, and died in al-Mahdiyya, in Tunisia, in 529/1134. The title avoids the term logic (*manṭiq*), which was distasteful to the Mālikī *fuqahā'* of al-Andalus, and is a calque on *Taqwīm al-šihḥa* ("Rectification of Health") by the physician Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Buṭlān. In the prologue to his work, Abū Šalt explains its contents: "In the first place, I have included a concise summary of the treatise *On the Five Universal Ideas*; after, in chapter two, I study the contents of the treatise *On the Ten Categories*; in chapter three, the treatise *On Interpretation*; in the fourth, the treatise *On Syllogisms* and in the fifth the treatise *On Demonstration*. I have put in the form of schematic tables the kinds of the three figures of syllogism, pure and combined, which will help the student understand them."¹⁵ Except for these synoptic tables, twelve in number, there is nothing new here as against the classical Eastern manuals.

III. *Ibn Bājja (Avempace)*

III.1 *Life and works*

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Šā'igh b. Bājja (Ibn Bājja), known in the West as Avempace, was born in Saragossa around 462/1070 and died in Fez in 523/1138. He resided in Saragossa, Almería, Granada, Seville (where he was imprisoned and later released thanks to the intervention of Ibn Rušhd al-Jadd, grandfather of the philosopher Averroes), Jaén and Fez. His death is said to have been caused by eating an eggplant poisoned by his enemies, the court literati and physicians.

He wrote numerous works, thirty-seven of which survive. Among them should be cited his paraphrastic commentaries on various works of Aristotle,

Euclid, Galen and al-Fārābī, together with three of his most original works: "Letter of Farewell" (*Risālat al-wadāʿ*); "Treatise on the Union of Intellect with Man" (*Risāla fī iṭṭisāl al-ʿaql bi 'l-insān*) and, the most famous, the "Rule of the Solitary" (*Tadbīr al-mutawahhīd*).

III.2 Human knowledge

The problem of knowledge is at the heart of Ibn Bājja's thought. Intellection depends instrumentally on sensible forms, but its final attainment requires the cooperation of the active intellective, which is something extrinsic, celestial, eternal and immortal. The speculative knowledge obtained is the basis for directing man to his ultimate end.

Ibn Bājja was strongly influenced by al-Fārābī, with whose works he was well acquainted, and it is on the basis of this scholar's idea that he develops his ideal of a utopian society governed by the righteous. For all the diversity of human functions and actions, man constitutes a radical unity governed by the rational power of the soul which presides over natural, artificial and spiritual instruments. The first of these is the vegetative soul with which man is endowed from the very moment of conception, and whose powers are the cause of the foetus and its development. These activities "also are found in plants from the beginning of their existence. ... When the foetus has left its mother's womb and makes use of its senses, it is then similar to the irrational animal which moves locally and has desires and appetites".¹⁶ That is, one receives sensible powers upon birth, but these are dominated by rational powers which lead to the process of abstraction.

Abstract reasoning is achieved through three essential moments: (1) knowledge of spiritual forms of the imagination; (2) knowledge, by means of these forms, of things intelligible in the act; and (3) union with the active intellect. In the first moment knowledge is linked to sense data; in the second, it pertains to the materiality inherent in the imaginative faculty; and in the third the object and subject are converted into a single thing, of a strictly intellectual nature, representing the highest level of human perfection. Thus the knowledge common to mankind is like the idea held by a man located in the darkness of the Platonic cave, and the knowledge of experts like that of those located on the threshold of the cave. Only the wise have the knowledge proper to those who can gaze directly into the Sun and are converted into sunlight.

The operations proper to man and relevant to the acquisition of intelligible forms can give rise to four kinds of action: (1) those which have the objective of acquiring pure bodily form, such as drinking, eating and so forth; (2) those whose objective is the perfection of that corporeality and which can be based on common tastes (like elegance in dress), on imagination (like games and honest pleasures), and on cognition (like study and apprenticeship); (3) those which are directed to the acquisition of knowledge,

which are strictly intellectual; and (4) those which seek only pure spirituality or definitive union with the active intellect, which are proper to the authentic scholar. Ibn Bājja reduces the role of the passive intellect, which is included in the intellect-in-habit, and also that of the intellect-in-act, which is almost wholly incorporated within the active intellect. In reality his intellectual operation seems to resolve itself into two kinds of intellect, the speculative and the agential. The first is engendered, corruptible, unique and individual. The second is eternal, immaterial, universal and common to all. All intellectual activity is directed towards the union of the two kinds of understanding, which is the most important act of human life, and also its goal.

III.3 *Ethics, the road to perfection*

To reach the highest goal of human life, man must follow a straight path, equidistant between two harmful extremes. In accordance with the use of his natural faculties, mankind is divided into three groups: (1) the vice-ridden who, through their lack of moderation, are limited to the excessive exercise of their faculties; (2) cowards and indecisive people who, because they do not use all their faculties, or use them too little, allow their powers to wane; and (3) the balanced, who make wise use of their powers and risk health, mental faculties and life only in cases of strict necessity. With respect to the utilisation of artificial means, mankind can likewise be classified into three groups: (1) the prodigal, who waste whatever they have; (2) the miserly, who hoard their means with such attachment as to render them useless; and (3) the moderate, who save them in order to use them at the proper moment. In any case, human actions are always complex, and in order to establish their real end one must know their intention. One of the ways to establish intent is to relate it to the concept of pleasure. If one takes pleasure only from sentient joys, then human operations have a merely egoistical intent and lead to vice; if the intent is for glory and honour, then, even though these actions are worthier than those of the previous group, they do not reach the ideal of the wise man; only the intent to seek wisdom for the simple enjoyment of the truth, found in union with the active intellect, is a sign of the highest virtue.

III.4 *Ideal society*

The supreme ideal of the scholar presents serious difficulties at the moment of its realisation, but the greatest of all these is the real situation of man in the midst of a society inadequate to such an objective. Ibn Bājja, who knew and used the works of al-Fārābī on the model or virtuous society, and at the same time encountered social problems in the society of his own time, treated this difficult problem in his *Rule of the Solitary*, in which he analyses social structure, human social behaviour and the means of achieving the ultimate end and happiness of mankind in spite of all these problems. Inasmuch as he doubted the possibility of any imminent regeneration of society, Ibn Bājja refers repeatedly to the notion of solitary people who must live within an

imperfect society, but without letting themselves become corrupted by its vices. These he calls "shoots", not only because of their rare and sporadic appearance, but also because they represent hope for the future flowering of a better society. The work just cited is devoted to their study, formation and virtues, and, as such, constitutes a spiritual medicine (*tadbir* means "medicinal régime") which might make possible a utopian model society in the future. This would be so constituted that none of the three kinds of "physicians" present in an imperfect society would be necessary. There would be no need for physicians of the body, because the absence of vice would put an end to illness; nor for "physicians of order", that is, judges, because social relations would always be just; and there would be no "spiritual doctors", because citizens of the perfect society would seek only supreme perfection and would never fall into sin or be carried away by egoistical passions.

III.5 *Evaluation and influence*

If we go by strict chronology, the thought of Ibn Bājja represents a late reception of eastern *falsafa* and especially of that of al-Fārābī. Nevertheless, he adds two elements which enrich the doctrines of his remote Eastern master: one is his concept of the theoretical life of the scholar; the other his way of understanding ideal society and the status of its present aspirants within a real, but imperfect, society. The analysis of imperfect societies carried out by al-Fārābī was clear, critical and realistic, but his model of the virtuous city still seemed possible. Ibn Bājja follows him in the harshness of his denunciation of current society, but does not, at bottom, believe that an ideal society will be possible in the foreseeable future.

The thought of Ibn Bājja was reflected in Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, although the first two, especially Ibn Rushd, display some reserve towards Ibn Bājja's philosophy (in some cases, in fact, Ibn Rushd's interpretations appear to be simply incorrect). Maimonides' position, on the other hand, is very close to that of Ibn Bājja, and the latter seems, next to al-Fārābī, to have been the Jewish thinker's principal philosophical source. Although there were few Latin translations of Ibn Bājja, Latin thinkers also made use of his philosophy. St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, incorporated some of Ibn Bājja's ideas into his theology, generally conjoined with those of Maimonides, when he agreed with them.

IV. *Ibn Ṭufayl*

IV.1 *Life and works*

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṭufayl (Ibn Ṭufayl) was born in Guadix (Granada) some time before 504/1110. We know he practised medicine in Granada, serving as physician to that city's governor, and his fame led to his occupying the same position, and also that of secretary, with Abū Sa'īd, son of the first Almohad sultan, 'Abd al-Mu'min, while he was gover-

nor of Ceuta. Around 559/1163 he was named court physician and vizier to the second sultan, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, and in 565/1169 he presented Ibn Rushd, who was to succeed him as physician in 578/1182, to the Almohad court, while himself keeping the post of vizier until his death in 581/1189. Such was his fame, and the esteem in which he was held, that the third Almohad sultan, al-Manṣūr Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb, attended his funeral. He wrote various astronomical and medical works. A manuscript of his commentary on Ibn Sīnā, the *Urjūza fī 'l-ṭibb* ("Medical conspectus in verse") is preserved in Fez, but it is his *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*, known in the West as *The Autodidactic Philosopher*, to which he owes his universal fame.

IV.2 *Education and orientation of his thought*

Ibn Ṭufayl was well acquainted with the evolution of Andalusī thought, of which he wrote: "Don't believe that Andalusis have written nothing of value on this subject. Those men of cultivated spirit who lived in al-Andalus before logic and philosophy were known here worked only on mathematics, in which they reached a very high level, but they did not study the other [sciences]. After these there followed another generation [that of Ibn Ḥazm] which immersed itself somewhat more in the study of logic; they already studied that science ... After them came another generation of men who were much more adept at speculation ... Among all of them none possessed a sharper wit, a firmer mind and more authentic vision than Abū Bakr b. al-Ṣā'igh [Ibn Bājja], although I did not know him personally."¹⁷

Ibn Ṭufayl was the first Andalusī thinker who knew and used Ibn Sīnā: the *Shifā'*, the prologue at least of the *Manṭiq al-Maṣḥriqiyyīn*, the *risālas* of *Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*, *Salāmān wa-Absāl* and *Al-Ṭayr*. From the first two he took names for personages in his work, and some of the ideas, but not Ibn Sīnā's actual stories. Moreover, Ibn Ṭufayl is one of those indicating the existence of an esoteric work by Ibn Sīnā entitled *Al-Ḥikma al-Maṣḥriqiyya*: "With regard to the writings of Aristotle, the master Abū 'Alī [Ibn Sīnā] endeavoured to explain its contents to us and he follows the methods of his philosophy in the *Kitāb al-shifā'*. In the beginning [=prologue] of this work he says that, in his opinion, [absolute] truth is somewhat different from the way it is discussed in the book, which has been composed solely according to the doctrine of the peripatetics. As such, whoever wishes to learn the Pure Truth should consult his *Kitāb al-ḥikma al-Maṣḥriqiyya*."¹⁸

IV.3 *The "History" of Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*

Ibn Ṭufayl resorts to Ibn Sīnā's system of "symbolic" writings in accordance with the Almohad policy of upholding traditional religion among the people, without any concession, and of maintaining intellectual freedom for the scholar, so long as he does not propagate his ideas among the people or cause any scandal; but he does so also because it accords with the tradition of philosophical esoterism. Thus he writes: "The secrets which we have

divulged in these few pages we have left covered with a tenuous veil, which the initiates will see through quickly, but which will remain opaque and almost impenetrable for those who are not worthy of penetrating it."¹⁹ The story he uses is the following:

Ḥayy b. Yaqzān appears, alone, on an island deserted of human beings —being either born by spontaneous generation or the love child of a princess who placed him in a container and abandoned him to the waters. The child's cry attracts a gazelle who has lost her doe, and who accordingly suckles and adopts him. Though receiving no language or any kind of knowledge from any human being, his unaided reason slowly leads him to learn whatever is necessary for living, and to explain the cosmos and life itself, until he arrives at the idea of a Supreme Being, creator of all and giver of life, to whom he should lift his thought. On a neighbouring island, where a religion preached by a prophet inspired by God is practised, live Salāmān and Absāl. The latter "was a partisan of allegorical interpretation, whereas Salāmān preferred the literal sense".²⁰ When Absāl arrives on Ḥayy's island, meets him and teaches him to speak, they discover that their ideas coincide, but when Ḥayy visits the other island, of which Salāmān is ruler, its inhabitants do not wish to accept the true sense of Absolute Knowledge. Earlier two points had caused Ḥayy to marvel, "one, because that prophet had used allegories to speak to men ... and he had abstained from discovering the truth clearly ...; another was because he limited himself to some ritual precepts and prescriptions, permitting the acquisition of riches."²¹ The moral is obvious: Absolute Truth is for wise men only; the people should follow "traditional precept and outward practices rigorously and involve themselves little in things that don't concern them, to believe the mysteries easily, shun dissent and passion, to imitate virtuous predecessors and avoid novelties".²² There is basic agreement only between reason and the spirit of revelation, not between revelation and popular religion.

IV.4 *"Scientific" and philosophical knowledge*

The story of the autodidact permits Ibn Ṭufayl to expound his "scientific", particularly his biological, theories: the possibility of spontaneous generation and the origin and development of the human embryo, beginning with a fine, homogeneous matter which "upon being agitated produces by its viscosity a very small bubble divided into two parts by a very fine membrane and filled with a subtle material, like air, constituted exactly according to the proportions required"²³ by a living being. Upon receiving animation, "there is formed another bubble divided into three compartments separated by a very thin membrane, communicating through openings and filled with a gaseous material similar to that which filled the first, but even more diluted".²⁴ Thereafter a third bubble appears and on the basis of the three bubbles, and following this curious mitosis, he describes the origin and differentiation of the organs in the embryo. Then he applies a developmental mechanism to explain the

development of the human psyche and the progressive unfolding of the faculties of the spirit.

The first knowledge attained by Ḥayy—and therefore by man—is that of practices originating from experience; then the physical or natural; and finally the strictly metaphysical. Thus he arrives at the notion of a soul with three successive stages: vegetative, sentient, and rational. This latter is capable of attaining the idea of being, of the cosmos and of God as the agent, prime mover and final cause of everything, by analysing the principal divine attributes.

IV.5 *Knowledge as union with Absolute Truth*

Having attained the concept of God, Ḥayy “realised that he knew Him by means of his own essence and that knowledge of Him was engraved on his soul. He saw too that evidently his own essence, by means of which he had known Him, was something incorporeal, with no corporeal quality and that everything external and corporeal which he himself perceived was not the reality of his essence, inasmuch as his essence consisted in that by whose mediation he had learned of that Being whose existence was necessary.”²⁵ From that moment he chose the solitary life, limiting all necessary vital acts to what was indispensable.

IV.6 *Meaning and influence*

The thought of Ibn Ṭufayl represents a late continuation of the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā and a third way between the radically esoteric interpretation of al-Suhrawardī and the more Aristotelian line which would later be represented by Latin scholasticism. While historical facts demonstrate the relationship between Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd, the latter’s thought did not follow the same direction as Ibn Ṭufayl’s—though Ibn Rushd, in criticising Ibn Sīnā, did not include Ibn Ṭufayl in that criticism. Only in his conception of the relations between rational and revealed truth did Ibn Rushd build upon the stance of Ibn Ṭufayl. In any case, the “philosophical novel” of Ibn Ṭufayl represents a dialectical expression of confidence in experience and reason rarely expressed up to that point in the history of Islamic philosophy.

Ibn Ṭufayl’s work was not directly known to medieval Latin scholastics. Translated into Hebrew in 1349 by Moses of Narbonne, it was edited in 1671 by E. Pococke, accompanied by a Latin version with the title *Philosophus Autodidactus*, and met with surprising success in the western world. In 1672 it was translated into Dutch, then into English (1673, 1674, 1678) and German (1726, 1783). In 1900 Gauthier’s critical edition was published with a French translation, which was reprinted several times; in 1920 it was translated into Russian, in 1955 into Urdu, and in 1956 into Persian. It has twice been translated into Spanish (1890 and 1936). Some authors have pointed out the parallelism between Ibn Ṭufayl’s story and the *Robinson*

Crusoe of Daniel Defoe, and also with the beginning of *El Crítico*n by Baltasar Gracián.

V. *Ibn Rushd* (Averroes)

V.1 *Life and works*

Andalusī thought and even the whole of Islamic philosophy culminates with Averroes, the Latinisation of the Arab name Ibn Rushd, by way of the Hispano-Arab pronunciation *Abén Rochd*. The family of Banū Rushd, probably of Muwallad origin, is documented over at least five generations. Its first figure was Abū 'l-Walid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rushd, nicknamed al-Jadd, "the grandfather" (to distinguish him from his grandson Averroes, who had the same name), who lived between 450/1058 and 520/1126. He was an important *faqih*, writing several books on Mālikī law which have been preserved, was chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī al-jamā'a*) of Córdoba, and enjoyed the esteem of the Almoravid court, which, on more than one occasion, he advised efficaciously and with great critical boldness. His son Abū 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rushd (487/1094-564/1168), father of the philosopher, was also chief *qāḍī* of Córdoba, and this man's son, known as Averroes in the West, was born in Córdoba in 520/1126 and died in Marrakesh Thursday the 9 *Ṣafar* 595 (December 10 1198), possibly owing to chronic arthritis, known to us through his own diagnosis. He received an excellent education in the Quran, Arabic humanities, law, philosophy, medicine and theology. Ibn Ṭufayl presented him to the Almohad court, probably in 568/1168, and almost immediately he was named chief *qāḍī* of Seville. Upon the death of Ibn Ṭufayl he was appointed chief physician to the Sultan's household and *qāḍī* of Córdoba, enjoying the confidence of the Almohad sultans Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and his successor Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. In 591/1195 the Sultan, under pressure from the *fuqahā'*, exiled Ibn Rushd, confining him to the town of Lucena for two years. Then, in 594/1198, a few months before his death, the Sultan rescinded his exile and took him with him to his court in Marrakesh, where he died. Several months later his body was brought to Córdoba, where he was buried in the cemetery of the Banū 'Abbād.

The writings of Ibn Rushd are very extensive and extremely important, up to 125 titles being attributed to him, of which, however, only 83 are actually his (others being errors or repetitions, or else written by his grandfather, or one of his sons, or by other authors). Several of his works are extant in more than one recension. For all that is sometimes said in histories of philosophy, it is not certain that he commented on the work of Aristotle three times. The ill-named "minor commentaries" (four works, comprising twenty-one books) are loose compendia (*jawāmī'*), while the so-called "middle commentaries" (ten works containing seventeen books) are free paraphrastic

expositions (*talkhīṣāt*), among which stand out the paraphrase of the *Physics*, the *De Anima*, the *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Plato's *Republic*, all of them fundamental to Ibn Rushd's thought. The only strict "commentaries" are the five called "best" or "literal" (*tafsīrāt*): those on the *Second Analytics*, *Physics*, *De Coelo et Mundo*, *De Anima*, and the *Metaphysics*, all fundamental for the exposition of his ideas. To these one must add the famous *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (Destruction of the "Destruction of the Philosophers" of al-Ghazālī); the *De Substantia Orbis* (*Maqāla fī jawhar al-falak*) and the two theological works *Faṣl al-maqāl* ("Decisive doctrine about the concordance between revelation of wisdom"), and the *Kaṣhf 'an manāḥij al-adilla* ("Exposition of the paths that lead to the demonstration of the articles of faith"). He also wrote a juridical work, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, and thirteen medical works, among which the *Kitāb al-kullīyyāt fī 'l-ṭibb* ("Book of the general principles of medicine") is the most famous.

V.2 Basic principles of his thought

For Ibn Rushd, Aristotle was not only the philosopher by antonomasia, but also the author of the most complete and exact doctrinal corpus of wisdom; to be a *ḥaylasuf* meant to read, assimilate and then develop the Aristotelian corpus. But submission to this method did not imply the renunciation of one's own mental acuity, or the empirical observation of natural and social phenomena, or the mastery of the cultural ambience of his time or his own personality. If Ibn Rushd adds commentary to compendious reading and paraphrastic exposition, which had not been done in philosophy up to that time, it is because he wanted to go further. Ibn Sīnā had implicitly accepted the need for a synthesis of the Islamic world view and, utilising a neo-Platonic framework had fashioned a "marvellous order of being" which was later to be useful for Latin scholasticism. Ibn Rushd was critical of such a viewpoint, accepting the Islamic concept of the cosmos, but granting to God what is God's (theology) and to temporal wisdom what corresponds to it (philosophy).

The thought of Ibn Rushd is marked by three exceptional milestones: the conscious, reasoned break with the neo-Platonic synthesis; the emphasis on his naturalistic education and his personal and empirical observations; and his break with philosophical-religious reductionism, involving the recognition of two levels of wisdom: one religious and the other exclusively scientific. The break with the neo-Platonic synthesis was fully conscious, explicitly reasoned and consubstantial with his peculiar mode of thought. He repeatedly notes his lack of agreement with the synthesis, refuting the thinkers (notably Ibn Sīnā) who upheld it in spite of the problems and sometimes serious conflicts this led to, such as those concerning the creation as described in the Quran. Against neo-Platonism, Ibn Rushd used two principal groups of arguments, which certainly sat none too comfortably in those times: first, the synthesis

betrays the very modality of Aristotelian thought; and, moreover, it is the result of supplementing the Stagyrte, or viewing his thought, from the standpoint of the suppositions of Muslim theology.

There exist, in fact, two levels of wisdom, one religious, the other philosophical. Ibn Rushd was a sincere believer; while Ibn Sinā finally took refuge in the famous "Eastern wisdom", writing no work of strict scholastic theology (although he did write symbolic commentaries), Ibn Rushd himself was the author of the *Faṣl* and the *Kashf*, both theological works. Might this not lead to a genuine confrontation, to the germ of the well-known doctrine of two truths? It might have done, but in fact the formal unity of Ibn Rushd's thought was never broken.

V.3 *Philosophy and theology*

If one admits the possibility of a formal duality of thought, on the one hand religious, on the other philosophical, the conclusion would be scepticism, as had occurred (in his view) in the case of the *mutakallimūn* and al-Ghazālī. What we today would call scientific validity is supported, as Ibn Rushd observed many centuries before Kant, by the universal value of the general principal of causality. This principle is not a postulate, but rests on the reiterated observation of experience. It deals with creation, generation, transformation or motivation. In order for knowledge to be such, it is necessary to accept the real necessity of a cause; without this there can be no science. Evidently, for Ibn Rushd, a sole cause is to be found at the end of any causal chain, namely God, the one, universal and eternal being, whose natural law rules the cosmos, just as His revelation enlightens humanity. As such, the philosophy attained by the wise on the one hand, and revelation on the other, both exhibit the law promulgated by God physically and ethically; in other words, the whole world of being has a rational structure, with two formal levels whose intentionality is distinguishable by reason: the theological and the philosophical.

The "first level"—the term is Ibn Rushd's—is investigated in four works of very different length, but which conform to a certain plan: *Tahāfut*, *Faṣl*, *Kashf*, and *Ḍamīma*. The first aims to destroy the dangerous and sceptical dialectic of al-Ghazālī, who had doubted the ability of the human mind to comprehend the world and praise its Creator. As for the second, the principle of the *Faṣl* appears from the following: "The intent of this essay is to inquire, from the point of view of revealed religion, whether by chance speculation about philosophy and logical science is permitted according to revealed religion, or if it is prohibited; and if it is recommended, whether by way of mere invitation or by way of a rigorous precept."²⁶

The second level is represented by various readings of the *Corpus aristotelicum arabum*. This other task is strictly philosophical, within the meaning of that term in *falsafa*, the most important thing being the purpose of the

Cordoban thinker: to find the truth. Thus, in spite of his attacks on al-Ghazālī, he presents himself as a true reviver of theology and as a defender of free philosophical work; and, for all his criticism of Ibn Sīnā, he will say that the *falāsifa* were correct rather than the Eastern theologian. Not even the pre-eminence of Aristotle can restrain him: he will not extend the consequences of the Stagyrīte's thought to his theology, nor will he accept them if they conflict with his personal observations.

V.4 *Knowledge and being*

For Ibn Rushd knowledge is supported in reality. Knowledge is founded on the principles of being, and the root of science is planted in the ontological structure of reality. What permits the formal reality of nature to be converted into the formal reality of understanding is the basic relationship of consubstantiation which exists between the ontological and gnoseological worlds. Man's being comprehends the being of things. Concrete living beings are also necessary. The Necessary Being *per se* (God) is always necessary; but concrete, caused beings become necessary only after being created, and are not merely possible, as Ibn Sīnā had maintained. Physics precedes metaphysics, and from it one can see the hylemorphic composition of the concrete being and the relationship between potential and act. Even the "philosophical" proof of the existence of God is physical; to complete it one need only recur to the "theological" proof, as he does.

The entire cosmos has a causal structure and order. This relates to the celestial bodies, to distinct astral intelligences, to the terrestrial world, living beings and man himself. What distinguishes mankind from the rest of terrestrial beings is not the generic mode of vital motors (the soul), but the higher or rational part: understanding. This is sustained by two elements: something engendered (our understanding) and something not engendered (the agential understanding). Therefore material or human understanding is unique for the entire species, and is also capable of universal knowledge. What is particular and personal for each person is his possible understanding. This conception, when it was acquired by Latin scholastics, gave rise to the theory of the unity of understanding, which was viewed as a negation of the individuality and eternity of each concrete human soul. No doubt Ibn Rushd did not intend to make such an affirmation, inasmuch as he negated it on many occasions. What he surely wished to say is that the mind of all men functions in the same way. The personal perspective of "our truth" will die with our bodies; its truth will last forever and is that which is united with the Divine Light. Clearly all this was stated in accordance with the terminology, beliefs and problematic of the thought of the times.

V.5 *Individual and social ethical concepts*

Knowledge is the most vital and human aspect of mankind. Man has been created to know, he develops in knowledge, he makes progress through

knowledge and perfects himself in it. Ultimate happiness can only be attained through wisdom. Moral order is a consequence of ontological order and is structured in accordance with metaphysical categories. Within it man acts freely but this does not imply a voluntaristic autarchy but rather a free compass within the necessary general order. Freedom is the human remedy for the physical fact of natural contingency. There can be no pure, unconditional exercise of freedom, but rather an adjustment to the laws of logic and physics. Only those who act accordingly acquire legitimate moral authority and can exercise it freely. Most men, who generally do not achieve self-control and freedom, achieve ethical behaviour through the permitted use of concrete goods. On the other hand, scholars achieve moral authority and practice in the act of freedom, and this authority should be projected upon society, which is conceived by Ibn Rushd as humanity's educative structure. Therefore the art of politics and the exercise of moral authority or prudence are the same thing.

In his *Exposition of the Republic*, Ibn Rushd analyses the social life of the Islamic societies of his times in a realistic manner. The Islamic *umma* is a model society, but in fact this has not been realised (even in the times of the Prophet and his first four successors, the *rāshidūn* caliphs). All that came into existence subsequently were timocracies, ending up as plutocracies and degenerating into demagoguery and tyranny. Ibn Rushd does not hesitate to list examples of this, including the Umayyad and Almoravid monarchies, and even the Almohad system in which he lived—which took more than a little courage. Still, compared to Ibn Bājja and Ibn Tufayl, he was not an absolute pessimist, since he believed in the possibility of political transformation, so long as scholars became governors—though this seemed almost totally impossible to him—or else when monarchs took scholars as advisers, which was also neither easy nor common.

V.6 *Significance and influence*

Ibn Rushd was the most important thinker of al-Andalus and the culmination of medieval Aristotelianism. An original spirit, he was an impassioned observer of nature and even an enthusiast of empirical verification, and he so praised his native country that, in today's language, he could be termed an Andalusi chauvinist. He was a complete scholar, standing out as a physician—and not only as a theorist, for his works give evidence of practice. On the other hand, his determination to break with the Aristotelian/neo-Platonic synthesis of Ibn Sinā underlines his sense of philosophy as an independent enterprise. He is, as he made clear in his writings on more than one occasion, firm in his rejection of the supposedly philosophical interpretations of "theologians of the three religions".

The presentation of Ibn Rushd (when his works were translated into medieval Latin) as the Commentator of Aristotle had both positive and negative

aspects. The positive side consisted in an appreciation of the quality, quantity and depth of his hermeneutics; as soon as St. Thomas Aquinas learned of the literal commentaries of Ibn Rushd, he abandoned the paraphrastic method and imposed that very model of literal exegesis on the Latin world. The negative side was to view him as a simple commentator, albeit an inspired one. St. Thomas appropriated many of Ibn Rushd's ideas, in philosophy as well as in theology, but he modified his idea of a strict philosophy and converted what in Ibn Rushd was a parallelism between philosophy and revelation into a full agreement between reason and faith. The Latin Averroists, on the other hand, not only developed the theory of the unity of the intellect, but also maintained the idea of a strict philosophy independent of theology and applicable not only to physics, gnoseology and metaphysics, but also to ethics and politics. Hence Ibn Rushd was doubly present in the Renaissance: negatively, insofar as the Averroists of the 15th to early 17th centuries were the most rigid scholastics, and positively insofar as his ideas about a strictly rational philosophy and a theology based on scriptures were typical ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation respectively.

The famous Andalusī poet Ibn Quzmān dedicated a *zajal* to Ibn Rushd; Dante remembered him in the *Divine Comedy* as "Averrois, che il gran commento feo". The anti-Averroist polemics, a plastic reflection of the "triumphs" of St. Thomas Aquinas, presented a cleaned-up, idealised figure of Ibn Rushd, to be painted by the artists of the Quattrocento, as in the fresco, "The Triumph of St. Thomas" in Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

In the Islamic world all trace of Ibn Rushd faded from the 8th/14th century on. In the West, except for a curious citation in the 18th-century polemic between Lessing and Herder, with which Kant was familiar, Ibn Rushd was just another scholastic, until E. Renan, in 1852, published his study of the Cordoban thinker, and so returned him to the living history of philosophy. When Farah Antūn (1277/1860-1341/1922) translated part of Renan's work into Arabic, Ibn Rushd's reputation in the Islamic world was restored to its legitimate place.

VI. *The crisis of Islamic philosophy*

VI.1 *The "refuge" of the neo-Platonic synthesis*

After Ibn Rushd *falsafa* disappeared from al-Andalus, and with it all philosophical thought in the western Islamic world. The reasons for this eclipse are to be sought not only in the juridical and political status of medieval Islamic society, but also in the critical, dynamic and strongly rationalist nature of *falsafa* itself, characteristics which were taken to their limits by Ibn Rushd and which could not be digested by Sunni Islamic society of the 7th/13th and following centuries. It is no accident that the only Andalusī philosophical work which might be considered *falsafa*, the *Introduction to the*

Art of Logic, by Ibn Ṭumlūs of Alcira (ca. 522/1175-620/1223) does not even mention the name of Ibn Ruṣḥd, who was the author's teacher. The Islamic thought of al-Andalus continued its development by other routes, producing figures of exceptional quality, such as Ibn 'Arabī and Ibn Khaldūn, but the ideological bases or instruments of both thinkers, and of others too, relate to the "refuge" of the Islamic neo-Platonic synthesis. In the case of Ibn 'Arabī (17 *Ramaḍān* 560/July 20 1165-28 *Rabī' II* 638/November 16 1240), the internal armature of this synthesis supports his grandiose work and mystical conception, which is studied elsewhere in this volume.

VI.1.1 *Ibn Sab'īn of Murcia*

Something similar occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of Ibn Sab'īn, who was born in the Valley of Ricote, near Cieza, Murcia, in 613/1216, and died in Mecca in 668/1270. As a youth he moved to Ceuta, where the governor of that city, Ibn Khalās, charged him with responding to a letter sent by the emperor Frederick II of Sicily to the Almohad sultan Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Raṣhīd. This reply, *Ajwiba Yamaniyya 'an as'ila Ṣiqiliyya*, made him famous in the West (in the Islamic world he was famed as a Sufi). Apart from this work, he was also the author of the "Book of the Baggage of the Gnostic" (*Kitāb budd al-ʿarīf*) and the "Book of the Right Path" (*Kitāb al-daraj*).

Leaving aside the mystical aspects of Ibn Sab'īn's thought, his philosophical stance is reminiscent of that of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. To it he adds a reference to the supposed *Al-Ḥikma al-Maṣhriqiyya* of Ibn Sīnā, of which he remarks: "This science which I mentioned to you is that called *Al-Ḥikma al-Maṣhriqiyya*. I do not want to imply that you should cultivate it by accepting it unconditionally, but rather because it is closer to the truth than the rest."²⁷ Although he does not specify further, his ideas are more easily relatable to the interpretation of al-Suhrawardī than to the thought of Ibn Sīnā. He even added several personal experiences to al-Ḥallāj's doctrine of mystical identification with God.

VI.1.2 *Ibn al-Khaṭīb*

That the recourse to refuge in the neo-Platonic synthesis was a typical posture in Andalusī thought of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries can be observed not only in the Sufi thought of the *Shādhiliyya* but also in a curious and difficult work written by the Granadan polymath Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, who was also famous as a historian and as one of the three Arab poets whose verses appear in the decorative calligraphy adorning the Alhambra. He was born in Loja, Granada, on 25 *Rajāb* 713/November 15 1333, and was executed in Fez at the end of 776/May-June 1375 at the instigation of his former lord and friend king Muḥammad V of Granada, whom he had served as chief vizier. His accuser was his former disciple the poet Ibn Zamrak, the best of the three whose poems are embodied in the Alhambra arabesques. He was accused of impiety, although the ultimate reasons

were in fact political, the pretext being the doctrines expounded in his book, "The Garden of Gnostic Knowledge of Divine Love" (*Rawḍat al-ta'rif bi 'l-hubb al-sharīf*).

The work in question is written in the typical symbolic form of a tree, in this case, a tree of love—an old tradition in the Islamic world which was later popularised in the West by Ramon Llull's *Arbre de filosofia d'amor* (1298). The roots of the tree of love are anchored in the soil of the human soul, which has four layers: soul, understanding, spirit and heart. Its roots, not only the esoteric ones but the exoteric and intermediate ones (*barzakḥ*), are irrigated by the four waters of generative dust, measure, revelation and reason. The stump of the trunk is formed by explanations, sojourns, intellections and definitions. Its bark is the word, praise its sap. The branches are the categories of love: lovers, loved ones, signs and notices of love. The twigs are mystical phenomena; the leaves, manifestations of love; the flowers, purified human spirits; the fruit, union with God. Possibly Ibn al-Khaṭīb hides his debt to Ibn 'Arabī, and, in turn, cites Ibn Sīnā and the *ishrāqīyyūn*. His relation to *shādhiliyya* is evident. There is no authentic echo of Ibn Sīnā in him, but rather signs of *ishrāqī* interpenetration. The only recognisable texts of Ibn Sīnā found in the work are one from the *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa* and another from the *Risālat al-ḥudūd*, which he confuses with the *Kitāb al-burhān*. Perhaps the most curious aspect of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's book is the large number of expressions taken from Shi'ite thought, such as the theory of "Muḥammadan light" (*al-nūr al-muḥammadī*) or that of the angelic *malakūt* and *jabarūt*.

VI.2 Ibn Khaldūn

VI.2.1 Life and works

The family of the Banū Khaldūn resided in Seville until the times of the grandfather of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn (Ibn Khaldūn), and when the latter came to live in Seville as ambassador of the king of Granada at the court of Pedro I of Castile, the king offered to return all his goods if he would agree to enter his service. The author was born in Tunis on 1 *Ramaḍān* 732/May 27 1332, and served the Marīnid and Ḥafṣid sultans, residing, Tunis and Seville apart, in Fez, Granada, Bougie and Tiaret. Later he emigrated to Egypt, where he lived till his death on 16 *Ramaḍān* 808/March 17 1406, but not before having endured imprisonment at the hands of Tamerlane (803/1400), who eventually freed him, having been impressed by his historical knowledge. As a young man he wrote a theological/philosophical primer entitled *Lubāb al-muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-Dīn* ("Synthesis of the principles of religion"). During his stay in Egypt he wrote the *Shifā' al-sā'il li tahdhīb al-masā'il* ("The cure for those who seek to resolve questions"). But his great work was the *Kitāb al-'ibar*, a universal history whose long introduction, or *Muqaddima*, made him famous. The book also contains an autobiography

which, although sometimes published separately, is, like the introduction, part of *Al-ʿibar*.

VI.2.2 *Philosophical education*

Ibn Khaldūn is basically a historian, particularly well informed on the history of the Berbers. His philosophical training was, nevertheless, considerable. He knew about the origins of *falsafa*, the reasons why the Arabs received and developed it, and the names of the principal *falāsifa*. Moreover, he uses them more in his works than one might deduce from quotations alone, and one may suppose that he used Ibn Rushd's *Exposition of the Republic* without citing it, either directly, or through what he learned from his teachers, notably al-ʿAbili.

It may well have been his good cultural and philosophical education, together with his keen spirit of observation, which made him (without either knowing or intending such a thing) the remote founder of positive sociology and of the philosophy of history, which were not to be developed in the West until the 19th century.

VI.2.3 *The limits of historical positivism*

Ibn Khaldūn deduced, from his analysis of historical facts, a series of principles which he considered absolutely original, the spontaneous fruit of his research. These principles are: (1) History must be founded on the analysis of concrete facts. (2) The objective of history is eminently sociological, inasmuch as history "has as its own objective to know the social situation of man, that is, civilisation, and to inform us about concomitant phenomena such as the savage life, sweetening customs, family and tribal spirit, the differences in power between some peoples and others which account for the birth of empires and dynasties, the distinct kinds of rank, the occupations to which men devote their work and efforts, such as the professions, and so forth."²⁸ (3) All historical events have a causal explanation, whether sociological, economic, political, ethnological, or whatever. (4) Real historical cities, that is, political actions and bodies, are based on the principle of the origin and evolution of sovereignty. (5) All historical phenomena, however trivial and mundane they may appear, must have a sociologically sufficient reason (in the light of this principle, Ibn Khaldūn is never content with pointing out events, but always attempts to explain them). (6) Historical facts can originate from current sociological distinctions but also from an original distinction (Ibn Khaldūn, who was acquainted with the Muslim kingdoms of Tunis, Fez, Bougie, and Granada, was well apprised of such facts). (7) One must establish a positive or negative link between material and cultural progress and political power. (8) To explain historical facts one must know three kinds of phenomena: (a) psychological characteristics of human groups; (b) economic characteristics of the life of human groups and their relationship to geographical conditions; (c) political phenomena which con-

dition the historical process. (9) Insofar as is possible, the historian should refer only to purely natural causes to explain historical events. (10) Individuals and nations do not form a historical unit of analysis; it is rather homogeneous and social groups which do so. The concrete and individual protagonists of history are not individual leaders of the masses, but a "product" engendered by those groups. (11) It is the social environment (as Ibn Khaldūn observed long before Marx), and not inheritance, which conditions the individual and social groups.

VI.2.4 *The sociological bases of history*

Along with material bases like climate, lifestyle, tribal organisation, modes of production and settlement, Ibn Khaldūn also analyses important elements of social psychology, such as the sense of imitation, the attraction of authority, sympathy and antipathy, and bellicose practices. He locates the origins of sovereignty in the force of tribal power, but the legitimacy of power resides not in its origin but in the force of social cohesion (*'aṣabiyya*), whose pressure accounts for the only authentic nobility. The traditional Arab concept of aristocracy leads "to the disappearance of any force of social cohesion among them and to this change is owing ... the ruin of Arab power in this country and ... of the dynasty which founded it. Freed of the dominion of the Berbers ..., these Arabs have lost the force of social cohesion and of mutual aid which carried them to power and preserve nothing more than their genealogies ...; they imagine that with their birth alone and a job with the government they can conquer a kingdom and govern man ..." ²⁹ Ibn Khaldūn also criticises the opinion of Ibn Rushd, which is similar to that of the Spanish Muslims: "Ibn Rushd says that a family is noble when it has been established in a city for a long time ... I would like to know what advantage a family can derive from a long stay in a city if its does not possess that force of social cohesion which assures it respect and obedience." ³⁰

Ibn Khaldūn grounds the evolution of social classes in this "force of social cohesion". When that spirit and the conditions that gave rise to it disappear, then social groups atrophy, and if its members are able to stabilise themselves in power, their descendants will live a tranquil life and their energy will dissipate until they are completely demoralised: "Nobility and enlightenment, which are accidents of human life ... reach their end after four successive generations." ³¹ And he goes on to explain, in a mathematical, way how *'aṣabiyya* diminishes: it survives intact in the founder of political power, is weakened in the sons' generation, and is effaced completely in that of the great grandson, who believes in his superiority as an individual and not in *'aṣabiyya*, and finds himself incapable of maintaining his privileged situation. In four generations, therefore, the whole historical cycle is completed, from the founder of the empire, full of moral and physical vigour, up to the kingdom's liquidator, who, due to his life of comfort, is lacking in any virtue.

VI.2.5 *Significance and influence*

When, in the mid-19th century (1865), Ibn Khaldūn began to be read in the West there began a wave of admiration which has lasted to this day. Though already known as a historian, he had not till then been appreciated in the Islamic world as a sociologist and philosopher of history; when he was so recognised, his exceptional calibre kindled limitless fervour and enthusiasm. However, Ibn Khaldūn cannot be regarded as the pioneer of positive history, since he did not apply the methodology of the *Muqaddima* to the rest of his work, nor is he the precursor of Hegel, Nietzsche, or Comte, nor the antecedent of historical materialism, as has been asserted. Ibn Khaldūn's empiricism has very concrete limits; in fact, many of the expositors and students of Ibn Khaldūn have been too impregnated by their own positivism to notice that he applied his theories within a very limited experiential framework, namely the Arabs and Berbers of the Maghrib. As Taha Husain observed, Ibn Khaldūn did not take advantage of his later life in Cairo to moderate his pessimism with regard to urban civilisations. Neither had he taken the best advantage of his earlier time at the Christian court of Seville. Moreover, his attitude towards al-Andalus is filled with resentment. Ibn Rushd said that al-Andalus civilised Arabs and Berbers and had made them better men; Ibn Khaldūn, by contrast, asserted that it made them bourgeois and effeminate and deprived them of *'aṣabiyya*. His critique of the urban, agrarian, artisanal and commercial civilisation of al-Andalus, and his silence regarding Egypt, constitutes an *a priori* attitude and not a sociological deduction.

Yet, even if we restrict his great work within its proper limits, the analysis of historical and social reality carried out by Ibn Khaldūn was, for all the antecedent analyses of al-Fārābī and Ibn Rushd, an extraordinary achievement. Moreover, his appropriation by modern Islamic thinkers, following his rediscovery, has served to set in motion the modern, positive sociology and philosophy of history in the Islamic world.

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, Cairo, 1317/1899, II, 199-200.

² *Ibid.*, II, 226.

³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Epistola del auxilio divino*, part. trans. M. Asín Palacios, "Un código inexplorado de Ibn Ḥazm", *Al-Andalus*, 4, 1936-39, pp. 9-11.

⁴ *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, II, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 91-92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 96-97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 94.

⁸ *Los caracteres y la conducta*, ed. and trans. M. Asín Palacios, Madrid, 1916, pp. 7-8; trans., pp. 1-2.

⁹ *El collar de la paloma*, trans. E. García Gómez, Madrid, 1957, p. 80.

¹⁰ *Los caracteres y la conducta*, p. 58; trans., p. 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56; trans., p. 85.

¹² Cf. M. Cruz Hernández, *La recepción de los "falāsifa" en al-Andalus: problemas críticos* (in press).

¹³ Cf. M. Cruz Hernández, *Filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1957, I, 310.

- 14 M. Asín Palacios, "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz", *Al-Andalus*, 5, 1940, p. 528.
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- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 26 *Faṣl al-Maqāl*, trans. M. Alonso, *La teología de Averroes*, Madrid, 1947, p. 150.
- 27 Cf. Cruz Hernández, *Filosofía hispano-musulmana*, II, 308.
- 28 *Ibid.*, II, 323.
- 29 *Ibid.*, II, 331-32.
- 30 *Ibid.*, II, 332.
- 31 *Ibid.*

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF IBN RUSHD

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE INTELLECT IN THE WORKS OF IBN RUSHD:
FROM PHILOLOGICAL EXAMINATION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

JAMAL AL-DIN AL-'ALAWI

INTRODUCTION

Scholarly study has failed, as yet, to explore the full range and significance of Ibn Rushd's philosophy, and this adds to the difficulties of providing a precise and satisfactory treatment of the subject within such a brief paper as this. I have therefore felt it appropriate to focus on a single theme in Ibn Rushd's writings, and to attempt to establish, around this, the preliminary outlines of a new strategy for studying the Rushdī corpus and the philosophical system contained within it.

Several aspects of Ibn Rushd's thought might have served as such a focus. Of particular interest, for example, would be an examination of his metaphysical writings in the light of his evolving perspectives on any one of the philosophical problems in these works; or a consideration of his works on logic with respect to the development of a theory of knowledge and demonstrative proof. This paper, however, is concerned with the evolution of the problem of the intellect, a subject selected on account of its prominence in the history of medieval philosophy, and also because of the increasing interest now also felt by present-day writers in a subject clearly likely to give rise to fruitful research. This will further permit us to evaluate other related types of philosophical questions which have hitherto escaped the attention of ancient and modern scholars.

The question of the intellect occupies an obviously important place both in the general history of philosophy and in the particular context of the historical study of Ibn Rushd. No other aspect of the Rushdī discourse, indeed, has such a unique and distinguished history behind it; and while other aspects have failed to leave lasting reverberations, this one led on to the crucially important intellectual current subsequently known as Latin Averroism.

I should like, from the very outset, to stress this twofold aspect: we have to consider, on the one hand, the intrinsic question of the problem of the intellect in the Rushdī corpus; and, on the other, the place this question assumes within the history of medieval philosophy among the Latins. The latter aspect should not, however, lead us to overestimate the significance of the problem itself, nor should one stretch the problem beyond its own natural context by seeing it exclusively in terms of its role as an axis of Averroism. Still more importantly, the problem should not be seen as the defining ele-

ment for comparing Ibn Rushd's philosophy with other philosophical systems; to do so would be to give the reader the impression that other Rushdī topics and questions are insignificant, and that Averroism in its entirety can, in the final analysis, be reduced to a theory of the intellect. No doubt the problem of the intellect was a central feature, if still not the most important one, of Latin Averroism, but it was not a key element within Ibn Rushd's original Arabic writings, or within the historical context in which he lived. As such I believe we must first develop a reading of the problem of the intellect as embedded in the Rushdī corpus itself. I do not intend, here, to undertake a critical review of work carried out in this area, but rather to establish a different framework for considering Ibn Rushd's heritage, focusing, to this end, on a single theme in his psychological writings.

In a previous work¹ I set out a general strategy for the reading of the Rushdī corpus based on a comparative survey of Ibn Rushd's writings, particularly those in the original Arabic. It was maintained that there exist different yet correlating levels in the corpus, these correlations involving aspects of the following selected writings: *Al-Mukhtaṣarāt* (the Epitomes), *Al-Jawāmi'* (the Short Commentaries), *Al-Talākhīṣ* (the Middle Commentaries) and various other commentaries and treatises. At this point I should like to re-examine² this thesis, in order to analyse how far the development of the definition of the intellect in Ibn Rushd's writings can in fact be determined.

Before presenting brief conclusions on the subject, derived from discussions and from my own research,³ I should like to draw attention to a centrally important principle which is often overlooked: namely, that the foundations of the Rushdī corpus have to be properly established before we are in a position to analyse Ibn Rushd's thought. An appreciation of this will set the present study on a proper footing, and will also shed critical light on the current state of Rushdī scholarship. Present-day students of Ibn Rushd are all too ready to apply the "synthetic approach" (*al-naẓar al-tarkibī*) to his writings, or to probe his philosophical depth and ideological intention, without realising that much more fundamental textual work still needs to be done. While not wishing to curb the legitimate aspirations of such scholars, I feel that their work is really premature; that the present state of Rushdī studies firmly precludes systematic analysis of this kind.⁴

Clearly, then, several difficulties have to be met. First, there is the particular difficulty of determining what, in the writings of Ibn Rushd, the problem of the intellect actually is, the barrier here being a linguistic obscurity which at times makes the author's intended meaning impossible to discover—all the more so when we are working with the translation of a lost original text, as is the case with the main textual fragment forming the basis of the theory of the intellect in his writings, i.e., *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (the Long Commentary) of the *De Anima* (*Kitāb al-naḥs*). Still more problematic is the fact that the surviving primary sources, Ibn Rushd's psychological writings

themselves, exist in manuscripts which still remain unedited by recognised standards of editing⁵—a discipline which requires the researcher first to undertake the work of the philologist. To this end the text and its manuscripts must be compared with the aim, on the one hand, of establishing a sound text and, on the other, of critically analysing the variants between the manuscripts. Such work is a prerequisite both for a general study of Ibn Rushd and for a specific examination of the problem of the intellect.

This, then, must be our starting point for any serious study of the question; and until this first phase is accomplished, none of our efforts will achieve fully satisfactory results, if indeed they achieve any worthwhile results at all. While it is no inalienable rule that philological and historical examination should precede philosophical examination, it is nonetheless our task, as students of the history of philosophy, to lay the proper groundwork for the study of philosophy and philosophical theory; and this will only be possible if we first focus on improving and correcting the primary tools of research. It is essential, in this case, that we assemble all the manuscripts at our disposal and verify their authenticity.

This first section of the paper will investigate a group of texts which form the basis of Ibn Rushd's psychological studies, and will attempt to clarify long-standing obscurities and confusions surrounding it. The examination will be restricted to those texts preserved in the original Arabic, namely, *Al-Mukhtaṣar* (the Epitome) and *Al-Talkhīṣ* (the Middle Commentary) (*Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (the Long Commentary) will be examined in a subsequent section, where an attempt will be made to assess the influence of Averroism on the subject). Only the relevant chapters in the texts, namely those concerned with the question of the intellect, will be considered, and these will be examined as if with a view to publication according to the scientifically recognised principles of editing. In the second section I shall attempt to assess what developments, if any, may be discerned between the positions advocated by Ibn Rushd in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ* and those in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*. Our re-reading of the original texts in the first section will, therefore, prepare us for the analysis provided in the second; and it is for this reason that the subtitle "from philological examination to philosophical analysis" has been chosen for this paper.

I

I.1 *Al-Mukhtaṣar on psychology*

Al-Mukhtaṣar (the Epitome) on psychology has a special significance as against the other *Al-Mukhtaṣarāt* (Epitomes) and *Al-Jawāmi'* (Short Commentaries). In addition to being an analysis of Aristotle's *De Anima*, it examines the entire peripatetic heritage on psychology, thus also introducing themes present in *Al-Jawāmi'*;⁶ for Ibn Rushd had intended the latter to be an inven-

tory of Aristotle's scientific statements as extracted from the dialectical arguments dispersed through the latter's writings. However, this *Mukhtaṣar* does not endeavour to deduce demonstrative proofs from *De Anima*: the prime motive behind the text is not, as is the case in *Al-Jawāmi' al-ṭabī'iyya*, to provide an abstract of Aristotle's opinions, but rather to defend his position concerning the problem of the intellect.⁷ This intention is reiterated at several points in the text and will become more evident in the course of our analysis. Yet, having established the thematic relationship of this text to *Al-Jawāmi'*, we are now precluded from seeing it as part of the *Mukhtaṣarāt*; for the *Mukhtaṣarāt* were all written prior to Ibn Rushd's study of Aristotle and thus the text—contrary to what I previously affirmed in my study *Al-Matn al-Rushdī*—is an anomaly.

With this established, we should now be in a better position to approach the work; and I hope, indeed, to return to the whole question in another study of the "Problematic of the Rushdī Text". What I wish to do here is to point out the difficulties involved in the reading of the text.

Two problems seem to me to be of central importance. The first of these will be briefly summarised and the second elaborated in greater detail thereafter.

The first difficulty concerns the actual wording of the text. Ibn Rushd covers a wide range of ideas, leading the reader on from discussions of the theoretical intellect (*al-'aql al-naẓarī*) to a consideration of theoretical intelligibles (*al-ma'qūlāt al-naẓariyya*), then shifting to an exposé on the matter and the form of these intelligibles, and also examining the role of imaginary representations (*al-ma'ānī 'l-khayālīyya*) in the process of intellection (*'ama-liyyat al-ta'aqqul*) and the problem of conjunction (*ittiṣāl*) in the light of what had been affirmed by Ibn Bājja in his famous epistle on the subject. The course of the discussion may be summed up as follows: he begins with the theoretical intellect, then moves on to the theoretical intelligibles which serve as the pivot of the problem, and this subject is studied in depth, before he next moves on to a discussion of the active intellect (*al-'aql al-fa'āl*), which is defined and examined in relation to the material intellect (*al-'aql al-hayūlānī*); he then concludes by defining the problem of conjunction within the context of the rational faculty (*al-quwwa 'l-nāfiqa*).

It is important to note that the order of subjects followed by Ibn Rushd in this text differs from that established by Aristotle in his investigation of the rational faculty in *De Anima*—this indicating that Ibn Rushd was not examining the book of the First Teacher (Aristotle) as he had done in the *Jawāmi'* texts and in both the *Talkhīṣ* of *De Anima* and *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (Long Commentary) on it. For this reason the text is unique when set against the other types of Rushdī commentary.

The second difficulty in reading this text arises from the presence of several manuscripts,⁸ together with different printed editions of the text.⁹ A comparative analysis of the manuscripts yields its own peculiar difficulties,

which will be examined in detail later, but first I should like to point out the related difficulties associated with the printed editions. For example, the Egyptian edition has prepared a text from a synthesis of two very different manuscripts (Cairo and Madrid).¹⁰ Yet the difference between these manuscripts is substantial enough to have warranted treating them separately; it would have been more appropriate to choose and print one manuscript, with the text of the other being reproduced in the margins. Preserving the distinctiveness of each manuscript would allow us to differentiate between what was written first and the later additions; and it is in fact these later additions that have convoluted the meaning of the text, thereby further confusing and misguiding the reader in his attempts at interpretation.

It is obvious, then, that the text should be studied in the light of all the different manuscripts at our disposal—only so can we claim to have met the requirements of scientific research and reliability. Moreover, familiarity with the manuscripts brings to the surface differing interpretations which cannot be reduced merely to a matter of identifying common differences; the only way, in fact, to make sense of these differences is to assume that the text, subsequent to its composition, has been subject to revision, modification and augmentation. It is regrettable that the present state of Rushdī studies makes reiterations of this kind necessary. Such matters could simply have been dispensed with had the editors prepared the groundwork properly, and so provided the researcher with accurate and academically verified material.

We may surmise, therefore, that the manuscripts, collectively or individually, do not lend themselves to amalgamation into one, coherent text; attempts to do so will in fact only further remove us from an understanding of the content and aims of the work, and may also distort and exaggerate the force of the questions raised by Ibn Rushd. The only sure way of proceeding is, as indicated earlier, to make a scrupulous distinction between the earliest version and later accretions; and the manuscripts should then be read in the light of *Al-Talkhīṣ* and, in particular, of *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.

Thus there definitely exists, I believe—especially with regard to those chapters dealing with the problem of the intellect—a first version of the book, in which Ibn Rushd drafted his initial thoughts, and within which a set of specific amendments and additions was later incorporated in the light of his subsequent writings, particularly *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*. This would appear to provide the most probable explanation for the differences, in spite of Ibn Rushd's own assertion, in one of the Madrid manuscript copies, that he had not deleted anything he had originally written about the material intellect—a statement made in the context of certain other changes he had made in that manuscript on the subject of the rational faculty. I believe that the amendments in question were indeed made, but went unacknowledged, possibly because they were incorporated long after the time of the work's initial composition. An examination of the extant manuscripts yields specific clues en-

abling us to differentiate between the first version and the later additions.¹¹ Some editors have been aware of variants among the manuscripts, and of the distinction between an earlier and a later version, but they have not fully grasped the intellectual significance of these variants, with the result that the latter have hitherto remained unanalysed.

A careful comparative study of the manuscripts leads me to conclude that specific additions stem from his subsequent intellectual development, which saw a profound change in his position on the problem of the intellect; a change that involved a reformulation of his position on the nature of the theoretical intellect, and represented, too, a shift in his position on the nature of the material intellect and its relationship to imaginative forms. Ibn Rushd's psychological theory constitutes a very well defined structure, to the extent that a change in any one of the constituent elements will radically alter the structure as a whole; as such, his shifting positions constitute a reformulation of the entire system, and a careful effort has therefore been made to differentiate those elements within the manuscripts which are traceable to the first version and those which represent later amendments. Let us now consider the distinctiveness of this text vis-à-vis the other psychological writings of Ibn Rushd.

The major distinctive differences between the two versions can best be summed up¹² by saying that the first constitutes a coherent and well organised text, while the second contains additions to the first which create uncertainties over the actual meaning. Moreover, such uncertainties and dissonances manifest themselves throughout the text, so that it is in fact unintelligible in more than one place. The second part of this study will demonstrate in detail how sense may be made of these incongruities in the light of a perceived evolution in Ibn Rushd's own perspectives.

The differences between the two versions may be treated with respect to six specific factors, two of these involving the first version and the others the second.

The peculiar features of the first version are as follows:

(1) The analogy of the tablet is used to define the capacity of the imaginative faculty (*al-quwwa 'l-khayāliyya*) to accept intelligibles, which are represented by the writing on the tablet,¹³ while the subjective self (*al-naḥs al-mawḍū'a*) of this capacity is represented by the tablet itself. It is clear that parts of this analogy reflect certain perspectives on the material intellect, imaginary representations and the theoretical intellect different from those set out in *Al-Talkhīṣ*, and significantly different from the conclusions reached in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.¹⁴ Interestingly, these perspectives are similar to those held by Ibn Bājjā. The absence or omission of this analogy from the other manuscript copies is the first indication of Ibn Rushd's changing position on the structure of the material intellect (I am not postulating this evolution simply on the basis of one passage in one manuscript, which would be clear-

ly unacceptable: the hypothesis is further supported by another version of the analogy in *Al-Talkhīṣ* and a third version in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.¹⁵

(2) The long chapter discussing the rational faculty is divided into two parts: in the first part Ibn Ruṣḥd summarises a portion of Ibn Bājja's *Risālat al-ittiṣāl*, while in the second he sets out what appears to be a summary of Ibn Bājja's method—in such a way as to suggest support for it. The conspicuous absence or omission of these passages from later versions can be interpreted as a disavowal, by Ibn Ruṣḥd, of Ibn Bājja's theory of conjunction. A probable explanation for this is to be found not in *Al-Talkhīṣ* but in relevant sections within *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* of *De Anima*,¹⁶ with further evidence also to be found in the *Sharḥ mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a* (Commentary on the Metaphysics) under the heading *Al-Ṭā'* and *Al-Lām*.¹⁷

If we now turn our attention to the later manuscript, we find additions and amendments characterised by four features. The first of these is well known, because it is explicitly dealt with in the manuscripts, while the remaining three have been deduced by comparing the text not simply with the manuscript copies, but also with *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.

The first feature is the amendment with which he concludes the chapter on the rational faculty,¹⁸ replacing the sections summarising portions of Ibn Bājja's *Risālat al-ittiṣāl*. In this amendment Ibn Ruṣḥd clearly states that his earlier position on the material intellect, as set out in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, was incorrect, and that his revised opinion can be found in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* of *De Anima*—the implication being that Ibn Bājja had been responsible for leading him into error. Although this amendment is so well known, it has not been sufficiently considered by scholars, who have thus failed to conclude that Ibn Ruṣḥd, having initially upheld Ibn Bājja's position, later relinquished it.

It has already been pointed out that Ibn Ruṣḥd's psychological theory is framed within a highly integrated structure, so that tampering with any one of its elements will affect all the other elements of the system; and, as such, the amendments to Ibn Ruṣḥd's positions on the theoretical intellect and theoretical intelligibles, and also on the subject of the material intellect and imaginary representations, must be seen as embodying a reformulation of his whole psychological theory. The amendments cited thus far are not in themselves sufficient basis for postulating such a reformulation, but it is hoped that the ensuing analysis of the remaining features will provide further evidence to this end.

Perhaps the most important of these is the twofold amendment relating to the material intellect and theoretical intelligibles. The first version, reflecting Ibn Bājja's influence, defines the material intellect as being that potentiality in imaginative forms through which intelligibles are received. In his amendment, however, he sets out, in the form of an overall summary, a viewpoint similar to that which he had demonstrated in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, stating that

he no longer considers the material intellect to be a capacity within imaginative forms, but rather a substance which represents, *in potentia*, all intelligibles, but which in itself is not anything. Had he still been in agreement with Ibn Bājja, these differences would not have existed. He further confirms the amendments by linking theoretical intelligibles with two objects: one of them the material intellect, which he regards as eternal, and the other the imaginative forms, which are viewed as a corruptible entity. An examination of *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* reveals a contradiction with the position taken in the earlier version, where he had concluded that these intelligibles were material, contingent, generating, corrupting, multiple and changeable. The fourth amendment focuses on the conception of Man as possessor of a capacity linked to imaginative forms, which enables Man alone, and no animal, to accept intelligibles. This amendment, though less valuable than the preceding one, is nonetheless important because it indicates a change in Ibn Rushd's position, if only in connection, apparently, with the role played by imaginative forms. The gist of his argument is that imaginative forms are not stationary but in motion, and this leads on to the formulation of what is effectively a new and specific position, in which he proclaims his disagreement with two major schools within the history of Aristotelianism,¹⁹ and further states that commenting on these two schools and judging between them will require far more extensive analysis than is possible within the confines of the *Mukhtaṣar*. This new position is developed in two successive stages, the first represented in *Al-Talkhīṣ*, and the second transmitted through *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, which will be examined in the second part of this study.

These, very briefly, are the most important deductions from my reading of this unique work, the general conclusion being that it would be an error to regard *Al-Mukhtaṣar* as a single well-ordered text, or as a reliable source for establishing Ibn Rushd's position on the problem of the intellect. We may further conclude that, with regard to the problem of the intellect, and in particular to the question of the material intellect, he was influenced by Ibn Bājja and other commentators on Aristotle—such a position being incompatible with what he writes later in *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, where he returns to reading the original texts of Aristotle (although, it should be noted that his position in *Al-Talkhīṣ* is closer to *Al-Mukhtaṣar* than to *Al-Sharḥ*).

The parameters of the work will now become clearer to us, and we shall be forced to choose between two alternatives: we can either, when examining the problem of the intellect, focus solely on *Al-Sharḥ* and use *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ* as supplementary works; or, on the other hand, *Al-Mukhtaṣar* may be viewed as an initial, fundamental fragment permitting us to examine the evolution of the problem of the intellect in the writings of Ibn Rushd—in which case the three texts will be treated initially as of equal value for our research, with preference given to *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, as the most important, at a subsequent stage.

We might, also, examine the evolution of Ibn Rushd's position, or try to demonstrate the structure of the Rushdī system. In this case we would have to rely on *Al-Mukhtaṣar* as a primary text, or use it in conjunction with other texts containing similar passages and perhaps even addressing similar questions. I do not, however, believe that such an approach would be warranted by the texts.

I.2 *The Talkhīṣ (Middle Commentary) of De Anima*

This *Talkhīṣ* occupies an intermediate position between *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Sharḥ*, exhibiting similarities and differences, vis-à-vis these texts, in both form and content. With respect to form, *Al-Talkhīṣ* is a commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, being in fact Ibn Rushd's first commentary on this work,²⁰ and its structure differs from that of *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, while bearing some similarities to that of *Al-Sharḥ*. With respect to content, particularly in its conceptualisation of the problem of the intellect, *Al-Talkhīṣ* is closer to *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and differs from *Al-Sharḥ*.²¹

It is immediately clear that the various positions of *Al-Talkhīṣ*, particularly in its first version, may reasonably be regarded as an extension of those adopted in the minor *Mukhtaṣar*. The text is of crucial importance, not only because it records a shift in Ibn Rushd's position, but also on account of the distinctive style in which it is written. However, the primary consideration of this study is to identify the problems and difficulties the text places before the reader; and these are similar to the ones encountered in the preceding analysis of *Al-Mukhtaṣar*.

Al-Talkhīṣ does indeed differ from *Al-Mukhtaṣar* in two significant ways: in the varying number of extant manuscripts,²² and by the fact that *Al-Talkhīṣ* still only exists in manuscript form. Nevertheless, the difficulties involved in reconstructing the two texts are similar in principle, although they are less evident in *Al-Talkhīṣ*. It should be pointed out at the outset that, whereas our analysis and conclusions concerning *Al-Mukhtaṣar* were based on significant variants among the manuscript copies, the two important manuscripts of *Al-Talkhīṣ* agree more closely with each other. Yet I have concluded that the *Talkhīṣ* manuscripts represent two different versions, with one manuscript, particularly in respect of those chapters relevant to this study, representing an earlier version, and the other containing additions and amendments made to the text at a later date. The differences between the two manuscripts will be discussed later in this paper.

The distinction between earlier and later version is indicated in the first and third chapters of the text, where it becomes evident that revision has taken place following the completion of *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*. However, this cannot in itself be taken as sufficient confirmation of the differences: we must undertake a detailed examination of the text, particularly of those passages devoted to the problem of the intellect.

I have concluded that *Al-Talkhīṣ* advances two mutually contradictory positions on the nature of the material intellect, which can only be reasonably explained as reflecting a later revision. In his first position one can trace the influence of the Alexandrian school of commentators, which claimed that the material intellect was a potentiality in which nothing exists. Yet it does not appear that Ibn Rushd adopted the position of the Alexandrian school in its totality: rather, he simply adopted some of the well-known conclusions of Alexander, the ancient commentator himself. His position can thus be seen as shifting from that of *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, in which he follows the school of Ibn Bājja, to that of *Al-Talkhīṣ*, where he inclines towards the Alexandrian school.

As for the second position, this emerges in an important subsequent amendment in *Al-Takhḥīṣ*, which represents a break from his previous view that the material intellect is solely a potentiality. Here, for the first time, he postulates the material intellect to be a separate substance in and of itself, and, in addition, he advocates a doctrine of reconciliation between the opinions of Alexander and those of Themistius. This doctrine, which he refers to as *madhhab al-jamʿ* ("doctrine of synthesis"), will be examined later when considering the amendments from *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Sharḥ*.

These amendments and additions, which I take as evidence of a new position, change the meaning of the text as preserved in the first version. Moreover, they change the definition of important concepts in such a way as to align them with definitions advanced in *Al-Sharḥ*. Two additions in particular reflect the influence of the latter.

The first of these, cited in the first chapter, concerns the theoretical intellect and the habituated intellect (*al-ʿaql bi 'l-malaka*).²³ The amendment concisely summarises the positions found in *Al-Sharḥ*, namely that the theoretical intellect is neither generating nor corrupting, but is rather a corruptible entity due to the matter (*mawḍūʿ*) which acts within it. The second addition, of less significance than the first, clarifies Themistius' stand on "the intellect which is within us".²⁴

There are two other amendments relating to the material intellect and, to some extent, to the active intellect, although no reference, explicit or implicit, is made to *Al-Sharḥ*. The likelihood that they were composed at the same period is heightened by the fact that the second amendment refers to the first²⁵ and that they both convey his new position on the material intellect. The later amendment summarises arguments that the intellect is potential, and is other than a faculty or a capacity, this being clearly contrary to the position expressed more than once in the first version of *Al-Talkhīṣ*.

All this would suggest that the revision of the text was completed at different periods, the first amendment being added before the completion of *Al-Sharḥ* and the second thereafter, and it heralds an enormous change in Ibn Rushd's conception of the material intellect. The new position cannot, it is

true, be readily equated with that found in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*; nonetheless, it represents a decisive break with the position advanced in the first version of *Al-Talkhīṣ*, and also with that of *Al-Mukhtaṣar*.

Al-Talkhīṣ is, therefore, a text of basic importance for understanding the developing treatment of the problem of the intellect in the writings of Ibn Rushd. *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, in all their versions, are to be seen as embodying preliminary perspectives which were later superseded by the final version set out in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*. This is the main conclusion to be reached through an examination of his psychological writings as a whole.²⁶

Let us now, in the light of this conclusion, briefly review the positions articulated in the three texts in question, with a view to laying the foundations (as suggested above) of a new strategy for approaching the Rushdī corpus.

II

Introduction

From the above analysis, we can deduce two different stages in the evolution of Ibn Rushd's view of the intellect. The first, which may be referred to as the Ibn Bājja-Alexandrian phase, can be traced back to the two original versions of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ*, i.e., those versions containing no amendments or additions; the second is that embodied in *Al-Sharḥ*, and may be called the Rushdī stage. Given that these two stages involve radically different and contradictory conceptions, our study may now proceed in one of two directions. One alternative would be to trace the evolution in Ibn Rushd's writings; this would involve an examination of all three texts, and our analysis would proceed on the assumption that there are two discernible stages, and that the amendments in *Al-Talkhīṣ* represent the middle ground between them. The other would be to attempt an analysis of Ibn Rushd's psychological system, or, more specifically, of his conception of the problem of the intellect. In this case we would no longer need to examine *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ* or, indeed, refer to them.

Since the differences between the texts are clearly the result of a developing process, an examination focusing on all three texts would be awkward and misguided. We are, in effect, postulating the existence of two possible approaches towards the problem of the intellect, stemming from what is not merely an evolution but an enormous change in Ibn Rushd's position, with two distinct stages being divided by a weak intermediate link (this link will be more fully considered later). Let us therefore now examine these stages more closely, confining ourselves, in our review, to those elements involving the material and theoretical intellect.

II.1. *The Ibn Bājja-Alexandrian stage or the Ibn Bājja-Alexandrian Ibn Rushd*

This stage, as noted above, combines two phases, contained in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ*. The rationale for combining these into one single stage springs from important perceived similarities between the two texts in question; nonetheless, there are also differences between them, particularly, as mentioned earlier, with respect to the respective strategies employed. The significant similarities stem from the fact that Ibn Rushd compiled both these texts in the light of others' viewpoints; he was, at this stage, much more dependent on the opinions and analyses of previous commentators, effectively seeing and hearing Aristotle through the eyes and ears of others rather than cultivating his own independent perceptions. At the beginning he was primarily influenced by Ibn Bājja, then, later, by Alexander, and he only freed himself of these influences, finally, when he composed *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*; it is in this text that we are offered a new image of Ibn Rushd, which best captures the independence and uniqueness of his thought. *Al-Sharḥ's* originality gives a sense of personal satisfaction, making all our arduous and painstaking efforts appear worthwhile in the end. As we follow Ibn Rushd's argument, we are struck by the insightful way he criticises the positions of earlier writers, positions which he himself had earlier upheld in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ*; and, as such, his arguments might be interpreted as a form of self-criticism and self-revision. This is why I have combined *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ* as representing a single stage, with the second stage represented by *Al-Sharḥ*. Let us begin by examining the two phases of the first stage as articulated in the original texts.

For all the difficulties associated with reading *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, its analysis can reasonably be seen as centring around the theoretical intellect or theoretical intelligibles. He regards these intelligibles as the most important structural element in his theory of the intellect, other elements having importance only in so far as they elucidate the nature of the intelligibles themselves—this applying, also, to the material and active intellect, which he considers to constitute the matter and form of the intelligibles (there will be an opportunity to examine this structure in more detail later in the paper). It is this conception of intelligibles which distinguishes *Al-Mukhtaṣar* from *Al-Talkhīṣ*. Yet despite these differences—which become still more marked when we compare *Al-Talkhīṣ* with *Al-Sharḥ*—the two works do in fact share a common approach.

In the first stage of his analysis Ibn Rushd concludes that intelligibles are subject to alteration. They therefore necessarily possess matter and have in the first place a potential existence and in the second place an actual existence. They are contingent, corruptible and plural with regard to the plurality of objects and they are numerous in the range of their numbers. This is sig-

nificant when it is considered that their conjunction with imaginative forms is spontaneous. The analysis shows Ibn Rushd following Ibn Bājja's conclusions as set out in *Risālat al-ittiṣāl*, although he never in fact mentions Ibn Bājja by name.²⁷ It must be emphasised that this position is very different from the one adopted in *Al-Sharḥ*, where he asserts that the theoretical intellect is eternal with respect to its substance and a corruptible entity with respect to its action—intelligibles being, in other words, linked with two objects: the material intellect which is eternal and imaginative forms which are a corruptible entity.²⁸ This analysis is equally relevant for understanding the positions found in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, particularly his concept of the material intellect or the matter of intelligibles. When Ibn Rushd distinguishes between the form and the matter of intelligibles he states quite clearly that their form, which is the active intellect, remains unchanged, being neither generating nor corrupting. When considering the matter of intelligibles, however, he shows awareness of disagreements between the earlier commentators, and, by adopting the stand of Ibn Bājja, he rejects the other positions, particularly the view that the material intellect is an eternal substance; this rejection stemming from the contradiction inherent in the proposition that the intellect is eternal while the intelligibles found in it are contingent. Contingency, Ibn Rushd says, is incompatible with an eternal substance; and if intelligibles were in fact contingent, then the material intellect would also have to be contingent, because the material intellect is merely the capacity giving rise to the formation of intelligibles. This capacity is irreducible, and it is thus necessarily a special object, which is neither body nor intellect, but rather a soul. The conception of the soul is seen as being the object of intelligibles and is represented by imaginative forms—hence, the capacity found in imaginative forms capable of accepting intelligibles is the material intellect. The habituated or theoretical intellect can best be explained as the actualisation of intelligibles which had previously existed *in potentia*. Ibn Rushd buttresses his interpretation by citing examples used by Aristotle, especially when attempting to define the passivity of the intellect by comparing it to the passivity of the tablet which is merely disposed to writing. He states that the capacity of the imaginative faculty to accept intelligibles is similar to the corresponding relationship between the tablet and writing; the soul, subject to this capacity, being in the position of the tablet. Yet this capacity is not an actual thing in and of itself; thus the concept of passivity cannot really be applied to it. This analysis is no more than an interpretation of Ibn Bājja's propositions.²⁹ By the admission of Ibn Rushd himself, Ibn Bājja was the first commentator to state that the material intellect is merely a capacity found in imaginative forms; a capacity able to accept intelligibles. This interpretation endeavours to surmount some of the absurdities put forth by Alexander. The conclusion in *Al-Sharḥ* is that the material intellect is neither an actual thing nor an explicitly eternal thing or separate substance. It is evi-

dent that a considerable interval separated the two stages as reflected in the two positions in question. Some of the reasons which led Ibn Rushd, subsequently, to revise and amend *Al-Mukhtaṣar* have already been pointed out.

Such, then, is the basic nature of the first phase of this stage. The important points to bear in mind include the way Ibn Rushd deals with the problem of conjunction as set out in Ibn Bājja's famous treatise on the subject and the way he adopts Ibn Bājja's interpretation of the problem of the intellect, and his arguments should also be examined in the light of the selected themes and subsequent amendments in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*. Let us now examine the second phase of this stage, as represented in the text of *Al-Talkhīṣ*.

Whereas the argument of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* revolved around the theoretical intellect or intelligibles, the analytical thrust of *Al-Talkhīṣ* is primarily directed towards the material intellect and its role in the process of intellection.³⁰ This thematic difference between the two texts is both marked and significant.³¹

The change reflects the evolving position of Ibn Rushd on the problem of the intellect and, in particular, on the question of the material intellect, and it can, as mentioned earlier, be generally explained in terms of Ibn Rushd's transition from an echoing of Ibn Bājja's stand to his subsequent inclination towards the views of Alexander (though the two commentators do, we should remember, share the view that the material intellect is only a capacity and not a separate substance). Let us therefore consider further the full significance of the differences between *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, and let us focus on the amendments incorporated in *Al-Talkhīṣ*, especially those relating to the nature of the material intellect, which mark a revolution in Ibn Rushd's view of the subject and, indeed, on the entire question of the intellect—a revolution which later becomes fully articulated in *Al-Sharḥ*.

Ibn Rushd begins, in accordance with the text of Aristotle, by stating that the faculty capable of accepting intelligibles is neither passive nor subject to change. If there is indeed any question of passivity, this is merely confined to the acceptance of the intelligibles and does not imply mixing with any of the material forms. By this, Ibn Rushd means that the material intellect is the accepting faculty, accepting and comprehending all forms and all things. However, if it were to accept any forms, we would have to uphold one of the two following explanations: either it does not comprehend the other forms, only the form with which it is mixed; or it would be a mixed form which would change what it comprehends through the intellect, and it would thus be unable to comprehend fully the essence of things as they really are.

The material intellect is unable to mix with anything and is hence only a capacity; this implying, too, that the potential intellect is merely a capacity, containing nothing. However, although it is an object ultimately incapable of mixing, it is not to be classified as a subject of the potential intellect. On the whole the intellect carries a sense of passivity which is not confined to the process of acceptance only, and the subject of this acceptance is not a

thing but a capacity able to accept intelligibles; there can be no notion of an independently existing capacity. This, as is well known, represents a summary of Alexander's position on the material intellect, and it is this position which is incorporated within *Al-Talkhīṣ*, or at least in the passage from *Al-Talkhīṣ* noted above.

Among the many features of *Al-Talkhīṣ* which help to clarify Ibn Rushd's concept of the material intellect, the most prominent is the passage in which he compares the capacity in the intellect with the potentiality in the tablet to accept writing. He emphasises that, just as the capacity found on the surface of the tablet does not mix with the tablet itself, so this is the case, also, with the intellect and the intelligibles. The acceptance of the tablet does not signify passivity, and, analogously, the acceptance of the intellect is neither passive nor active. This interpretation differs from the one given in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, where the capacity is represented by the ability of imaginative forms to accept intelligibles—a capacity, that is, whose object is embodied in the imaginary processes of the soul. However, in this case the capacity is not conceived as being similar to the blank tablet, and this is because the intellect as such is perceived as being a capacity and not an actual thing. As for the written tablet it resembles the perfected intellect while the actual intelligibles represent another type of intellect.

The analogy of the tablet helps us to understand the evolution in Ibn Rushd's position on the material intellect, not only in connection with the transition from *Al-Mukhtaṣar* to *Al-Talkhīṣ* but also with respect to its final version as found in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*. In this final version Ibn Rushd traces the different positions back to their original authors,³² and it is in this context that he severely criticises Alexander's comparison of the intellect with the potentiality found in the tablet. His other criticisms will be examined later.

Other themes connected with Ibn Rushd's discussion of the active intellect should also be briefly noted: the first of these concerns the ontological nature of the active intellect, and the second its role in the process of intellection and cognition (*ma'rifa*).

He begins his first discussion in *Al-Talkhīṣ* by citing an Aristotelian proposition that establishes a correspondence between the intellect and material things. Aristotle asserts that there exist, in all categories of natural matter, two things in opposition: that which has the capacity to receive and that which is the agent; the receptive capacity is potential in all things that exist, while the agent acts in everything within these categories. Ibn Rushd applies this notion of Aristotelian opposition to his concept of the intellect, thereby postulating the existence of an active and passive intellect;³³ and, despite the difference between this and what he later concludes in *Al-Sharḥ*, he continues to maintain that the active intellect is a transcendent substance, not a corruptible entity, comprehending its own essence when it is separated from humanity and comprehending the material affairs of the world when it is

linked to humanity. As such, the intellect and intelligibles, contrary to Ibn Rushd's later conception of the material intellect, are one and the same.

The second discussion in *Al-Talkhīṣ* focuses on the process of intellection, with analysis centring on the active intellect to the exclusion of others. Like Aristotle, Ibn Rushd compares the role of this intellect with light; more precisely, it is a light which translates colours from potentiality to actuality, thus enabling the eye to see and experience them. Similarly, the active intellect provides the material intellect with the capacity for accepting intelligibles, and this capacity further changes the imaginary representations of the intelligibles until they are no longer potential but actualised. Though this description is very similar to what is contained in *Al-Sharḥ*, the passage still leaves us with some difficulties and questions.

The preceding discussion touches upon the most important points contained in *Al-Talkhīṣ*. There is, however, another dimension to this text which in effect makes it an intermediate link between the first and second stages of Ibn Rushd's thought. It is possible to examine this text from two different angles: on the one hand, it can be viewed, along with *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, as constituting the first stage in the evolution of Ibn Rushd's psychological system; on the other, it can be seen as representing a bridge by means of which he was able to construct another version or form of the problem of the intellect. This dual viewpoint is made possible by the very nature of the amendments in *Al-Talkhīṣ*; for these not only help us to distinguish the differences between *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, but also allow us to evaluate *Al-Talkhīṣ* vis-à-vis *Al-Sharḥ*. The amendment to the analogy of the tablet marks the first transition from the former position, with the material intellect, regardless of the arguments put forth by Ibn Bājja or the Alexandrian school, now viewed simply as a capacity. As noted earlier, this change does not completely crystallise into a new position, but rather foreshadows the new developments that eventually took place in *Al-Sharḥ*. Let us now, as an introduction to the changes occurring in the second stage of Ibn Rushd's thought, examine the context from which the amendment emerged, confining our examination, for the moment, to a discussion of the nature of the material intellect and leaving till later a more general consideration of the intellect as a whole.

It is immediately apparent that the amendment reflects Ibn Rushd's struggle with the difficulties and absurdities inherent in Alexander's position (which, it will be recalled, he had earlier upheld, together with corresponding positions attributed to Themistius and other ancient commentators); he is attempting to formulate a conciliatory viewpoint through which to establish an appropriate interpretation of the viewpoints of the Alexandrian school.

He maintains, as Alexander had also done, that the material intellect is a capacity independent of material forms, but claims that it is also a transcendent substance invested with this capacity. In other words, this capacity is

found in Man, and yet it is solely an object connected to a transcendent substance. It is not, as claimed by earlier commentators, a capacity existing, as it were, by the very nature of this transcendent substance; nor is it, as Alexander had claimed, a mere capacity.

The material intellect is a product of the conjunction between a transcendent substance and the capacity existing in Man. It can also be viewed as a compound of the capacity and its connection with the intellect. We must, therefore, seek to understand the nature of this compound and of the capacity inherent in it, and, also, to understand the link between the transcendent substance and its corresponding capacity. As for the transcendent substance, what is meant by it here is clearly the active intellect, the implication being that this intellect becomes a potential intellect in the state of conjunction. The substance of the active intellect is transformed when it is invested with a certain type of capacity, the character of which is best understood as the continuous movement from potentiality to actuality. In this movement the action of the intellect is transformed from one state to another; in other words the active intellect is eventually transformed into a material intellect, while the material intellect is, in its turn, eventually transformed into an active intellect. Ibn Rushd's rationale for this analysis is that he views the intellect as being one thing which yet contains two functions with respect to the soul: the first being the action of intelligibles, and the second that of accepting intelligibles.

While the identity and meaning of the separate substance has now been clarified, the notion of "capacity found in Man" remains somewhat obscure: we do not, for example, know whether this capacity is an intellect or a soul, or, moreover, whether it is capable of mixing with any of the faculties in the body. This obscurity can be attributed to the fact that Ibn Rushd did not himself define the nature of this capacity and its contents—which means that we also do not know the meaning of his statement that the material intellect is a compound of the capacity and that the intellect is linked with this capacity. A possible explanation can be found if we assume that the material intellect is not in itself a separate substance. Such an assertion would, however, run contrary to Ibn Rushd's later conclusion in *Al-Sharh*, where he makes a clear distinction between the active and the material intellect, considering them both to be transcendent substances, neither generating nor corrupting. We do not, though, know whether this amendment in *Al-Talkhis* refers to the material or the active intellect.³⁴

Ibn Rushd is advancing, through this amendment, a new interpretation which he believes accurately reflects the original view of Aristotle, and he refers to this interpretation as the "school of synthesis", implying, by the latter term, a middle road between the views of Alexander and those of other commentators on the nature of the material intellect. According to Ibn Rushd, the synthesis enables him to go beyond the absurdities inherent in these, the

avowed aim being to free himself from the necessity to debase a transcendent thing in whose substance some capacity exists, merely because this transcendent thing happens to exist in conjunction with Man rather than by virtue of its own nature. He further notes that the synthesis frees him from the necessity of limiting the potential intellect to being solely a capacity, merely on the basis that there is, somehow, a separate thing to which this capacity accidentally clings.

For all his claims, Ibn Rushd ultimately fails to construct a genuine synthesis; its falsity and incoherence soon, indeed, become clear to him, leading him to embark on a revision of his views in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, where he does not refer to the doctrine of synthesis, but laboriously examines, one by one, the views of the schools of Ibn Bājja, Alexander and Themistius, then criticises them by comparison with the original Aristotelian text. And from the spring-board which this critical strategy provides he simultaneously articulates and justifies his own new interpretation. Ibn Rushd's influence on the development of philosophy among the Latins, from the middle of the 13th century onwards, can be traced back to the legacy of this critical method.

Such, then, are the main characteristics of Ibn Rushd's new position—a position which, as noted earlier, represents both the end of the first stage of his thought and a link or bridge, with respect to postulations about the material intellect, to the subsequent stage. It now remains to demonstrate how the analytical strands of this new position culminated in the creation of a new, second stage in his writings.

II.2. *The Rushdī stage; or the Rushdī Ibn Rushd*

This final stage was the fruit of more than thirty years of study and ceaseless probing. In retrospect, his writings can best be interpreted as a quest for both an original and an authentic interpretation of Aristotle's philosophical system—a quest sustained, as it were, both through a persistent dialogue with Aristotle's writings and through a concurrent critical engagement with major thinkers within the Aristotelian heritage.

Ibn Rushd's commentary on *De Anima* is, as I have noted in an earlier work,³⁵ the most important text among his psychological writings. Let us now examine it in detail, in order to analyse the evolution of his thought, and, more importantly, to assess the originality of his philosophical contribution.

The preceding analysis of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ* revealed the gradual processes whereby Ibn Rushd critically rejected the views of Alexander and, subsequently, those of Ibn Bājja, thereby exorcising the Alexandrian-Ibn Bājja influences in his own earlier writings. A similar transition had also in fact occurred with respect to Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī: his earlier writings on logic had been deeply influenced by al-Fārābī's views, but in a later commentary on the *Analytica Posteriora* (*Al-Burhān*) he severely criticised al-

Fārābī on account of views which he himself had specifically upheld earlier in *Mukhtaṣar al-Burhān* (Epitome of *Analytica Posteriora*).³⁶ Ibn Rushd's revisionist inclinations aptly demonstrate the degree of rigour and seriousness with which he pursued his philosophical vocation; and there is no better example of this rigour than *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, which formulates a completely different psychological system and a completely different approach to the problem of the intellect, whose force almost annuls much of what he had previously written in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīs*.

The analysis of *Al-Sharḥ* will be conducted somewhat differently from those made of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīs*, the reason being that the original Arabic text of the work is lost; the earliest authoritative version is in fact preserved in a Latin translation. For the purposes of this paper I shall be basing myself on sections of the text which have been translated into French from the Latin version,³⁷ and on portions of the text which have been recorded in the margins of the manuscript copies of *Al-Talkhīs* found in the Modena library. Let us begin by briefly reviewing the central strands of this text, which sufficiently indicate the complete transformation in Ibn Rushd's thought.

The transformation appears not only in the new views advanced but in the very style in which *Al-Sharḥ* is written. There is a conscious attempt, on Ibn Rushd's part, to articulate processes of thought which have now led him to confront hitherto unexplored questions and unexamined obscurities. The conclusions reached in the work are advanced in a manner which implicitly suggests a new set of perspectives.

Ibn Rushd immediately makes it clear that the material intellect³⁸ constitutes the central theme of this text,³⁹ but he also clearly indicates, thereafter, that the examination of the material intellect in isolation from the other faculties would be impractical and misguided. As such, the scope of changes in *Al-Sharḥ* affects not only the conception of the material intellect, as previously articulated in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīs*, but his entire psychological structure, involving all the major elements from the intellect, theoretical intelligibles and the active intellect to imaginary representations. The implications of these structural changes are examined from the perspective both of epistemological states and of the different ontological states in question; his discussion of the material intellect is thus constantly linked up with all the other aspects of the intellect. With regard to the relationship between the material intellect and the senses, Ibn Rushd states that, while the material intellect is not affected by a passivity similar to that of the senses, and does not experience change analogous to what the senses undergo, there does nonetheless exist within it a concept of passivity whose meaning is subsumed within its function of acceptance. The material intellect is regarded as belonging among the genus of passive faculties, and is thus rightfully distinguished from the active intellect, yet it is neither a body nor a faculty within

a body; it is, in effect, a substance which accepts all forms without itself being one of the forms it accepts. This is because the material forms are not separate, whereas the material intellect is simple and separate. The material intellect is devoid of a specific nature, except in so far as it exists *in potentia*. It contains, potentially, all universal material intelligibles, but in actuality it is not a thing prior to its being endowed with the faculty of reason.⁴⁰ Hence it differs from the irrational prime matter which accepts particular forms, and, similarly, differs from the form, the matter and the compound of both. It is a part of a particular mode of existence. To assert that the material intellect exists *in potentia* does not mean that it is not a definite thing or a substance; what is implied is that, whatever the substrate bears, it cannot exist in actuality and thus cannot be taken in an absolute sense, but should rather be approached in a qualified manner. However, the substrate need not be a definite thing in actuality; rather, what the substrate bears should not be found in it in actuality.

The first obstacle to understanding the nature of this intellect is the question of how it can be from the genus of the passive faculties, while at the same time being simple, separate and not mixed in with the body. If we say that it is separate and simple, does this mean that the intellect and the intelligibles within it are one, as is the case with the active and separate intellects? This is a second difficulty.

The solution to the first difficulty lies in defining the concept of passivity in the context of the material intellect; for passivity, here, has a specialised meaning, implying a form of changeless potentiality, analogous to the disposition in the tablet to receive writing without being affected by passivity or change. Just as the tablet does not bear any writing either in actuality or *in potentia* approaching actuality, so the material intellect does not embrace any of the intelligible forms which it accepts, either in actuality or *in potentia* approaching actuality. It would be wrong to say, with Alexander, that the material intellect is similar to the disposition that exists in the tablet, rather than to the tablet itself inasmuch as it is disposed.⁴¹ This is because we must first know the nature of the thing that is disposed before we can completely know the nature of the disposition—this because the material intellect is not only a disposition. Here, clearly, Ibn Rushd is not only criticising the views of Alexander, but also laying aside his own positions in *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Mukhtaṣar*. He emphasises for the first time that the capacity within the intellect is different from all other capacities, since it does not bear any intelligibles, either in actuality or *in potentia*, and is neither a body nor a faculty within a body. Nor is it a capacity existing within imaginative forms; for, among the many other absurdities enumerated,⁴² this would make it a faculty within a body and therefore accepting the intellect itself.

As for the second difficulty, he asserts that the material intellect is closer to the other faculties of intellection than to separate intellects. There is, how-

ever, an important distinction, namely that it is, in its essence, an intellect existing in actuality, while the other intellects exist *in potentia*. He further states, however, that the material intellect ranks lowest among the separate intellects, in that the action of the material intellect is less powerful than that of the separate intellects. Furthermore, the material intellect is marked more by passivity than by activity, and in this respect it differs from the active intellect.⁴³

In *Al-Sharḥ* the material intellect is not simply discussed for the elementary purposes of formulating a new definition, but is also analysed for its philosophical significance. Ibn Rushd daringly asserts that the material intellect is eternal and unitary with respect to mankind, and it is this which underlines the radical transformation in his thought and the revolt against his own earlier positions and those of his predecessors. It is not possible, here, to analyse the significance of this assertion in detail; this paper will rather content itself with a brief review of the changes arising out of the new position. To this end, we must analyse the text with reference to general approach, content of the dialogue, criticism and the final conclusions embodied in the text, as against those reached in his earlier writings.

Ibn Rushd has finally broken away from Alexander's position on the material intellect, which he himself had earlier upheld, and, just as he had attacked Ibn Bājja's writings, so he criticises the school of Themistius and others for their views on the theoretical intellect and the active intellect.⁴⁴ The main criticism is directed against Themistius' view that the theoretical intellect springs from the conjunction of the active and material intellect within us, and is therefore external. Since the first two intellects are external, Ibn Rushd asserts that Themistius' viewpoint has departed from that of Aristotle and is in opposition to truth itself. Ibn Rushd had already criticised this position earlier, in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, but there his criticism reflects his adoption of the Ibn Bājja or Alexandrian school, whereas now it springs from a new position and a new conception of the system of relations required by the process of intellection. The criticism is equally determined by the ontological position of the material and active intellect, together with the role played by imaginary representations. All this is in contrast to the viewpoint of earlier schools, which had concluded the theoretical intellect to be eternal. It is this belief, in Ibn Rushd's view, that will eventually lead to absurdities undermining the process of intellection and the intellect itself.

The intellect is indeed the offspring of the material and active intellect, yet different from both. The compound of two things which are eternal, as the material and active intellect are, must itself necessarily be eternal and one. There is, however, another important element neglected by Themistius and his followers, namely the decisive role played by imaginative forms in the process of intellection. In this respect, the connection of the theoretical intellect to its activity regarding imaginary representations in particular is

corrupting and multiple, due to the corruption and multiplicity of the imaginary representations themselves. This necessary connection is similar to the connection existing between the senses and sensibles. Just as the senses do not perceive anything without the presence of sensibles, so, similarly, the rational faculty does not conceptualise without imagination. Hence the intellect and intelligibles are not to be seen as contingent, generating and corrupting.

Yet it cannot be conceived that intelligibles are contingent while the intellect is eternal; for this would not correspond with the proposition that the material intellect is eternal and one. In other words, if the material intellect is the first perfection of Man and the theoretical intellect is the second perfection, then both these categories should be functioning under the same conditions. For example, if Man is generating and corrupting, this would apply equally to the first and second perfection within Man—a viewpoint which contradicts earlier conclusions and leads to absurdities and ambiguities concerning the material intellect. The assertion, for example, that the material intellect is a body or a faculty within a body could not possibly be upheld, since it has already been postulated that the intellect is not generating or corrupting. When we say that the first perfection is one and not multiple in relation to the human race, then inescapable ambiguities emerge, which can only be resolved if we assert that the first perfection is an individual concept embedded in matter, which is corruptible and multiple in relation to the multiplicity of individuals. We are then left with several questions: can we resolve this problem, and what exactly is the nature of the theoretical intellect and theoretical intelligibles if we are to assume that the material intellect is one and eternal?

Alexander resolves the problem by stating that the material intellect is generating and corrupting, and is at the same time a faculty. This Ibn Rushd rejects, just as he rejected Ibn Bājja's position, which, in his view, did not satisfactorily resolve Alexander's inconsistencies. All earlier views are in fact judged inadequate, the only way out being through the assertion that theoretical intelligibles have two elements, the first contingent and the second eternal. The first element makes them contingent and the second element makes them one of the existents. Imaginative forms are the first element and the material intellect is the second element. Imaginary representations or forms set the intellect into motion, this motion arising out of the process whereby the active intellect has transformed imaginary representations from potential intelligibles into active intelligibles.

I conclude, with Ibn Rushd, that there are two separate aspects to intelligibles: with respect to the subject which makes them contingent they are generating and corrupting, while with respect to the material intellect which makes them one of the existents of the world they are eternal; from this perspective they can be viewed as simultaneously generating, corrupting and eternal. The theoretical intellect is, in other words, eternal with respect to its

activity. This solution bypasses the difficulties and absurdities found in the previous schools of commentators, and Ibn Rushd takes evident pride in his significant discovery, which enables him to uphold and further fortify his central thesis about the intellect and its eternity.⁴⁵

Conclusion

These, then, are some of the major points it has been possible to derive from Ibn Rushd's key psychological texts. It has not been the aim of this study to analyse the points in full critical detail, but rather to explore the transformation in approaches to the problem of the intellect up to the writing of *Al-Sharḥ*. If the paper has shed some light on this area, then any oversights apparent in the analysis may perhaps be excused.

There are, I am convinced, two distinct phases in the evolution of Ibn Rushd's psychological system—this is indeed the claim from which the study begins—and the recognition of an evolution in his thought provides further encouragement for taking a more chronologically systematic approach to the Rushdī corpus. The discovery of amendments, as in the case of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ*, will inevitably lead us to label Ibn Rushd's earlier writings as obsolete, yet such an approach will, nevertheless, ultimately provide us with deeper and richer insights. It would in any case be mere obstinacy to ignore such established differences between texts as occur in the various versions of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Talkhīṣ*.⁴⁶

What must now be investigated is the nature and philosophical significance of the evolution in Ibn Rushd's thought. Was it, for example, an evolution born of successive and laborious interpretations of the Aristotelian text, or did it rather reflect a philosophical curiosity in search of new horizons beyond the limits of the original text? In either case what is the scope and depth of this evolution? Is it possible to speak of an evolution or a change within the context of an interpretative philosophy? These and other such questions represent a whole new and vital area of study. For the moment I shall rest content merely with raising them, in the hope of tackling them in a future study.

¹ *Al-Matn al-Rushdī, madkhal li-qirā'a jadida*, Casablanca, 1986.

² Another examination of the evolution of the theory of demonstration according to Ibn Rushd was made in a paper contributed to *Al-Ḥalqa al-Rushdiyya. Symposium Ibn Rushd I*, which took place in Fez in March 1989.

³ In its original format this study was a critical review of the book *Ishkāliyyat al-'aql 'ind Ibn Rushd* by Muḥammad al-Miṣbāḥī, Casablanca, 1988.

⁴ A commendable effort has been under way for some years now to publish the works of Ibn Rushd in their original language, as well as in their Hebrew and Latin translations. Hopefully this work will soon be completed, and the major basic impediment to contemporary Rushdī studies removed.

⁵ Ibn Rushd left behind nearly ten treatises on the soul (*nafs*), the intellect (*'aql*) and conjunction (*ittiṣāl*), all of which are lost in the original Arabic, with the exception of an addendum

to the doctrine of the rational faculty within an Epitome (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *De Anima* in the Cairo manuscript; this addendum being, apparently, a commentary or part of a commentary on the *Risālat al-ittiṣāl* of Ibn Bājja. Most of it is in Hebrew and Latin translations. He also composed three texts which represent, I believe, the kernel of the Rushdī study of the subject, these being, in order: (a) the Epitome (*Al-Mukhtaṣar*) on the soul, which is extant in the original Arabic and has several printed editions (which might rather mislead the reader than guide him), foremost among these being the Egyptian edition; (b) The *Talkhīṣ* of *De Anima*, which is also extant in the original Arabic, although transcribed in Hebrew characters, but remains for the moment in manuscript. A published edition by Professor Alfred Ivry is expected shortly; (c) The commentary on *De Anima*, whose original is of course lost, although fragments are to be found in the marginal notes of the Modena manuscript of the *Talkhīṣ* of *De Anima*, transcribed in Hebrew characters. Some years ago, also, Kalmen P. Bland published Ibn Rushd's *Risāla fi imkān al-ittiṣāl bi 'l-'aql al-fa'āl* (New York, 1982) with a commentary by Moses of Narbonne, which will not, however, be discussed in this study.

⁶ See my book *Al-Matn al-Rushdī*, where the commentaries of Ibn Rushd are discussed in detail and the position of each of the texts is explained. Although a viewpoint was adopted there concerning the abridged *Mukhtaṣar* of *De Anima*, I feel this is now in need of further careful examination and revision.

⁷ I am referring to the short commentaries (*jawāmī*) on *Al-Samā' al-ṭabī'ī* (*De Physico Auditu*), *Al-Samā' wa 'l-'ālam* (*De Coelo et Mundo*) (ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-'Alawī, Fez, 1984), *Al-Kawn wa 'l-fasād* (*De Generatione et Corruptione*) and *Al-Āthār al-'ulwiyya* (*Meteorologica*). We may add to these the synthesis (*jawāmī*) of *Mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a* (*Metaphysica*).

⁸ There are six known manuscripts today: two in Cairo and one each in Madrid, Teheran, the Chester Beatty Library and Hyderabad.

⁹ There are three printed editions: *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd*, Hyderabad, 1947; *Talkhīṣ kitāb al-naḥs*, ed. F. al-Ahwānī, Cairo, 1950; and *Epitome de Anima*, ed. Salvador Gómez Nogales, Madrid, 1985.

¹⁰ The other two printed editions are in no better state.

¹¹ Perhaps the latest editor to indicate this is Gómez Nogales in his edition of this *Mukhtaṣar*, which he calls a "*Talkhīṣ*", as al-Ahwānī had done. He states that the Madrid manuscript is the most recent copy and that he will be basing himself upon it. His edition of the book is no less bad than the previous two, despite his having new manuscript copies at his disposal.

¹² It is possible, by and large, to say that the second version has been transmitted to us in the Madrid manuscript and the first version by the others—although differences between the latter are such that we may in fact consider there is an intermediate link represented by the Hyderabad manuscript. However, let us, for practical convenience, consider what we have as two versions until at least part of the book has been edited in an accurate and scientific fashion.

¹³ We do not find this analogy in the Madrid manuscript copy, or in the printed Hyderabad edition, which relied on another manuscript, being taken from the Cairo manuscript copy. Whether it is recorded in the other copies I do not know, as I have as yet had no opportunity to study them.

¹⁴ Possibly he deleted it for this reason when he revised the text of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* some time after its composition.

¹⁵ In *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* he mentions Ibn Bājja as comparing the imaginative faculty's capacity to accept intelligibles with the tablet's retention of writing, the created self (*al-naḥs al-mawḍū'a*) of this capacity being compared to the tablet. In other words, this analogy follows the school of Ibn Bājja entirely.

¹⁶ See particularly section 36 of chapter III of the commentary on *De Anima*, Latin translation, edited by Crawford.

¹⁷ *Tafsīr mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, ed. Maurice Bouyges, Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, Série Arabe, Beirut, 1938-52, II, 1230 and III, 1489-90.

¹⁸ The Madrid manuscript copy is the only one with this amendment, just as the Cairo manuscript copy is the only one with the *Talkhīṣ* of the *Risālat al-ittiṣāl* of Ibn Bājja. The Hyderabad edition does not contain either the amendment or the summary.

¹⁹ I.e., with the school of Alexander (together with Ibn Bājja) and the school of Theophrastus and Themistius. It will be seen how he reconciles the viewpoints of the two schools in *Al-Talkhīṣ*, and we shall further see how, in *Al-Sharḥ*, he goes beyond both these schools to establish a new school which won him great fame among the Latins.

²⁰ It is the first if we consider as commentaries other treatises which he composed on questions treated in the *De Anima* of Aristotle; otherwise it would be one of two, namely *Al-Talkhīṣ* and *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.

²¹ This definition of *Al-Talkhīṣ* is verified in the first version. If, however, we consider the additions to it, then we may say that it forms an intermediate link between *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and *Al-Sharḥ*.

²² There are two manuscript copies of the *Talkhīṣ* of *De Anima*, transcribed in Hebrew characters: those of Paris and Modena (Italy).

²³ See folio 114, recto, of the Paris MS.

²⁴ See folio 147, recto, of the Paris MS. The text does, however, lend itself to two readings, the first ("as we have shown in our *sharḥ* of Aristotle's words") clearly suggesting, as said, a reference to the *Sharḥ*, and the second ("as he has shown in his *sharḥ* on the words of Aristotle") embodying a reference to the *sharḥ* of Themistius. What makes the first reading more probable, however, is that Ibn Rushd calls the work of Themistius "*Talkhīṣ*" and not "*Sharḥ*".

²⁵ On the first amendment, see folio 144, recto (second column), and 141, verso, in the Paris MS. On the second amendment, see folio 148, recto, in the same manuscript.

²⁶ It will be seen from the preceding and following argument that I do not share the viewpoint of Professor Alfred Ivry, editor of the *Talkhīṣ* of *De Anima*, who claims that this *Talkhīṣ* abrogates opinions expressed by Ibn Rushd in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* etc. See his study "On the commentaries of Ibn Rushd on Aristotle's book on Psychology" contributed to the Rushdī Symposium I in Fez, March, 1989. This will be published shortly in the proceedings of the symposium.

²⁷ The really strange thing is that Ibn Bājja is not mentioned in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, either explicitly or implicitly. As for the mention of him at the end of the discussion on the rational faculty in the Madrid manuscript copy, this is, as noted earlier, merely an amendment made by Ibn Rushd after composing *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.

²⁸ This viewpoint is magisterially summarised in his revision of *Al-Mukhtaṣar*.

²⁹ See my classified list of the later writings of Ibn Bājja, notably *Tadbīr al-mutawahhīd*, *Risālat al-wadā'* and *Risālat al-ittiṣāl*, the last being the most important in this connection (*Rasā'il Ibn Bājja 'l-ilāhiyya*, Beirut, 1968).

³⁰ I mean that Ibn Rushd's preoccupation with the material intellect in *Al-Talkhīṣ* exceeds his preoccupation with the other kinds. We should remember, in this connection, that the *Talkhīṣ*—unlike *Al-Mukhtaṣar*—follows the text of Aristotle and respects the order of its discussions.

³¹ Foremost among these reasons is that *Al-Talkhīṣ* is a commentary on the meaning of Aristotle's text. As such, Ibn Rushd had to submit to the logic and order of the original text.

³² In the light of what is written in *Al-Sharḥ*, we may say that the analogy as it appears in *Al-Mukhtaṣar* is taken from Ibn Bājja, but that that in *Al-Talkhīṣ* derives from Alexander. Ibn Rushd states, in *Al-Sharḥ*, that he held the opinions of Ibn Bājja when writing *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and leaned towards the standpoint of Alexander when writing *Al-Talkhīṣ*.

³³ The designation of the material intellect as the passive intellect, together with the twofold designation active and passive, should be stressed, and should be borne in mind later when we compare what he has to say in *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*.

³⁴ His discussion, in the final analysis, concerns the active intellect. As for the material intellect, it is the conjunction of the active intellect with the capacity existing in Man. Hence the active intellect is not only a capacity, nor is it only a transcendent substance.

³⁵ See *Al-Matn al-Rushdī*, referred to above.

³⁶ See my article "*Tatawwur nazariyyat al-burhān 'ind Ibn Rushd*", contributed to the symposium *Al-Ḥalqa al-Rushdiyya al-ūlā*, Fez, March 1989, to be published shortly in the proceedings of the symposium.

³⁷ This translation was made by Alain Griffaton, in collaboration with Muḥammad al-Miṣbāḥi, and was published in instalments in *Majallat kullīyyat al-ādāb*, Fez, Nos. 4-5 (1981-1982) and No. 6 (1982-1983), covering Crawford's edition, pp. 379-454.

³⁸ There is also a particular interest in the active intellect and in the ambiguity of the conjunction with the active intellect.

³⁹ I am referring to sections 5 to 20 and section 36 of Chapter III of *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* of *De Anima* (ed. Crawford). See also the translation referred to above.

⁴⁰ See section 4 of Chapter III of *Al-Sharḥ*, ed. Crawford. See also section 5.

⁴¹ The view attributed here to Alexander is, as noted earlier, the one he himself upheld in *Al-Talkhīs*.

⁴² See sections 4, 5, 14 and 19.

⁴³ See sections 13, 15 and 16. I have also, in this brief synopsis, relied on the first twenty sections of the commentary on Chapter III of *De Anima*, ed. Crawford.

⁴⁴ See section 5 of Chapter III. See also section 20.

⁴⁵ In *Al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* of the *Metaphysics*, he has summarised, in chapter *Al-Lām*, some of the conclusions emerging from his commentary on *De Anima*, ending this short commentary by referring to the synopsis indicated. See pp. 1487-1490, ed. Maurice Bouyges.

⁴⁶ Mention must be made here of two important studies published in recent years by Professor H. A. Davidson, the first on Ibn Rushd's view of the material intellect and the second on the active intellect. See, respectively, "Averroes on the Material Intellect", *Viator*, 17, 1986, and "Averroes on the Active Intellect as a Course of Existence", *Viator*, 18, 1987.

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IBN ṬUFAYL AND HIS *ḤAYY IBN YAQẒĀN*: A TURNING POINT IN ARABIC PHILOSOPHICAL WRITING

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I

Ibn Ṭufayl was born near the beginning of the 6th/12th century at Guadix, about 50 miles north-east of Granada, and died in 581/1185. He earned his living mainly as a physician, serving several members of the Almohad dynasty, among them his last patron, Sultan Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (reigned 558/1163-580/1184), who was a learned man and a fervent promoter of the rational sciences. Ibn Ṭufayl was last but one in the line of six great Arabic Aristotelians: al-Kindī (d. after 257/870), al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), Ibn Bājjā (d. 533/1138), himself and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198),¹ and one of his works, his philosophical tale *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* ("The Living, Son of the Awake"), brought him great fame.

Although this novel is one of a long series of philosophical allegories and edifying tales (the Arabic term for the genre being *tamthīl*), it stands out as unique not only in Arab Andalusia but within medieval Arabic literature as a whole. Medieval Arabic fiction was either popular, or of foreign origin, or both. Of the famous tales belonging to high literature, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 139/757), one of the pioneers of Arabic prose writing,² and *Bilawhar wa-Budhasaf*, also known as Barlaam and Yoasaph, a version of the Buddha legend,³ are of Indian origin, whereas the delightful long tale "Man and Animal Before the King of the Genii", inserted in the Encyclopaedia of the Brethren of Purity, is evidently of Persian stock.⁴ The tales of the *Thousand and One Nights* sprang from various sources, but were regarded as old wives' tales (*khurāfāt*)⁵ rather than serious literature. The allegorical tales devised by Ibn Sīnā (370/980-428/1037)⁶ and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (550/1155-587/1191)⁷ were much shorter and full of dreamlike fantasies. On the other hand, Arabic narrative which was non-fictional (or pretended to be so) usually consisted of brief anecdotes or short reports, hardly ever stretching over more than a few pages.⁸ As for *maqāmāt*, the only fictional genre apart from the *tamthīl* that was acknowledged as serious literature by the *udabā'*, this again involved anecdotes, developed into small stories and revolving around a picaresque hero.⁹ Notwithstanding their comic surface, the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) and al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) contain sharp social criticism, notably an attack on the misuse of religious language, the legitimisation of im-

moral goals by sacred speech being viewed as one of the central sins of a decayed religion-based society.¹⁰

Ibn ʤufayl's novel thus differs from most of the works noted above by its length and rigid structure, by its realistic vein and by its being of authentic Arabic origin. Moreover, this tale, a mixture of narrative and philosophical reflection, is not only a rare achievement of Arabic literary art, but also a precious document of the struggle between philosophy and orthodoxy, and of the complex relationship between *falsafa* and Islamic mysticism. It will now be discussed in more detail under the following headings:

- The narrative and its structure
- The conflict between philosophy and orthodoxy
- Philosophy and mysticism

II

*Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*¹¹ is the tale of a man who grows up on an uninhabited island and attains the highest degree of insight, both philosophical and religious, by dint of his inborn capacities, by his experiences, perceptions and reflections. Having reached this highest possible state of development, he is visited by a man named Asal,¹² who comes from another island. Asal first teaches him human speech, then tells him of his religion, whereupon the two discover that their persuasions are in principle the same. Ḥayy then visits Asal's island and its people, whom he finds to be superficial believers, concerned with the pleasures of the body; he tries to open their eyes to the higher realities of the other world, but in vain. He and Asal thereupon leave them and decide to retire to the lonely island and spend the rest of their lives in devotions there.

The tale is thus divided into two parts with quite different contents. In the first section, we have a straightforward, uninterrupted development involving a gradual, continuous ascent on the ladder of human cognisance; the ascent itself is divided into seven stages of seven years each, this number having no doubt been chosen on account of its cosmological and religious connotations.¹³ By its very structure this development is represented as an ideal one, which could hardly take place in any real human existence, at least not in this perfect, unhampered manner—to say nothing of the beginning, involving Ḥayy's rearing by a gazelle, which could, at best, produce a mental cripple like Kaspar Hauser. Goodman is probably right, therefore, when he states that Ibn ʤufayl makes Ḥayy's ontogeny recapitulate human phylogeny: "His Adam-like position alone on an island, his Promethean role as discoverer of fire ... show that he is intended to symbolise mankind ..."¹⁴ Nevertheless, the development of Ibn ʤufayl's hero is not devoid of realistic detail capable of application to a real individual's life.

7x7 = 49

Ḥayy's life begins with what resembles either legend or fairy-tale. He is born by spontaneous generation from the mud of the shore, or—in another version offered for those who do not believe in spontaneous generation—he is the offspring of an illicit union between a noblewoman and her lover on a neighbouring island, and was sent out by his mother in an ark, a remote allusion to the early fate of Moses (Exodus, II, 1-10; Quran XX, 37-40a).

He is brought up, nurtured and protected by a female gazelle—a picture which, for the Arabic reader, must have aroused all the associations of the “Lady Gazelle and her Murderous Glances”, the standard metaphor for the beloved girl or woman with her dangerous semi-magic power over the lover.¹⁵ Here, however, the power of the gazelle is limited to nurturing, and she dies before the youngster has reached puberty. The island is, as Fedwa Malti-Douglas called it, “a male utopy”, where the female element is eliminated or reduced to its non-erotic aspects.¹⁶ It is Ḥayy who gains power over the gazelle: when she dies he opens her chest, discovers her heart and concludes from the emptiness of the cavities within that an invisible life principle, the human soul, must have escaped from it at the moment of death. Thus—and this is an aspect overlooked in the somewhat feminist approach of Malti-Douglas—it is the only female being in the story which enables Ḥayy first to survive and, finally, to form an idea of the human soul.

Ḥayy imitates the animals, clothing himself and chasing other animals. He even imitates them in his burial of his foster-mother, having watched ravens burying one of their number which had been killed—another Quranic allusion this, for Cain learned to bury his dead brother from a raven (V, 31). If these two references are not merely accidental, they would mean that Ḥayy was born with all the faculties of a prophet, in other words of a perfect man; but that, deprived of the protection of his innocent nurse, he has now become a man capable of sinning, even though the problem of sin does not emerge in practice in the further course of Ḥayy's personal history, he being, as it were, totally immune to the temptations of human flesh.

Instead he spends his time studying nature, discerning the differences between animals, plants and minerals, and arriving at the notions of matter and form, and of species and genus. Having realised the importance of form as the principle instilling life and individual actions into matter, he considers the body of minor importance and places all his emphasis on the further investigation of the soul, the principle of form. Furthermore, he soon infers the necessity of there being an originator of the inborn particularities that recur in every individual representative of a given species. Remarkably, the author here refers to a Quranic verse and a *ḥadīth* which in fact belong to totally different realms of argumentation. The Quranic verse “You did not slay them, but God slew them, and when thou threwest, it was not thyself that threw, but God threw ...” (VIII, 17) is one of the cornerstones of Ash‘arī theology, being its main argument for the doctrine of predestination and the

denial of free will. On the other hand, the prophetic saying "I am His ear, through which He hears, and His eye, through which He sees" stems from the stock of *ḥadīths* current in mystical circles. One gains the impression that the author wanted to satisfy both mystical and Ash'ari readers in choosing these quotations. Their common denominator, at any rate, is the direct link between the divine and the human, the participation of man in God's power.¹⁷

Ḥayy has reached the age of twenty-eight, and he now turns to pondering on this supreme being, spending the next heptad of his life over this problem and being persuaded, finally, that this necessary being is "the Cause of all things", "the Maker"; "He is being, perfection and wholeness. He is goodness, beauty, power, and knowledge. He is He"; "all things perish except His face."¹⁸

There is no further differentiation between the next two heptads, but the first of them appears to be devoted to solving the problem of how man can acquire knowledge of God and how he can approach Him. Ḥayy realises that he is evidently the only created being on the island aware of God's existence and longing to know Him, and he discovers that it is by virtue of his own self, i.e. the incorporeal, eternal part of his existence, that he will be able to apprehend the Necessarily Existent Being. He further perceives the necessity of imitating the three categories of beings whom he resembles: animal, in order to preserve his physical existence; the celestial bodies, because they are the purest created beings; and the Supreme Being itself. He also discovers that it is through the contemplation of God that man attains happiness.

The last heptad is devoted to practice. It has become apparent to Ḥayy that he must imitate the celestial bodies in three respects: in their care for the world of creation; in their circular movements; and in their constant contemplation of the Creator. He accordingly starts, first, to practice the life of an ascetic and a whirling dervish, totally devoted to ecstasy and contemplation. It is worth mentioning that, in the course of this development, he takes on an attitude that can only be called "environmentalist". He realises that, in nourishing himself from plants and animals, he destroys these created beings and thus prevents them from attaining perfection—or, in Aristotelian terms, fulfilling their entelechy; he therefore decides to do them as little harm as possible. Pondering, further, on the imitation of the celestial bodies, he comes to recognise their constant care for the world of generation and decay, "giving warmth, essentially, and *per accidens* cooling, radiation of light, thickening and thinning and all the other things they do to prepare the world for the outpouring of spirit-forms upon it from the Necessarily Existent Being".¹⁹ He therefore "imitated their action by never allowing himself to see any plant or animal hurt, sick, encumbered, or in need without helping it if he could".²⁰

This ecological alertness, praiseworthy though it seems to us, is not, nevertheless, a goal in itself for Ibn Ṭufayl. It is only a passing stage in the

$$\frac{1}{2} \times 7 = 28$$

$$6 \times 7 = 42$$

$$7 \times 7 = 49$$

environmentalist

development of Ḥayy, who soon comes to feel that this kind of care is still too much involved with the physical world and therefore holds him back from the pure contemplation of God in a state of ecstasy. He abandons whirling for the same reason, and withdraws to a cave where he devotes himself exclusively to the contemplation of God.

So Ḥayy undertook to expel all this from himself, for none of these things was conducive to the ecstasy he now sought. He would stay in his cave, sitting on the stone floor, head bent, eyes shut, oblivious to all objects of the senses and urges of the body, his thoughts and all his devotion focused on the Being Whose Existence is Necessity, alone and without rival. When any alien thought sprang to his imagination, Ḥayy would resist it with all his might and drive it out of his mind.²¹

This way of life continues until, when Ḥayy has reached the fiftieth year of his life, it is interrupted by the appearance of Asal.

III

Ibn Ṭufayl shows us a man who, without any outside help, without any teacher or book, attains the highest degree of knowledge, or gnosis, by dint of his inborn intelligence. The possibility of such a development is not in itself a tenet of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, and despite the mystical tinge of this treatise, Ibn Ṭufayl does defend a much disputed tenet of the *falāsifa*, the Arabic philosophers of the Aristotelian school: the possibility of knowing God and reaching a state of perfection through one's own intelligence, without a prophet or holy book. It is true that Ḥayy's development does not represent the normal curriculum of a philosopher, which would consist of listening to the lectures of a teacher, participating in scholarly discussions, reading books and writing dissertations. Yet the fact that Ḥayy has no teacher only underscores the enormous power attributed in this tale to human reason. What Ibn Ṭufayl is here affirming, without expressly saying so, is what Arabic philosophers before him had always contended, namely that philosophy can dispense with religious training, since it conveys the same truth, only on another level of language which is inaccessible to the untrained mind.

A statement in one of Fārābī's lesser-known treatises is of particular importance in this context:

Upon realising that this religion is a parabolic version of the message of philosophy, the philosophers will not oppose the religion; but the exponents of the religion will oppose the philosophers. Philosophy and philosophers, rather than playing (as they should) a leading part in administering the religion and its followers, will be rejected. Religion will not receive much support from philosophy, while great harm may come to philosophy and philosophers from the religion and its followers. In the face of this threat philosophers may be compelled to oppose the religious, in quest of safety for themselves. They will take care not to oppose the religion itself. What they oppose is the idea of the religious that their religion is contrary to philosophy. They endeavor to eradicate this idea, trying to make the

religious understand that the message of their religion is [a] parabolic [representation of philosophy].²²

There can thus be no doubt that Ibn Ṭufayl's text, for all its apparent harmony with orthodox views, must have sounded provocative to the ears of orthodox people, and would have done so even had he limited himself to the first part of his story. No doubt Ibn Ṭufayl is eager to soothe such potential readers as far as possible, without, however (none of the great Arabic Aristotelian philosophers would, it seems, ever have deigned to do so) abandoning any of the Aristotelian tenets. An example in our text is Ḥayy's reflection on the question of whether the world is eternal or created. As is well known, the eternity of the world is one of the three Aristotelian doctrines which al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) judged to be heretical in his great attack on Greek philosophy, "The Incoherence of the Philosophers" (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*).²³ Now, Ibn Ṭufayl makes his hero ponder long over the question of "whether all this had come to be from nothing, or in no respect emerged from nothingness but always existed".²⁴ The answer Ḥayy—and with him the author—finally arrives at is in between: the things on earth are, of course, finite, but the motion of the heavens is eternal. Thus, after years of pondering this problem, Ḥayy "was no longer troubled by the dilemmas of creation versus eternity, for either way the existence of a non-corporeal Author of the universe remained unscathed ..."²⁵ The answer aims at reconciling the two tenets, but the orthodox party would, one imagines, hardly have accepted it as satisfying.

Similarly, the frequent quotations from the Quran aim to give the impression of being in line with the "Law-giver". On the other hand, Ibn Ṭufayl does not suppress his criticisms of this law when it comes to social realities. There can be little doubt that the island inhabitants sketched in the second part of his story are intended to typify a Muslim society and the *shari'a* aspects of Islam. Even though Ibn Ṭufayl leaves the identity of the islanders' religion vague—calling them "followers of a certain true religion, based on the teachings of a certain ancient prophet"²⁶—it is obvious from the religious duties observed by this community, which are those of Islam, namely prayer, alms tax, fasting and pilgrimage. The two other monotheistic religions are, however, not expressly excluded.

From this it follows that the criticisms directed at this religion through the mouth of Ḥayy are criticisms that the author himself wished to launch against certain aspects of exoteric Islam. Here again, surely, Ibn Ṭufayl makes an effort to win over his readers before turning to his critical remarks. The description of the first encounter between Ḥayy and Asal is not without a certain humour or self-irony, if we take Ḥayy to be a projection of the author himself; at any rate it may be understood as a symbolic scene betraying the difficulties of the encounter between reason and religious tradition.

When Ḥayy sees Asal, who is wearing a long black cloak of wool and goat hair, he wants to meet him, but Asal is afraid of him and runs away:

Ḥayy ran after him, and with the power and vigor God had given him, not just mentally, but physically as well, he caught up with him and seized him in a grip from which he could not escape. When he got a good look at his captor, clothed in hides still bristling with fur, his hair so overgrown that it hung down over a good part of his body, when he saw how fast he could run and how fiercely he could grapple, Asal was terrified and began to beg for mercy. Ḥayy could not understand a word he said. But he could make out the signs of fright and did his best to put the other at ease with a variety of animal cries he knew. Ḥayy also patted his head, rubbed his sides, and spoke soothingly to him. Eventually Asal's trepidation died down and he realised that Ḥayy did not mean him any harm.²⁷

The difficulties of mutual approach are further highlighted by Ḥayy's hesitation to eat from the food Asal offers him. But ultimately both men overcome their mistrust. Ḥayy learns human speech from Asal, and then the two tell each other of their religious experiences, which turn out to be, in principle, identical:

Hearing Ḥayy's description of the beings which are divorced from the sense-world and conscious of the Truth—glory be to Him—his description of the Truth Himself, by all his lovely attributes, and his description, as best he could, of the joys of those who reach Him and the agonies of those veiled from Him, Asal had no doubt that all the traditions of his religion about God, His angels, books²⁸ and prophets, Judgement Day, Heaven and Hell were symbolic representations of those things that Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān had seen for himself. The eyes of his heart were unclosed. His mind caught fire. Reason and tradition [*al-ma'qūl wa 'l-man-qūl*] were at one within him. All the paths of exegesis lay open before him. All his old religious puzzles were solved; all the obscurities clear. Now, he had "a heart to understand."²⁹

This is the usual way the *falāsifa* would indicate their readiness to cooperate with the believers, stressing the identity of religious and philosophical truth. However, the orthodox reader must have noticed the barely veiled hitch: so far Asal, who had a traditional religious training, has been puzzling over the obscurities of his religion, but as soon as he encounters a philosopher, all these problems are solved by means of exegesis. We are reminded of Fārābī's remarks in his *Enumeration of the Sciences*, where, dealing with religious law (*fiqh*) and scholastic theology (*kalām*), he mentions the difficulties arising from the fact that certain religious tenets contradict human reason, and how the theologians try to cope with this problem by various stratagems ranging from exegesis to violence.³⁰ It also reminds us of Ibn Sīnā's introductory remarks to his *Treatise on the Confirmation of Prophetic Missions*, in which he addresses an unnamed friend, saying that he wants to dispel his doubts arising from the fact that prophets assert things which are merely possible, as necessary, without having a logical argument, be it apodictical or dialectical, in support of them, and [that they claim] even impossible things, resembling old wives' tales.³¹ What Ibn Sīnā does in this treatise is to inter-

pret certain verses of the Quran allegorically; in other words, teach how to read the Quran as a philosopher.

The attitude of the philosopher towards revelation is thus very often one of superiority and condescension, most palpable in the famous saying of the Brethren of Purity, that the religious law is medicine for the sick, whereas philosophy is medicine for the healthy.³² Here again, Ibn ʿUfayl is eager to soothe the potential suspicions. When Ḥayy has learned about Asal's religion, he is persuaded that its founder must have been "a messenger sent by God". And when Asal has described to him prayer, alms tax, fasting, pilgrimage, "and other such outward practices", he "held himself responsible to practice these things in obedience to the command of one whose truthfulness he could not doubt".³³ The statement is, perhaps, not without hidden irony; for to whom, on this lonely island, should Ḥayy pay alms tax, and in what kind, having no money or possession, and where should he perform the pilgrimage? All this seems to be said for the sake of gaining inclined ears for what follows:

Still there were two things that surprised him and the wisdom of which he could not see. First, why did this prophet rely for the most part on symbols to portray the divine world, allowing mankind to fall into the grave error of conceiving the Truth corporeally and ascribing to Him things which He transcends and is totally free of (and similarly with reward and punishment) instead of simply revealing the truth? Second, why did he confine himself to these particular rituals and duties and allow the amassing of wealth and over-indulgence in eating, leaving men idle to busy themselves with inane pastimes and neglect the Truth? Ḥayy's own idea was that no one should eat the least bit more than would keep him on the brink of survival. Property meant nothing to him, and when he saw all the provisions of the Law to do with money, such as the regulations regarding the collection and distribution of welfare or those regulating sales and interest, with all their statutory and discretionary penalties, he was dumbfounded. All this seemed superfluous. If people understood things as they really are, Ḥayy said, they would forget these inanities and seek the Truth. They would not need all these laws. No one would have any property of his own to be demanded as charity or for which human beings might struggle and risk amputations. What made him think so was his naive belief that all men had outstanding character, brilliant minds and resolute spirits. He had no idea how stupid, inadequate, thoughtless, and weak-willed they are, "they are but as the cattle, nay, further astray from the way!"³⁴

In other words, Ḥayy criticises the following aspects: the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Quran, the stress on legalistic aspects combined with a certain laissez-faire attitude in matters of moral discipline, and the lack of a higher ethical code that would equal in standard the philosophical ethics of Plato or Aristotle. However, Ibn ʿUfayl then immediately goes on to criticise his hero for making these criticisms, which, he says, proceed from an illusory image of man.

In fact, this point is developed further. Ḥayy's illusions about the true character of human society make him hope "that it might be through him that they would be saved",³⁵ and he and his friend accordingly wait for a ship to take them to the other island. There Ḥayy starts preaching his wis-

dom to the inhabitants, but in vain. It is only because he is a friend of Asal, who is himself the friend of the ruler of the island, Salamān, that they respect him as a person; and "the moment he rose the slightest bit above the literal [sense of the scripture] or began to portray things against which they were prejudiced, they recoiled in horror from his ideas and closed their minds".³⁶

Thus Ḥayy now understood the human condition [*fahima aḥwāl al-nās*].³⁷ He saw that most men are no better than unreasoning animals, and realised that all wisdom and guidance, all that could possibly help them was contained already in the words of the prophets and the religious traditions.³⁸

Taking his leave of Salamān and his friends, he "apologised, dissociating himself from what he had said", and "urged them to hold fast to their observance of all the statutes regulating outward behavior and not delve into things that did not concern them, submissively to accept all the most problematical elements of the tradition and shun originality and innovation, follow in the footsteps of their righteous forbears and leave behind everything modern".³⁹

Ḥayy and Asal then return to the lonely island and spend the rest of their lives in devotion.

This retreat from society is a time-honoured attitude of philosophers. Plato talks of it in his *Republic*;⁴⁰ Fārābī mentions it in his political writings;⁴¹ Ibn Bājjā, the immediate predecessor of Ibn Ṭufayl, wrote a treatise on the subject entitled *On the Conduct of the Solitary*;⁴² and Ibn Rushd speaks of the desperate situation of philosophers in non-philosophical societies in his commentary on Plato's *Republic*.⁴³

What gives a particular pointedness to Ibn Ṭufayl's handling of the topic is the high degree of ambiguity involved; for he intersperses his text with Quranic quotations, and even proves the rotten state of this Muslim society by means of a Quranic verse which was, however, not meant to describe Muslims at all, but unbelievers, who here, as elsewhere in the Holy Book, are equated with animals.

He justifies the character of the book and the law of this religion by the "human condition", and has his hero apologise and revoke his criticisms in an almost cynical way, revealing his total disillusion and resignation vis-à-vis the community in question. Goodman compares this act of revocation with the concealment of one's true conviction in communist states.⁴⁴

We should, however, be cautious how far we suspect Ibn Ṭufayl of crypto-heresy. Certainly the possibility exists. He was in the fortunate situation of having a generous, open-minded patron, the Almohad sultan Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (reigned 558/1163-580/1184), who would not refrain from discussing with him such "hot" topics as the question of the eternity of the world. There is a famous tradition that, when the young Ibn Rushd came to his court and the Sultan asked him "What do they [the philosophers] believe about the heavens? Are they eternal or created?", Ibn Rushd was very upset, not know-

ing how to answer and apparently fearing a trap; until the Sultan "turned to Ibn Ṭufayl and began to discuss the question with him, referring to the positions of Aristotle and Plato and all the other philosophers, and citing the arguments of the Muslims against them".⁴⁵

The historian 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī characterises Ibn Ṭufayl as a man who "was eager to reconcile religion and philosophy and gave great weight to revelation, not only at the literal, but also at the more profound level. Besides this he was tremendously learned in Islamic studies".⁴⁶ However, this characterisation might, again, spring from a desire to show the philosopher in a light that would make him more acceptable to orthodox readers.

More importantly, Ibn Ṭufayl himself makes the point that religion has, as it were, two levels: "In the Law were certain statements proposing a life of solitude and isolation and suggesting that by these means salvation and spiritual triumph could be won. Other statements, however, favoured life in a community and involvement in society".⁴⁷ Asal clings to the first, Salamān to the second way. But at the same time, Asal is described as searching after the inner (*bāṭin*), the spiritual meaning (*al-ma'āni ar-rūḥāniyya*) and allegorical interpretation, whereas Salamān is qualified as "anxious to preserve the literal [*ẓāhir*]" and "refraining from thought and independent decisions due to his cowardous nature".⁴⁸

Although most people wish to restrict themselves to its literal (*ẓāhir*) meaning, the scripture itself does thus lend itself to allegorical exegesis; it does have deeper, spiritual meanings, which, however, the majority of believers are unable or unwilling to grasp.

Ibn Ṭufayl's verdict on Muslim society anticipates the situation soon to come into being in al-Andalus: an intolerant orthodox climate drawing its growing vigour from the onslaught of the Christian *reconquista*. Yet the bases of this attitude had been laid in the East, mainly by al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, which may be said to have dealt a lethal blow to the Peripatetic school in the Arabic and Islamic world.⁴⁹

Ibn Ruṣhd (d. 595/1198) was the last of a series of Arabic *falāsifa* to attempt to prove the compatibility of philosophy and the Law, reason and revelation [*al-ma'qūl wa 'l-manqūl*], particularly in his famous *Faṣl al-maḡāl wa-taqrīb mā bain al-ṣharī'a wa 'l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl* ("Decisive Discourse on the Compatibility of Religion and Philosophy"). These efforts of his, however, no longer made any impact in the Islamic world, and, with Ibn Ruṣhd, Arabic Aristotelianism came to an end, though certain elements of Aristotle's philosophy were incorporated in later systems. In its place another star was soon to rise in Spain, and another doctrine to radiate from there to many parts of the Islamic world: namely, the Andalusī mystic Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and his doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, or pantheism.⁵⁰

If Ibn Ruṣhd may be regarded as the pinnacle of Arabic Aristotelian philosophy, Ibn Ṭufayl is rather a pivot linking that school with Islamic mys-

ticism, although his influence seems to have been limited in his own time due to the ever-increasing orthodox animosity towards the *falāsifa*, whose very name, according to Ibn al-ʿArabī, had become a matter for suspicion in his time.⁵¹

IV

If genuine Aristotelian thought was alien to mysticism, this was not the case with Arabic Aristotelianism, due to the influence of the so-called "Theology of Aristotle"; this was a paraphrase of the *Enneads* of Plotinus (d. 270 A.D.), which lent a neo-Platonic tinge to most of the works of Arab *falāsifa*. Three elements are paramount: the so-called emanation which consists in spherical beings ruling the stars and linking the One with the many; the interpretation of created beauty as a reflection of divine beauty; and the possibility of reaching union with the universal reason, the Active Intellect, which is at the same time the tenth and lowest of the intelligences emanating from God and linking the world with the Creator. Of these neo-Platonic elements it was the union with the Active Intellect which particularly appealed to the Arabic philosophers. Fārābī speaks of it in his political philosophy and his propheticology: the perfect man, fitted to be the ideal leader of the community, must unite within himself the faculties of the statesman, the philosopher and the prophet, and this can only be attained through a contact with the Active Intellect.⁵² Ibn Bājja devotes a treatise to the subject under the title of "Man's Union with the Active Intellect".⁵³

In Ibn Ṭufayl's novel there is a clear shift from this kind of neo-Platonic idea to what we might call philosophical mysticism. He undertook the novel with the intention of speaking of something beyond reason, though not contradicting it. He is aware that he is not the first to make a bridge between philosophy and mysticism; although he does not mention his "Theology", he mentions the "Oriental Wisdom" of Ibn Sīnā—which seems, incidentally, to refer to Ibn Sīnā's so-called "Visionary Accounts" rather than to his lost philosophical compendium. In any case, Ibn Ṭufayl states that the three heroes of his novel, Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān, Salamān and Asal take their names from Ibn Sīnā, which is a clear reference to two of the three accounts, but also an indication that Ibn Ṭufayl does not seem to know them directly, for his heroes have little or nothing in common with their namesakes in Ibn Sīnā's tales. On the other hand, the journey of the soul related by Ibn Sīnā's Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān, who, in his tale, is a personification of the Active Intellect, culminates in the contemplation of God's enrapturing beauty, and the same is true of his *Treatise of the Birds*.⁵⁴

Ibn Ṭufayl announces that he intends to talk of experiences hardly expressible in human speech, capable only of being enjoyed or beheld in ecstasy and contemplation; and this is what his hero finally arrives at after long training. The reader will remember that Ḥayy attempted to approach the

Creator by imitating the celestial bodies in three respects, in their care for nature, their circular motions and their contemplation of God. In doing so Ḥayy adopted various attitudes familiar in mystical life patterns. His care for animals and plants reminds one of certain mystical saints, and also of Christian anchorites; the legendary Arabic poet Majnūn, who lived in the desert in close friendship with the wild animals, would approximate closely to this type.⁵⁵ His whirling is, of course, as mentioned above, to be interpreted as the whirling of mystics, already a long established practice at that time, at least in the East, where it seems to have started in the second half of the 3rd/9th century.⁵⁶ But ultimately Ḥayy leaves all this behind him, withdraws into a cave and devotes himself exclusively to ecstasy and contemplation. "Drowned in ecstasy, he witnessed 'what no eye has ever seen or ear heard nor has it entered into the heart of man to conceive'". It is remarkable that Ibn Ṭufayl should use this Biblical quotation,⁵⁷ and not a Quranic verse, to describe the highest degree of mystical vision. It is true that mystics knew a similar saying in the form of a *ḥadīth qudsi*,⁵⁸ but, since Ibn Ṭufayl does not say this, we may surmise that he either did not know its origin, which is unlikely, or wished his readers to recognise it as a Biblical quotation (and many readers in the Andalusī milieu must have known the Bible); in other words, he deemed nothing more appropriate, in his search for words to express the inexpressible, than this extra-Quranic saying. In fact Ibn Ṭufayl uses this quotation several times in the course of the following descriptions of Ḥayy's visions, also pointing, here again, to the linguistic problem involved: the ineffableness of Ḥayy's—and therewith his own—experiences.⁵⁹ Yet Ibn Ṭufayl has found a way, and an admirable one at that, of putting at least one of his visions into speech, using a most evocative image which opens a cosmic vista before the inner eye of the reader. Although somewhat long, the whole passage should be quoted:

Passing through a deep trance to the complete death-of-self and real contact with the divine, he saw a being corresponding to the highest sphere, beyond which there is no body, a subject free of matter, and neither identical with the Truth and the One nor with the sphere itself, not distinct from either—as the form of the sun appearing in a polished mirror is neither sun nor mirror, and yet distinct from neither. The splendor, perfection, and beauty he saw in the essence of that sphere were too magnificent to describe and too delicate to be clothed in written or spoken words. But he saw it to be at the pinnacle of joy, delight and rapture, in blissful vision of the being of the Truth, glorious be His Majesty.

Just below this, at the sphere of the fixed stars, Ḥayy saw another non-material being. This again was neither identical with the Truth and the One, nor with the highest sphere, nor even with itself, yet distinct from none of these. It was like the form of the sun appearing in one mirror, reflected from a second which faced the sun. Here too were glory, beauty and joy as in the highest. Lying just below he saw the identity of the sphere of Saturn, again divorced from matter and neither the same as nor different from the beings he had seen—as it were, the reflection of the reflection of the reflection of the sun; and here too he saw splendor and rapture as before.

Thus for each sphere he witnessed a transcendent immaterial subject, neither identical nor distinct from those above, like the form of the sun reflected from mirror to mirror with the descending order of spheres. In each one Ḥayy sensed goodness, beauty, joy, and bliss that 'no eye has seen, or ear heard, nor has it entered the heart of man to conceive', until finally he reached the world of generation and decay, the bowels of the sphere of the moon.

Here too was an essence free of matter, not one with those he had seen—but none other. Only this being had seventy thousand faces. In every face were seventy thousand mouths; in every mouth, seventy thousand tongues, with which it ceaselessly praised, glorified, and sanctified the being of the One who is the Truth.

In this being, which he took to be many although it is not, Ḥayy saw joy and perfection as before. It was as though the form of the sun were shining in rippling water from the last mirror in the sequence, reflected down the series from the first, which faced directly into the sun. Suddenly he caught sight of himself as an unembodied subject. If it were permissible to single out individuals from the identity of the seventy thousand faces, I would say that he was one of them. Were it not that his being was created originally, I would say that they were he. And had this self of his not been individuated by a body on its creation I would have said that it had not come to be.

From this height he saw other selves like his own, that had belonged to bodies which had come to be and perished or to bodies with which they still coexisted. There were so many (if one may speak of them as many) that they reached infinity. Or, if one may call them one, then all were one. In himself and in the other beings of his rank, Ḥayy saw goodness, beauty, joy without end, the like of which eyes cannot see, ears hear, or human hearts conceive.⁶⁰

This gorgeous vision, so reminiscent of Dante's *Paradise*,⁶¹ is the pinnacle not only in Ḥayy's life, but also in Ibn Ṭufayl's story. Structurally it adds the vertical or space dimension, divided into the seven spheres, to the horizontal or time dimension of Ḥayy's life, divided into the seven heptads. The two dimensions are linked, and the seven is multiplied in the sublunar being with its seventy thousand faces, which are many and yet one at the same time. This vision is almost exclusively neo-Platonic in its content, although the notion of the mirror, so dominant in this scene, also became central in Islamic mystical thinking and was often used, as it is here, to illustrate the close relationship between the Creator and His creation.⁶²

A prominent question, interlaced with this vision, is also one of the central questions that preoccupied the neo-Platonists: how does the multiplicity of the world emerge from the One? For Ibn Ṭufayl, this problem takes on a somewhat different shape, namely: is the Creator One or All and thus many, are the created beings many or One? During the description of the vision Ibn Ṭufayl leaves the answer in suspense, or rather as an unsolved paradox. Later, however, he adds a clarifying remark: as far as God is concerned, the question is inadequate, since the categories of number belong to the world of bodies and can thus not be applied to what is beyond it.

For the rest, the text leaves no doubt that, in his moments of ecstasy, Ḥayy experiences identity with God. "His true self was the Truth."⁶³ In this respect Ibn Ṭufayl differs from all the other Arabic Aristotelians, although

Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Bājjā do have their mystical dimension. But neither does the union with the Active Intellect, for all the ecstatic joy it conveys, equal mystical self-effacement and identity with the Creator, the "Truth" or "Reality" as Ibn Ṭufayl usually calls Him, nor do Ibn Sīnā's two allegories dealing with the soul's journey envisage anything like mystical union; they simply lead on to, and end with, the vision of eternal beauty. This demonstrates the closeness of Ibn Ṭufayl's mysticism to the Unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) of Ibn 'Arabī.

There remains the question of how Ibn Ṭufayl's attitude towards orthodoxy ties in with his mystical strain. It seems to me that, of the three or four usual means of escape from the dry lowland of orthodoxy—hedonism, the fine arts, philosophy and mysticism—Ibn Ṭufayl's preference was for the last two, but that he apparently saw little prospect for a further development of Aristotelianism in view of the growing rigidity of the orthodox party. In other words, he seems to have anticipated that the only way successfully to transcend the Law in an Islamic environment lay in mysticism, rather than philosophy. Ibn Rushd's efforts to revive the authentic Aristotle remained unsuccessful as far as the Islamic East was concerned, and the same was true of his ardent endeavours to prove the compatibility of philosophy and revelation. Under the pressure of the approaching *reconquista* his patron had to yield to the pressure of the *fuqahā'* by banning the philosopher from his court and forbidding the reading and propagation of works of philosophy. Ibn Ṭufayl thus appears as a logical link between Ibn Sīnā's foundations of "Oriental Wisdom",⁶⁴ marginal as these were within the huge body of his philosophical and medical works, and the near ascent of both the "Wisdom of Illumination" (*ḥikmat al-ishrāq*) of Suhrawardī and the "Unity of Being" of Ibn 'Arabī. Both, however, were hardly less "heretical" than Ibn Ṭufayl, even though they far outdid him, and Ibn Rushd, in filling their texts with Islamic quotations. Suhrawardī was, in fact, condemned to death by an orthodox law-court, while Ibn 'Arabī spent most of his life as an emigrant in the East. The parable of two men, a believing philosopher and a philosophising believer, who leave the religious community to which they belong because they want to say what they think and practice what they believe, is unfortunately not outdated. Such things still happen, *mutatis mutandis*, in many a real life of today.

¹ For Aristotelian philosophy in Islam cf. A. Badawi, *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam*, Paris, 1972.

² Cf. C. Brockelmann, "Kalīla wa-Dimna", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-.

³ Cf. D. M. Lang, "Bilawhar wa-Yudasaf", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed.

⁴ *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Beirut, 1376/1957, II, 203-377; L. E. Goodman, *The Case of the Animals versus Man Before the King of the Jinn*, Boston, 1978.

⁵ Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871-72, p. 304.

⁶ Cf. H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Vol. I, Teheran-Paris, 1954.

⁷ Cf. H. Corbin (ed.), *L'archange empourpré. Quinze traités et récits mystiques traduits du persan et de l'arabe*, Paris, 1976.

⁸ Cf. H. Waardenburg-Kilpatrick, "Selection and Presentation as Distinctive Characteristics of Medieval Arabic Courtly Prose Literature", in *Courtly Literature-Culture and Context*, ed. Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 337-53. The use of the adjective "courtly" in this article seems debatable to me.

⁹ Cf. J. T. Monroe, *The Art of Badi' az-zaman al-Hamadhani as Picaresque Narrative*, Beirut, 1983.

¹⁰ On the misuse of religious language cf. the chapter "Profanisierung sakraler Sprache" in my forthcoming book *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit*, Munich, 1991.

¹¹ Arabic edition by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd: *Falsafat Ibn Ṭufayl wa-risālatuhu: Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (*Silsilat ad-dirāsāt al-falsafiyya wa 'l-akhlāqīyya*), Cairo, n.d.; English version by L. E. Goodman: *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, New York, 1972.

¹² Goodman uses the form Absal in his translation, which is, however, the form of the name used by Ibn Sinā in his allegory "Salamān and Absal". Ibn Ṭufayl seems to have changed the name of his hero by intention, in order to emphasise the difference between him and Ibn Sinā's hero.

¹³ Cf. F. C. Endres and A. Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl. Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich*, Cologne, 1984, pp. 142-71.

¹⁴ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 9.

¹⁵ Cf. my "The Lady Gazelle and Her Murderous Glances", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 20, 1989, pp. 1-11.

¹⁶ Cf. F. Malti-Douglas, "A Male Utopia", in *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, ed. L. Conrad, Oxford, forthcoming.

¹⁷ On the aspect of "mightiness", cf. the introductory chapter of my *Allmacht und Mächtigkeit*, (see note 10 above).

¹⁸ Sura 28, 88; Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 134.

¹⁹ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 145.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²² This passage, which is from al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, is quoted by F. Zimmermann, in *Al-Fārābī's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*, London, 1981, Introduction CXIV, note 1.

²³ Cf. I. A. Bello, *The Medieval Islamic Controversy Between Philosophy and Orthodoxy. Ijmā' and Ta'wīl in the conflict between al-Ḡhazālī and Ibn Ruṣṣūd*, Leiden, 1989, p. 84 et seq.

²⁴ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 130.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

²⁸ Goodman translates "bibles", which evokes a wrong impression.

²⁹ Sura 50, 36; Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 160.

³⁰ Al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, xxx, 132-37.

³¹ Ibn Sinā, *Fī ithbāt al-nubuwwāt* ("Proof of Prophecies"), ed., with introduction and notes, Michael Marmura, Beirut, 1968, p. 41.

³² Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam. The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, Leiden, 1986, p. 171.

³³ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 161.

³⁴ Sura 25, 46 (in a translation diverging from Goodwin's less exact one); Goodwin, *Ḥayy*, p. 161 et seq.

³⁵ Goodwin, *Ḥayy*, p. 162.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁷ Arabic text, p. 149.

³⁸ Goodwin, *Ḥayy*, p. 164.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

⁴⁰ *Republic.*, VI, 10.

⁴¹ *Al-Madīna 'l-fādila*, Beirut, 1959, p. 109 et seq.

⁴² *Fī tadbīr al-mutawāḥḥid*; cf. M. Fakhri, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, London-New York, p. 261 et seq.

- ⁴³ Averroes' *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, ed., with an introduction, translation and notes, E. I. J. Rosenthal, Cambridge, 1966, p. 183.
- ⁴⁴ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 236, n. 282.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4 *et seq.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.
- ⁴⁸ Arabic text, p. 141; Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 156.
- ⁴⁹ Cf. Bello, *The Medieval Islamic Controversy*.
- ⁵⁰ On Ibn al-'Arabī, cf. H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Paris, 1958.
- ⁵¹ F. Rosenthal, "Ibn 'Arabī Between 'Philosophy' and 'Mysticism'", *Oriens*, 31, 1988, p. 15 *et seq.*
- ⁵² Cf. R. Walzer, "Al-Fārābī's Theory of Prophecy and Divination", in *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 206-19.
- ⁵³ Cf. D. M. Dunlop, "Ibn Bājjā", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. above, note 6.
- ⁵⁵ Cf. A. Khairallah, *Love, Madness, and Poetry. An interpretation of the Magnun legend*, Beirut-Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 117 *et seq.*
- ⁵⁶ A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975, p. 181.
- ⁵⁷ I Corinthians, II, 9; cf. Isaiah, LXIV, 4.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. Goodman, *Ḥayy*, note 205.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. my "'Symbols and Hints'. Some Considerations Concerning the Meaning of Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān", in Conrad (ed.), *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl*.
- ⁶⁰ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, pp. 152-53.
- ⁶¹ On the possible influence of Ibn Ṭufayl's novel on the *Divina Commedia* via a Hebrew translation, cf. G. Strohmaier, "Chaj ben Mekitz-die unbekannte Quelle der *Divina Commedia*", *Deutsches Dante Jahrbuch*, 55-56, 1980-81, pp. 191-207.
- ⁶² Cf. the passage on the mirror concept in J. C. Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh. The "Licit Magic" of the Arts in Medieval Islam*, New York, 1988, pp. 138-41.
- ⁶³ Goodman, *Ḥayy*, p. 150. The Arabic text is as follows: *khāṭara bi-bālihi annahū lā dhāta lahū yughayyiru bihā dhāta 'l-haqqi ta'ālā wa-anna haqqiqata dhātihī hiya dhātu 'l-haqq* (Maḥ-mūd, *op.cit.*, p. 133).
- ⁶⁴ Cf. H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris, 1964, p. 237 *et seq.*

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RELIGIOUS STUDIES



THE 'ULAMĀ' OF AL-ANDALUS

DOMINIQUE URVOY

The notion of *'ilm* is a very complex one, which has, over the ages, been used to describe very different forms of "knowledge". It remains, nevertheless, strongly affected by the use made of it in the Quran, where it implies the knowledge of God and of religious matters, as opposed to other forms of knowledge arising out of experience and reflection. The idea of "transmission" (*naql*) is also central to the concept: the transmission of revelation through the prophets; the transmission, through those close to him, of the acts, words or "approving silences" of the Prophet Muḥammad; and the transmission of the doctrinal development of these carried out by the great doctors.

There was a remarkable convergence of viewpoints, on this score, among the various elements making up Muslim Spain. Within the indigenous population the Visigothic Christian Church had fostered a highly traditional brand of religion based on the Bible and the liturgy, with the Fathers figuring, essentially, as "authorities"; while even the Jewish community there (unlike that of Qayrawān, which nevertheless served as a point of contact with the East) was not to become open to speculative thought for some time yet, so that, for them, the establishment of Muslim power meant in effect a strengthening of ties with the Talmudic centres of Iraq. The Christians and Jews of Spain, therefore, caused traditional factors to predominate within Islam itself on their conversion; and from this springs that "deliberately conservative, even archaising" character which Lévi-Provençal regards as the characteristic quality of Andalusī Islam¹—though "deliberately" should be taken to imply an outcome collectively arrived at rather than consciously selected.

Two further factors came into play: first, the conquered country was largely broken up; and second, the social base was predominantly urban, as opposed to the situation in the Maghrib, where the old tribal structures were still fully intact. Given these factors, the legalism of the new religion provided almost the sole force for integration between the indigenous populations (Spanish and Jewish) and the occupying populations (Arab and Berber) who mingled there.

In fact the ruling power favoured such an outcome, and the beginnings of Law in al-Andalus, in so far as we can reconstruct them, demonstrate a noteworthy development. The first *qāḍī* whose method is known was Maḥdī b. Muslim, who was appointed in 121/738. He referred to the Quran and the *Sunna*, and also made use of his own personal opinion (*ra'y*) placed alongside that of other learned men. The most important figure of this period,

however, was Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Shāmī (the Syrian), who arrived in 123/740; he was noted for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and, without allying himself with any particular school, judged in accordance with his own independent criteria using a rudimentary form of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*).² The narrow scope for personal action which these jurists permitted themselves—considerably less than that exercised by the Ḥanafī School of Iraq—was subsequently to be reduced still further, and al-Shāmī, who enjoyed great fame in the East, came under censure in the West.

It was another Syrian tendency which came to predominate, whose approach was more narrowly based: Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Sallām al-Shāmī, Mufti of Córdoba, spread the doctrine of al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774, without having left Syria), who rejected *ra'y* and referred solely to *ḥadīth* and the custom of the Companions of the Prophet, regarding the uninterrupted practice of Muslims since the Prophet, maintained by the first caliphs and most of the Umayyad dynasty and legitimised by scholars, as "living tradition". This determinedly archaic viewpoint kept alive "the most ancient solutions adopted by Islamic jurisprudence,"³ and, if its systematic reasoning was elementary, it did have the merit of being explicit, and, as such, susceptible to teaching and transmission. The importance attached by this doctrine to military problems must have favoured its adoption in the period immediately following the conquest, but it made it less attractive to the Andalusis as peace became firmly established.

The doctrine of al-Awzā'ī did in fact give way to another doctrine where the traditional aspect was still more marked. Mālikism, which became the sole official school from the 3rd/9th century onwards, may be viewed as a combination of two aspects.

The better known of the two is Mālik's allegiance to Medina, the "city of the Prophet". Even more than the "living tradition" of al-Awzā'ī, whose Umayyad character is a two-edged sword (since the patriotic aspect can also be viewed as alienating in its particularity), the tradition of Medina supplied an element of reassurance for the faithful who were both geographically distanced and devoid of any tradition of judicial reflection. *Ḥadīth*, generally speaking, allowed the intangible text to be linked to a chain of transmitters—in other words, it established a system of relations giving the appearance of a social structure within which one simply needed to take one's place—and the *ḥadīth* of Medina defined this structure still more closely, avoiding the effect of over-rapid dispersal associated with the spread of Islam. Mālikism met the tension arising from the fact of being on the extreme frontier of the *dār al-Islām* by imposing a centripetal viewpoint of the latter.

The second aspect, which has often been neglected, concerns the authority of the great doctors of the school, such as Mālik and Ṣaḥnūn, as reflected in the respect paid to their *ra'y*. While this last notion is normally regarded as characteristic of the Ḥanafism of Iraq, where each jurist could make his own judgements, it was also not absent from Mālikism, where it was reserved

solely for the great names whose competence was beyond dispute. The opinions of the great doctors thus became material to be memorised (*hifẓ al-ra'y*) and transmitted (*'ilm al-ra'y*; *kutub al-ra'y*; *masā'il al-ra'y*).⁴ In a few rare instances, however, less important individuals might be regarded as "having a good individual judgement" (*ḥasan al-ra'y*; *jazil fī ra'yihī*) or, indeed, as having formulated an opinion which "contained validity as judgement" (*dhālīka 'an ra'y al-qāḍī*). But it was largely through a substitution of terms that Mālikism reintroduced this element of individual evaluation: where Ḥanafism spoke of "approbation" and of a "search for the best solution" (*istiḥsān*), Mālikism laid stress on considerations of what was useful to the community (*istiṣlāḥ*). An objectivity of reference was indeed sought, but it was always an individual who must appraise this reference.

It is from the diverse ways in which one can attempt to reconcile or, alternatively, oppose these two factors—collective integration and individual authority—that the history of the activity of the *'ulamā'* of al-Andalus springs. This history is recounted to us through the chronicles, but these must be supplemented and corrected through the testimony of biographical compilations, not only with respect to details of events, but, still more, for what such compilations are able to tell us with regard to the overall collective memory, which causes them to transcend the individual perspective of their compilers. Such information may be obtained through a quantitative consideration of the notes, which, by their stereotyped character, lend themselves particularly well to such treatment.⁵ These compilations are, furthermore, characterised by a remarkable homogeneity. It is true that there were specialised compilations in al-Andalus dealing with, for example, "scholars" in the modern sense of the term (such as the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa 'l-ḥukamā'* of Ibn Juljul in the 4th/10th century, which were, in any case, only concerned to a minor extent with Spain), but the great majority of "national" collections were the product of traditionists who were clearly concerned above all with their own discipline, even if they included intellectuals who had not treated it. Authors who are known to us more particularly from other fields (such as Ibn Ruṣḥd, whom we know more particularly as a philosopher and physician) figured above all in connection with those things which interested contemporaries, i.e. as practitioners of the religious sciences (*fiqh* in the case of Ibn Ruṣḥd). In exceptional cases people might be included even if they were not mentioned in connection with any religious discipline in the strict sense of the term, provided they had attained distinction in an area which could be referred back to religion: for example, mathematics as it affected the calculation of successions (*farā'id*) or even simple reckoning (*ḥisāb*). On the other hand, certain intellectuals who had become famous in other areas did not figure there because the biographer failed to find any means of incorporating them, however tenuously, within a religious perspective (examples of this being Ibn Bājja and Ibn Ṭufayl).

This homogeneity of perspective is considerably reinforced by the fact that the principal compilations are presented as linked with one another. Thus we have: the "History of the 'ulamā' of al-Andalus" (*Tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*) of Ibn al-Faraḍī (351/962-403/1013);⁶ the "Continuation of the History of the Imams of al-Andalus" (*Al-Ṣila fī tārikh a'immat al-Andalus*) of Ibn Bashkuwāl (494/1101-578/1183);⁷ the "Supplement to the Continuation" (*Al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*) of Ibn al-Abbār (595/1199-658/1260);⁸ the "Continuation of the Continuation" (*Ṣilat al-ṣila*) of Ibn al-Zubayr (627/1230-708/1308);⁹ the "Continuation and Supplement" (*Al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*) of Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (634/1237-703/1303-04).¹⁰

I. THE HIERARCHICAL UNIVERSE OF THE PERIOD OF THE AMĪRS AND CALIPHS

As long as central power was maintained in al-Andalus, the world of the 'ulamā' was centred on Córdoba; it was here, or in the surrounding areas, that the principal shifts and developments took place, not only in terms of official doctrine, but, also, in terms of autonomous, even heterodox tendencies. This was particularly the case during the reigns of Amīr Muḥammad I (238/852-273/886) and Caliph al-Ḥakam II (350/961-365/976), who found fit to show favour to other juridical schools in order to release the ruling power from the grip of the Mālikī hierarchy, whereas other sovereigns or effective rulers had preferred to solicit this hierarchy's support.

The official adoption of Mālikism was due to the amīrs Hishām I (172/788-180/796) and his son al-Ḥakam I (180/796-206/822). The former, whose reign was a peaceful one, and who left behind him the image of a very pious man, was notable for a number of religious foundations. He took an interest in the Islamic sciences, encouraged the training of 'ulamā' in the East and kept in touch with the development of religious disciplines there. As such he allowed the men of religion to take a place around him which his predecessors would have been too jealous of their power to permit. His son, whose reign was far more disturbed, and whose autocratic ways left an unpleasant memory behind them, very quickly made it clear to the members of the hierarchy around him that they should give their juridical opinions (*fatwas*) and their judgements solely according to the school of Mālik.

Several direct disciples of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795-6), notably Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848), a Cordoban of Berber origin, disseminated their doctrine in this way. In the space of thirty years or so a privileged class—as was also the case in Qayrawān during the same period—came to be established, imposing a very rigorous inquisition both on the actions of the sovereign, when he showed signs of ceasing to consult his scholars, and on the faithful in their daily lives and their respect for practices. As for tributaries, those with an official role found themselves being harassed, and

the '*ulamā*' hunted down anything which might be considered hostile to Islam, acting repressively towards sovereigns who were often anxious to appease them in any case, and so pushing those who were desperate to acts of provocation, as in the episode of the "Córdoba Martyrs" in the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

Initially, in fact, Mālikism was established in al-Andalus in a thoroughly backward form. The use of *ḥadīth*, which was after all at the basis of Mālik's approach, was neglected in favour of simply transmitting codifications of special rulings (*furū'*) worked out by the first great successors of the master. The idea of submission (*taqlīd*) to the authority of the competent man capable of "personal effort" (*ijtihād*) was blindly and mechanically repeated, whereas the whole idea of *ijtihād* itself was proscribed. Not only was Mālik made the object of great veneration on account of his sanctity, but the devotional literature (*manāqib*) concerning him often assumed greater proportions than his actual teaching; the oldest known witness to this literature, which was to be in evidence throughout the history of al-Andalus, was the Cordoban Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), who wrote a book on his merits (*faḍā'il*). Ibn Ḥabīb and another Cordoban, al-'Utbi (d. 255/868) codified the master's teaching in the form of responsa (*masā'il*), and their manuals became the basis for successive commentaries, leading, also, to the very noteworthy development of a literature concerning procedure in the notarial and judiciary fields. A major subsequent witness to this cult of Mālik, the *qāḍī* 'Iyād (6th/12th century), was to attest that al-Laythī and Ibn Ḥabīb were totally ignorant of the traditions.¹¹ Similarly all methodological reflection, such as that advocated in the East by al-Shāfi'i, was rejected. On the other hand, an honourable place was accorded, for obvious practical reasons, to local "practice" (*amal*). Some analysts claim that this favour was shown not only to the practice of the capital, but to that of the principal cities on the central frontier with the Christian kingdoms (Talavera, Talamanca and Toledo).

It would appear, in this process, that it was the Muslims of Spanish or Berber origins, rather than those of Arab stock, who were most attached to "maintaining a fixed order of things". On the other hand, it was also among the Muwallads, as we shall see later, that very specific attitudes arose aimed at counteracting this absence of reflection. It should also be noted that there were, in Muslim Spain, a number of cases of more or less profound adherence to Shi'ism. They remained, however, sporadic,¹² representing a posture of defiance rather than any positive position conducive to the integration of Andalusī Muslims.

Four relatively autonomous movements may be distinguished. Of these the first two were juridical schools: Shāfi'ism and Zāhirism. Shāfi'ism was discreetly favoured by Muḥammad I, possibly from a wish to assert his authority over the caste of jurists, but was forced to exercise discretion under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who established the Western Caliphate in 316/929, and

still more so in the reign of the *ḥājjib* al-Manṣūr (370/981-392/1002). It was introduced by Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Siyār (d. 277-8/890-1), who was protected by Muḥammad I against the attacks of the Mālikis by being made his personal notary (*wakīl*) for life. The school was also supported by ‘Abd Allāh, who was the son and heir of the caliph al-Nāṣir, but was put to death by the latter for conspiracy in 338/950.

It is not clear whether or not one of the greatest names of the age should be added here: that of Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276/886 or 280/890). He made a visit to the East where he followed, among others, the teachings of Ibn Ḥanbal. He wished to accord an honourable place to the study of traditions, and, as such, received the protection of the sovereign Muḥammad I. He wrote a commentary on the Quran which was to be highly admired by Ibn Ḥazm—perhaps because there were considerable links between his approach and that of the founder of the “literalist” or “Zāhiri” school, the Easterner Dāwūd. More generally, however, he constructed, like the older doctors, works of independent *ijtihād* based solely on the Quran and the *Sunna*, and through his descendants, who formed a whole dynasty of Cordoban jurists up to 622/1225, he introduced a breath of reform from which Mālikism itself was eventually to benefit. This element of reform was also discernible in the case of his contemporary, Ibn Waḍḍāḥ (d.289/900).

Other authors were quite clearly Zāhiri. The earliest of these was ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim, a pupil of Dāwūd, who lived under Muḥammad I. But this school, which remained very sporadic, could above all boast within its ranks another disciple of Dāwūd, the chief *qāḍī* Mundhir b. Sa‘īd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/966), who, while showing the highest respect for the Mālikī norm, also introduced his own *ijtihād* along literalist lines.

The third movement was of a theological kind. Ibn Ḥazm speaks of Spanish Mu‘tazila, and modern historians (Asín Palacios¹³ and Lévi-Provençal) believe it possible to group together several members of an apparent “school”, within which the influence of the famous literary figure Jāḥiẓ, who was also a theologian, was crucial in Spain. In fact little more can be put forward in this connection than a belief in free will proclaimed by certain ‘ulamā’ or supposed by their opponents. In any case, those works of Jāḥiẓ known in the Peninsula were by no means of a theological nature. Moreover, the individuals in question remained respected jurists among their compatriots, and the most famous of them, Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Kulayb, called Khalīl al-Ghaffla, was the object of nothing more than a ransacking of his house and books after his death by the *fuqahā’*.

The last movement was also the one which has aroused the greatest interest. Asín Palacios has clearly demonstrated that, before the final crisis of the Caliphate, the only outlet the rigorism of the country allowed was into ascetic retreat. Several individuals were in fact noted for their rejection of the world, which won them great prestige in the eyes of the ruling power, the

jurists and the common people alike. Conspicuous among them was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra, who was most certainly a man of Spanish stock, and who lived in a mountain hermitage near Córdoba, although his stay there was interrupted by a journey to the East to protect himself against those who failed to appreciate the fact of his dispensing esoteric teaching. He died in 319/931, at under fifty years of age, and it was after his death that the jurists, who had respected his prestige among the people, carried out a veritable persecution (recounted in detail in the fifth book of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabas*) of all his real or supposed disciples. The movement thereupon left the Córdoba region for Almería, where it was transformed into an esoteric sect led by a kind of guru. Scraps of the master's teaching were, however, still to be found reflected in the 5th/11th century in Ibn Ḥazm's compilation of religious ideas, and in the 7th/13th century with Ibn 'Arabī, who was a thorough-going collector of "initiation secrets".

A very brief note by the historian of ideas Ṣā'id of Toledo (5th/11th century) links Ibn Masarra with the philosophical tradition of Empedocles¹⁴—as the latter is known, that is, in the Arabic recension, which is very different from what modern criticism has to tell us. On the basis of this, Asín Palacios has attempted to attribute to the Andalusī writer several doctrines of esoteric philosophy which Eastern historians derive from the Greek thinker. S. M. Stern, however, has shown in his turn¹⁵ that Ṣā'id's note was based on a misunderstanding of an Eastern text which simply stated that the philosophy of Empedocles had been taken up by the *Bāṭinis* (Muslim esoterics); Ibn Masarra having given esoteric teaching of his own, Ṣā'id believed it possible to make an amalgam first of this and the teaching of Eastern figures—although there is no proof whatever on this score—and, following on from this, with Empedocles. Thus the image of Ibn Masarra as the first representative of philosophy (*ḥikma*) in al-Andalus breaks down. But this does not mean, for all that, that his thought was lacking in substance. Other testimonies, including that of the historian Ibn Ḥayyān published only in 1979,¹⁶ gives us the picture of a very original 'ālim, but one whose approach was also typically Spanish and firmly rooted in the context of his times.

He was the pupil of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, who was the author of an important "Treatise on Innovations" (*Kitāb al-bida'*),¹⁷ but who can himself be linked with the independent *mujtahid* Baqī b. Maḥlād mentioned above. Even his opponents recognised that he had a certain gift of expression, and Ibn Ḥayyān says that he made a highly respected abstract of one of the great Mālikī works, the *Mudawwana*. According to this historian, his success sprang from two causes: first a pedagogy which moved on progressively from an abstract of texts to a setting out of difficulties and to argumentation; and second the union of a charismatic personality and skill in controversy on the one hand with wide knowledge on the other. As for the actual doctrine indicted by the jurists, this was essentially ethical, being characterised by a

severe attitude towards the acquisition of material goods and the stigmatising, as unlawful, of things considered lawful by the jurists themselves. To this accusation of an élitism which leads on, in his work, to hermeticism and the discipline of the arcane, the chronicler adds just a single theological ground for complaint: his claim to go beyond Promise and Threat, his view of the *ḥadīths* concerning intercession as weak and his demand that people should abjure things that are in fact mercifully permitted to them by God.

The work of Ibn Masarra thus emerges as an exact counterpart, in the context of 4th/10th century Islam, of the attitude demonstrated by Priscilian in Christian Spain: an ascetic opposition to the clergy, who are accused of making compromises with the world. It is the asceticism which leads on to the Gnostic elaboration, and not the reverse, since Ibn Masarra's knowledge of Māliki law allows him to draw up religious difficulties from the very heart of ritual practice and to move on to a search for hidden meaning (*ta'wīl*). He advocates the examination of conscience in order to reach purity of intention, and he believes that the gift of prophecy is necessary if a person is to move even halfway towards a total purification of the soul. All this results in a purely spiritual eschatology, without reward or punishment.

This moral approach is given theological support. Like the Mu'tazila, Ibn Masarra rejects the notion that the divine attributes are distinct from its essence. He safeguards human freedom by affirming that the Knowledge and Power of God are two created temporal attributes, and that there are two types of divine knowledge, one which God created entire and at once and which is that of universals, in other words of the hidden, and the other relating to particular existents, that is the apparent, which has being only as long as these existents themselves remain in being.

From this basis Ibn Masarra may well have pushed forward in a philosophical way, but we have no certain explicit indication of this. On the other hand we do have mystical developments with respect to the "Throne" (*'arsh*) of God, that is to say of the Being which rules the world, for God is too exalted for it to be possible to attribute to Him an action *ad extra*. This throne is the creation, whose four aspects (the origin and form of bodies; those of minds; that which perpetuates the soul; good or ill fortune) each have an evident meaning and a hidden meaning, themselves represented by an angel or a prophet. We know of this not only from Ibn 'Arabi but from the texts of Ibn Masarra himself, which were believed lost but have recently been discovered; these texts simply contain common neo-Platonic themes.¹⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān stresses that Ibn Masarra's approach was one of bringing his disciples progressively to his viewpoint, not through a demonstration, but through piling up difficulties so as to leave them no other solution.¹⁹

If there was no essential link between Masarrism and Mu'tazilism on the doctrinal level, it would seem that the practice of the former prolonged that of the latter on the sociological level: there were two attempts at liberalisa-

tion in this respect, following a period of relaxation under al-Ḥakam II, which nevertheless showed that, all questions of legalism apart, spiritual integration could not yet be achieved by a fully rational, as opposed to a somewhat emotional adherence. It is this which explains the development, from the 3rd/9th century on, of groupings of jurist-ascetics (*zāhids*), who sometimes took on the role of "deviants" by embodying those possibilities which society perceived but was incapable of accepting by virtue of its fundamental chosen principles. There was, however, also an approach towards the idea that religious knowledge and more interior practices could exist together, this being manifested in the school founded at Córdoba by Yaḥyā b. Mujāhid of Elvira (d. 366/977), and, above all, in that of Ibn Abī Zamanīn (d. 399/1009), who, though trained in the capital, gathered his disciples at Elvira.

Thus, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, the world of the '*ulamā*', while keeping the hierarchical, centralised structure which circumstances provided for it and which the ruling power deliberately reinforced, diversified on two levels: first on that of the individuals involved, through new independent and even isolationist attitudes; and second on that of approaches, involving a return, against the tendencies of the first generations of Andalusī Mālikis, towards the freer context within which the work of Mālik himself had been undertaken. Shocking though it was to the jurists initially, the return to *ḥadīth* was quickly seen to be indispensable for resolving new cases and preventing the fixed framework from cracking, while also preserving the same type of psychological process. An extra effort of memory did indeed become necessary, but it was still a matter of relying on a ready-formed system, with the possibility, even, of bringing together the respective lines of those transmitting tradition and those transmitting a specific juridical approach; indeed, the first Spanish traditionists were content to study Mālik as a *muḥaddith* and no longer as a jurist. A division of functions was thus established, with the *shaykh al-ʿilm* (holder of the tradition) and the *shaykh al-fiqh* (specialist in ruling on disputes) sharing the tasks.

The establishment of the Caliphate was, nevertheless, a negative factor, in that it diverted a good many students towards administration and therefore transferred to the Caliph—who was the successor of the Prophet—a part of the authority of the people of the '*ilm*'. Each person devoting himself to study found a post thrust on him and was subject to a policy of continual changing of office-holders, culminating in the monopolising by Córdoba of anyone who had distinguished himself in the regions. Thus the liberalisation noted above, which sprang from the '*ulamā*' themselves, was restricted by the action of the ruling power: the specialists in '*ilm*', who had gained authority over the people, were pushed back; Mālikism once again became obligatory in matters of practice, all other approaches having only speculative value; the study of *ḥadīth* finally came to be seen as a superfluous luxury.²⁰ In this struggle the jurists made compromises with the State, and there came into

being a kind of court *qāḍī*, this situation culminating, under al-Manṣūr, in an unstable balance: the jurists had the advantage of the Caliph's being pushed into the background and the State was forced to make concessions to them; but, since they had discredited themselves in the eyes of the people, the State could if need be react by attacking them on the grounds of fanaticism.

II. THE CRISIS IN THE CALIPHATE AND THE FORMATION OF PROVINCIAL FOCI

It is generally considered that, following a long period of development, the period of the caliphs constituted a kind of plateau (from 319/929 to the death of the second *hājib*, al-Muẓaffar, in 399/1008), in which a balanced society was in evidence. But if this balance swiftly crumbled, subsequently, on the social and political levels, it was nevertheless the point of departure for an outstandingly brilliant cultural flowering. This is particularly well known with respect to the production of poetry, but it also involved the production of religious works. On the other hand, the splitting up of power into a multitude of small kingdoms (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*), each cultivating its poets, had little effect on the major groupings in the spiritual field. What in fact emerged was certain localised sets of tendencies, as the civil war (*fitna*) broke the spell of Córdoba, and the provinces, by force of circumstances at first but later on their own initiative, set themselves to developing their own potentialities. These potentialities had always in fact been present but had been reined back; from the account given in the compilation of Ibn al-Faraḍī (who died during the *fitna*) we can distinguish—following the scattered, tentative nature of the initial proceedings—the struggle of the regions on the periphery, particularly in the upper borderlands, to maintain a degree of cultural autonomy in the face of the increasing pull, supported by the ruling power, that was exerted by Córdoba.

With these potentialities now released, a varied picture emerges. As far as the Peninsula is concerned, the classification of religious and intellectual disciplines is well enough known. There is a very clear dominance of juridical disciplines, followed by *ḥadīth*, the Quranic sciences and, for profane studies, *adab*. After this come poetry and the study of the Arabic language, and finally history and mathematics (basically applied). Among those subjects requiring (in some cases) the action of '*aql* (reason), and no longer *naql* alone, the religious disciplines of the methodology of Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), apologetic theology (*kalām*) and Quranic commentary (*tafsīr*) take precedence over the profane disciplines of medicine and pure mathematics, while Sufism and philosophy are quite simply set aside. On the level of practice, asceticism is well represented, including that involving the writing of exhortatory poetry.

The picture becomes somewhat different, however, when we take account of other factors. Let us first take the time factor. The policy of appropriation of talent on the part of the ruling power, from the end of the 4th/10th century,

brought disaffection in its wake, and the '*ulamā*' were not to regain their full numerical strength till the end of the following century, with the establishment of the Almoravids. Next let us consider the orientation of disciplines. A study of the correlation between the disciplines studied by each '*ālim*' shows that—on the inevitable basis of the study of tradition—scholars were divided into specialists in the practice of Law and specialists in the Book. The former, naturally, possessed a virtual monopoly of socio-cultural influence, but the latter, refraining almost wilfully from all attempts at gaining influence, developed purely intellectual activities such as *adab* and the study of the Arabic language, fields through which theology was progressively able to infiltrate. Sufism, on the other hand, was normally only in evidence outside these traditional disciplines. In fact, *kalām* and Sufism shared the speculative area equally with philosophy (*ḥikma*), which, in the 5th/11th century, remained a strictly lay matter having no link with religious disciplines.

The final factor was that of place. While the Córdoba region was losing its importance, it retained the same intellectual orientation and appears to have reacted to the disturbances by electing for a further development of the traditional sciences. The Seville region did not, as has been thought, come to devote itself exclusively to poetry; no doubt poetry was qualitatively better represented here than elsewhere, but not quantitatively. Nor was Seville a city of Sufis, at least not yet. The central region (Toledo) began by assuming the mantle of the Andalusī cultural heritage, not only in religious subjects, but also in *adab* and the study of language. Its conquest by the Christians in 478/1085 interrupted a rather fine flowering, characterised by positive reflective elements, but also by the according of a greater importance than elsewhere to the occult sciences—two aspects which were to be apparent in the so-called "Toledo" school of translation from Arabic into Latin. The upper borderlands (Saragossa) were much more violently subject to the vicissitudes of history, whether from repercussions of the internal crisis or from the effects of external pressure. It did not draw many people to the *fitna*, but knew how to use its people on the spot, and was to demonstrate, in relation to the Christians, a superior culture which, here too, was to put its mark on a school of translators, known as the Ebro Valley school. It was, nevertheless, political rather than religious circumstances which allowed the reforming work of al-Bājī (which will be referred to later) to be set forward there. The other regions were less marked by distinctive characteristics, except for the Spanish Levant (Valencia), which was strongly conservative and largely devoted to evaluation, as with the school of Quranic readings at Denia. The Levant was only gradually to advance to its position, in the 6th/12th century, as the second intellectual and religious focus of al-Andalus over against the Córdoba-Seville region.

The social structure of teaching reflects the repercussions of these variations in time and space. At the end of the period of the caliphs the teaching

body emerges as strongly hierarchical and centred on Córdoba, with links with Seville and Toledo. At its head were a number of teachers mainly with the qualification of *faqih* or, sometimes, *hāfiẓ* (memoriser) or *zāhid* (ascetic). These masters were recognised by most pupils, who followed one another under the instruction of each. In the next generation, on the other hand, a disintegration was under way, with just two teachers, Yūnus b. 'Abd Allāh, known as Ibn al-Ṣaffār, and Abū 'l-Muṭarrif al-Qanāzī gathering the main body of disciples round them, and other teachers having a limited and even specialised audience. There were even, on the fringe of this large group still centred on Córdoba, small groupings of masters in Toledo and Almería. Still more significantly, this generation did not associate itself with the great masters of the previous generation, but rather with authorities which had at that time been marginal, notably Ibn Abī Zamanīn, the jurist-ascetic and centre of a mysticising movement. Andalusī Islam was, therefore, taking a new direction around the beginning of the 5th/11th century.

In the period of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms, this body of teachers was subject to further restructuring. Initially a small number of important teachers came to the fore, with a secondary but numerous group sharing the audience of pupils about equally with them. Also, specialisation was developing in some degree and those concerned with Quranic readings (*muqri's*) became markedly more numerous. The people in question were no longer purely Cordoban, and the capital rather represented one stage of an overall circuit of the Peninsula to disseminate their knowledge. There were even some who only practised outside the city. This generation of '*ulamā*' associated itself clearly with the previous one, especially with its most eminent representative, Yūnus b. al-Ṣaffār, although this did not prevent a further recourse to other teachers, including those in the centres of Toledo and Almería. However, this reintegration did not affect the Peninsula as a whole. There was still a place for separate initiatives.

It was also the most diversified generation, a fact which can be simply indicated by three cases. The first is that of the scholar who had the largest audience at that time, Abū 'Umar b. Lubb (Spanish "Lope") al-Ṭalamankī (d. 428/1036). He was a native of the central region (Talamanca), who had followed the normal pattern of the period of the caliphs: the inevitable time spent in Córdoba, studies in the East, various polemics in Spain, and then return, finally, to end his life in the city of his birth. He demonstrated a particular interest in the methodology of Law (*uṣūl*) and even ventured to attack, if not Mālikism itself, at least the official orthodoxy. This caused him to be declared a *khārījī* by several jurists in Saragossa, and he had, in this town, to submit to the judgement of his peers, being ultimately exculpated.²¹

The third master, in descending order with respect to the number of pupils cited by the biographical compilations, was the famous Quranic reader Abū

'Amr of Denia, who codified the seven canonical "readings". He was in fact only the most prominent of a whole group of Quranic specialists trained by the wish of the Prince of Denia and the Balearics, the Slav Mujāhid, who had himself been initiated into this discipline by order of al-Manṣūr.

Finally, another member of this generation was the greatest representative of the '*ulamā*', and also the most original, Ibn Ḥazm (384/994-456/1064), whose works will be considered later. This originality, and the fact that he was of the Zāhirī school, did not prevent him from being the tenth master in order of influence.

If we take into account additionally that two of the principal authorities, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū 'Amr al-Safāqūsī, were Easterners, it is a quite exceptional moment in intellectual history which we are now contemplating; one in which a deliberately monolithic system was reconstituting itself following a crisis, but was attempting to do so on a highly diversified foundation.

This new state of affairs became still more evident with the following generation. There were indeed some traditional Cordoban *faqīh* figures, but, outside these, the system of teaching brought together all the regions of Spain and, from Almería to Saragossa, advanced the position of those areas (like Badajoz and the Levant) which had till then been neglected. All of this was sustained by the prestige of the great masters, who either attracted people to them or themselves made the tour of the great cities. The most influential of these was Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr, who had been attracted by Shāfi'ism, before returning to Mālikism to develop it from within. The fourth after him, Abū 'I-Walīd al-Bājī, while remaining a convinced Mālikī, had interested himself in the East in the search for "basic principles" both in Law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and in theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*). Ibn 'Abd al-Barr had, in his youth, been the friend of Ibn Ḥazm, when the latter had also been attracted by Shāfi'ism, before moving on to embrace the literalist approach; al-Bājī was his main opponent in a contest held in Majorca, which was to have clear repercussions for the orientation of this marginal area by moulding a double theological tradition taking the sole point of agreement from those two inimical doctrines, Zāhirism and Ash'arism, namely a demand for rationality; this was to inform the philosophical apologetics of the Majorcan Ramon Llull in the 13th century, which themselves lay at the origin of the use of the combinatory method in the West.²²

The end of the period of the *ṭā'ifas* was marked by a split between the broad mass of teachers, whose activities were scattered, and a small number of great names with a considerable audience. Córdoba began once more to play a pre-eminent role, with the Levant acting as something of a counter-balance, the former being devoted especially to Law, the latter to Quranic readings and to traditions. The non-Andalusī masters once again became marginal, but there was a revival of travels to the East "in search of knowledge".

III. THE SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE ANDALUSIS OF THE PERIOD OF THE *ṬĀʾIFAS* TO THE ISLAMIC SCIENCES

The context described above explains the contrast between the poverty of work produced in the first centuries on the one hand and, on the other, the quantitative richness, and, still more, the substance and sometimes extreme originality of that produced in the 5th/11th century. To this we may add the pre-eminent role now restored to the *ʿulamāʾ*—including pre-eminence on the political level—due to the disappearance of a strong ruling power and the people's mistrust of petty local potentates.

Nevertheless, we must here make a qualitative distinction. It has been stated that the *ʿulamāʾ* "had deep popular roots in al-Andalus, and were generally of middle and lower class origins",²³ but, quite apart from the fact that this has not been proved with respect to the majority of the masters of the first rank, this has no bearing on the quality of what was produced. A famous anecdote demonstrates the ambiguous character of this problem of social status: al-Bāji told Ibn Ḥazm that the latter could not claim any merit for having studied because he was from a rich noble background, whereas he, al-Bāji, had had to work with his hands in the East, as a gold-beater, to pay for his lessons; to which Ibn Ḥazm proudly retorted that this showed that he, for his part, was disinterested whereas his opponent was aiming at social advancement. What is actually more important is that, as the historian al-Maqqarī was to note, there were no schools run by the State (*madrasas*) until a late date, and paying for the teaching given in the mosques supposed a considerable motivation on the part of candidates.²⁴

In fact the goals pursued by the most prominent authors were very diverse, even contradictory, but they joined to favour creation: Ibn Ḥazm was at once devoted to the pursuit of certainty and passionately attached to the notion of Umayyad legitimacy, which, for him, was the sole guarantee of continuity with the original Islam he sought to rediscover through his literalist method. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, on the other hand, was more discreet, with the result that, although older than Ibn Ḥazm, he was nevertheless slower to influence disciples. He seemed anxious above all to conserve what had already been acquired, distinguishing himself as a traditionist, and returning to Mālikism after incursions into Zāhirism and Shāfiʿism, moving about a great deal within the Peninsula, pursuing a correspondence with Eastern masters and maintaining contact with independent figures. If Abū ʿAmr's school of Quranic readings was developed in the Levant, it was, apparently, because it was well motivated by the need to establish the text and so counter criticisms made by the Christians concerning the diverse ways of reading the Quran; Ibn Ḥazm himself testifies to this when he states that these "readings" had all been revealed in the same fashion and transmitted by tradition worthy of belief. Al-Bāji also agonised over the loss of Muslim power brought about by the Christian thrust, and his development of *kalām* was undertaken above

all with a polemical aim in mind, and in the hope—more or less vain except in Saragossa—of mobilising goodwill for a surge of effective resistance.

It is true that many works born in this way are valuable only as prolonging tendencies which had long been in existence. This is true of those works of Ibn al-Barr devoted to traditional techniques of religious knowledge (notably *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa faḍlihī wa mā yanbaghī fī riwāyatihī wa ḥamlīh*),²⁵ or of Quranic readings of Abū 'Amr (of which the most used was the *Kitāb al-taysir*), and even of most of al-Bājī's books. With the last-named it is most often a matter either of condensing a piece of knowledge (e.g., *Risāla fī 'l-ḥudūd*)²⁶ or of a purely *ad hominem* discussion of little doctrinal substance (e.g., the reply to the "Monk of France").²⁷ But he is also able to introduce a personal tone in his "Testament" (*Waṣīyya li waladayhi*).²⁸ He is of particular interest for having re-established the art of the polemic within the principles of jurisprudence, and for having even introduced it into Spain. In *Al-Minhāj fī tartīb al-ḥijāj*²⁹ he envisages not only juridical solutions proposed by supporters of his particular method, but also those proposed by other schools, notably Shāfi'ism, which is treated with a degree of sympathy. His plan is to make dialectic (*jadāl*) not something erratic and hesitant, or even shameful, but a matter of consciously reasoned practice, and to this end he examines all the subdivisions of the subject-matter and their ramifications. After an introduction which is a self-justification and a setting out of the proper procedure to be observed, he defines the technical terms, then successively examines the proofs arising from the different sources of Law, possible preliminary questions before discussion can take place, possible objections to arguments which are claimed to be based on the Quran, the *Sunna* or on consensus (*ijmā'*), the technique of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) and possible challenges to it, the validation or invalidation of cause (*'illa*), the various other modes of argumentation (*istidlāl*), and finally the various modes of preference (*tarjihāt*). The work is noteworthy for the clarity with which it is put together and the care with which arguments of all kinds are set out.

Although al-Bājī (403/1012-474/1081) was younger than Ibn Ḥazm, his book sets the latter's work in perspective and also demonstrates its originality. Like his Mālikī opponent, Ibn Ḥazm seeks, in his various books, to make a proper statement of the question, to be exhaustive, to be clear, and to introduce a logical dimension. But if he stands out, this is not simply because he refers to a different juridical school, but because this latter implies a different methodology, which is, in its turn, as R. Arnaldez has very well demonstrated, amplified by this thinker into a veritable philosophy of language.³⁰

His methodology is set out in his great work "On the perfect knowledge of juridical bases" (*Al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*).³¹ Claiming to rely only on the "natural" rules of the Arabic language, which he manipulates, it must be said, with great virtuosity, Ibn Ḥazm shows now the general character of a

Quranic verse of apparently limited application, and now the limited character of a verse of apparently general application. His critical treatment of *ḥadīth* is extremely rigorous, leading him to reject many cases as apocryphal, while, at the same time, admitting a certain number of *ḥadīth aḥad* (those transmitted by a single person). His main attack, however, is reserved for the various "procedures" of the jurists, which he recapitulates in the very title of his *Mulakḥkhaṣ ibṭāl al-qiyās wa 'l-ra'y wa 'l-istiḥsān wa 'l-taqlīd wa 'l-ta'līl*.³² In fact his basic target is the *qiyās*, developed by Shāfi'ism to "channel" the *ra'y* and finally accepted by Mālikism as renewed by such a man as al-Bāji; this is judged to be vague and arbitrary in its very essence, and is attacked each time it can be invoked on a practical point with a demonstration that there is no more reason to apply the analogy to one aspect of this point than to another.

Ibn Ḥazm thus undertakes a veritable "demythologising" of religious tradition subsequent to the period of the Prophet and his companions. He arrives, finally, at an ahistorical vision of matters and his compendium on Law (*Kitāb al-muḥallā*)³³ rejects everything which has been added since this period. This conception is untenable in practice and explains why, for all his intellectual stature and the real audience he had, his school was only able to exist, after him, as representing an approach that was above all "speculative" and taken up by isolated individuals. On the level of thought, on the other hand, this thoroughly austere intellectual approach proved to be very fruitful, as the rest of Ibn Ḥazm's own works shows. In fact it was this deliberately limited approach which led him to construct the first history of religious ideas, arising from a wish to attack, in his "Chapters on religions, sects and passions" (*Al-Fiṣal fī 'l-milal wa 'l-nihal wa 'l-ahwā*),³⁴ erroneous notions of men about God and everything concerning His works. The plan is, needless to say, methodical rather than historical. First the author attacks Judaism, then Christianity. Next he considers, subject by subject, all the known opinions within Islam itself, in order to refute them in sole favour of Zāhiri doctrine. Taking as his criterion the actual materiality of Revelation, he proceeds to examine every subject which can be raised in connection with it. Thus, the book devoted to Christianity does not simply provide a highly detailed comparison between the Gospels, so as to destroy their credibility as testimony by emphasising incompatibilities, but also raises the problem of the spherical nature of the earth by means of the Quranic text "He rolls the night on to the day and rolls the day on to the night" (XXXIX, 7)—this forming part of a stock of arguments proving the authenticity of the Quran, and which the author uses to oppose Christian objections.

This work illustrates, in condensed form, both the richness of Ibn Ḥazm's mind and its contradictions: a rejection of history leading to a gathering of historical material; an immense erudition which gives prime of place to what is distant and curiously neglects what is near;³⁵ a depth of perspective con-

trasted with the trivial nature of many analyses of detail; a sincere wish to convince others coupled with an appalling violence of expression and a total lack of respect for his interlocutor.

The works of Ibn Ḥazm go far beyond the field of *'ilm* to embrace the whole of Arab culture, including such specific lay aspects as genealogy, but it is noteworthy that efforts to build bridges between the various fields are not only clearly present, but are also, in their turn, the starting point for new and original experiments; this is the case, for example, in his treatise on logic (*Al-Taqrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiq*),³⁶ which aims to blend the juridical categories of ordinary life with logical categories. It is even possible, in the Platonising literary conception of "The Ring of the Dove" (*Tawq al-ḥamāma*), to find a starting point for what is the opposite of this, namely the literalist methodology which excludes all "mythologising" formulation, in that literature may be considered the sole field in which man could legitimately consider himself as a creating god-figure.³⁷

IV. THE POLITICAL SYNTHESIS OF THE ALMORAVIDS

The seizure of power by the Almoravids, who had been called on by the men of religion against the existing princes, and the territorial reduction of al-Andalus despite all their best efforts, had a restablising effect for the body of *'ulamā'*, who had at once to drum up support within the (reduced) territory of the country to ensure its cohesion in the face of the threat from the North, and establish a solid position of their own with respect to the new rulers. The Almoravids were to disappear in the face of a politico-ideological challenge, that of the Almohads, their memory sullied by the effects of their adversaries' propaganda. We must, however, judge the facts themselves, according to all available sources of information. It will then be seen that the two goals noted above were in fact achieved.

Let us consider this first with respect to the structure of teaching. The hierarchical reconstruction begun during the period of the *ṭā'ifas* reached its extreme point in the early decades of the 6th/12th century with the rise to prominence of a number of eminent masters who drew off the vast majority of pupils. Thereafter teachings came to be very much complementary to one another, from one master to the next. At the same time not only did the great peripheral cities of Spain become badly served, but a number of small cities which had formerly been "off the beaten track" became seats of teachings worthy of mention in the biographical compilations. This is remarkable given the upheavals of the times: upheavals which, if they particularly disturbed the frontier regions, also affected interior districts like Málaga and Murcia; which encouraged rivalries between Seville and Córdoba on the one hand and between these two and the Levant on the other; and which, finally, gave a quite new importance to the Maghrib, sometimes as a source of political support, sometimes even as a place of refuge.

Those disciplines which came to predominate were the study of the Quran on the religious level and that of the Arabic language on the profane level. The two were of course linked, but we should not, nevertheless, exaggerate the strength of this link, since one of the main authorities of the time, the chief *qāḍī* Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, whose testimony has been preserved for us by Ibn Khaldūn, states that the teaching of language in al-Andalus was not normally based primarily on the Quran, as it was in the rest of the Muslim world. The essential emphasis was on poetry, which was the true memory (*dīwān*, i.e. archives) of the people. In this way misunderstanding of the sacred text on the part of children was avoided (although Ibn al-ʿArabī does in fact stigmatise a number of his compatriots who acted like other Muslims by putting the Quran directly into the hands of children), and the Arabic remained relatively closer to the spoken language. This is very typical of Andalusī Islam, which was evidently conservative in itself, but was susceptible to remarkable innovation in comparison with the rest of the *dār al-Islām*. On the other hand, it henceforth allowed itself to be conquered by a phenomenon which was becoming increasingly ubiquitous, namely Sufism.

As for the statement of autonomy with respect to the ruling power, it manifested itself not through a conflict between the two parties but through a kind of sharing of tasks. The ruling power, with the active help of the mass of "middle" *ʿulamāʾ*, sought to maintain ideological cohesion, keep al-Andalus anchored within the Muslim framework and eliminate anything liable to cause disturbance; while the élite men of religion, for their part, kept up the demand for a further development of studies which had been kindled within Mālikism at the time of al-Bājī. If this no longer led to the production of original work like that of Ibn Ḥazm, and if there were even, now, virtually no representatives of other schools, the situation was still a very far cry from the caricature, fostered by the Almohads, of a narrow juridicism centred solely on the transmission of rulings on specific disputes (*furūʾ*).

Rather than examining the whole of the work produced in this period, we may perhaps focus on one particularly enlightening phenomenon: the extent and limits of the influence of the great Eastern doctor al-Ghazālī, regarded as the "reviver of the sciences of religion" from the name of his most famous work. Almohad propaganda has made great play of the action taken by the Almoravid *amīrs* to prevent the circulation of his works, and has presented the chief *qāḍī* Ibn al-ʿArabī, who was his disciple, as a victim of these *amīrs*. Things were actually quite different, and, if Ibn al-ʿArabī did in fact experience imprisonment, it was at the hands of the Almohads themselves, following their seizure of power.

In contrast to the construction of Ibn Ḥazm, grandiose but lacking in historical grasp, Ghazālī's model was very attractive to the Andalusis by reason of its syncretic character, encompassing as it did the whole spiritual history of Islam, with the exception of forms which were totally marginal. Indeed, the attractions of this actually extended beyond Muslims to the Jews.³⁸ The

influence was, however, felt in very different ways, and one of these aroused a reaction in certain '*ulamā*', mostly of the second rank with the exception of Ibn Ḥamdīn of Córdoba, who, between 500/1106 and 510/1116, persuaded the *amīr* to order an auto-da-fé of Ghazālī's works. The majority remained silent, only a few men of religion from Almería opposing it, notably Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Barjī (d. 509/1115).

Al-Andalus had in fact already known a form of union between juridicism and asceticism, that of the *ṭarīqa* of Ibn Abī Zamanīn. During the period with which we are concerned, it was subject to the influence of another master who developed a similar perspective, Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭuṣhī, an Andalusi settled in Alexandria, who retained a large audience in his country through his letters and disciples. Though very severe towards Ghazālī on other points, he was nevertheless very close in what concerns us here. On the other hand a tendency began to emerge which used mysticism as a means of mounting a challenge. Thus Ibn Barraḡān of Seville was to claim the imamate for himself, being executed in 536/1141. His disciple Ibn al-'Arīf was, however, pardoned after making formal submission. His treatise "on the most beautiful dwellings" (*Kitāb maḥāsīn al-majālis*)³⁹ is devoted to describing the stages leading to union with God and, if a Gnostic element is clearly present, it is above all a practical work, taking up Eastern teaching. The heritage of Ibn al-'Arīf was also to be easily combined with that of Ghazālī. As for al-Barjī, he had been the master of Ibn al-'Arīf, but was himself dependent on highly traditional masters, and it appears that—in the wake of Ghazālī's syncretism—it was this ambiguous character of some Andalusi '*ulamā*', who were neither completely traditional nor totally innovating, which was condemned.⁴⁰

Insofar, on the other hand, as it bore on the development of already established Islamic sciences, Ghazālī's teaching was fully taken up. This may be seen in the work of his disciple Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī (468/1076-543/1148), who devotes as much attention to *uṣūl al-Dīn* (in his book *Al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim*)⁴¹ as to *uṣūl al-fiqh* (this latter being treated particularly in his treatise on divergences—*khilāfiyyāt*—between jurists, the *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ*, which Ibn Khaldūn cites as being one of the major works in the genre, together, in fact, with a work by Ghazālī).⁴² It was within these two areas, moreover, that opposition was focused, particularly in Córdoba, with a series of juridico-theological refutations of the Eastern scholar: a lost work by the *qāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn (d. 508/1114), another still in manuscript by Muḥammad al-Ilbīrī (d. 537/1142-3) and further works up to the 8th/14th century at least. The very existence of al-Ilbīrī, a jurist and traditionist who was also a theologian and a commentator on a mystical work, proves that we are dealing with a constructive opposition and not mere blindness.

The Almoravids had instituted the procedure of appointing judges, but retained the fiction of delegation. Themselves receiving delegations from the Abbasid caliph to whom they paid allegiance, they considered the *qāḍis*

merely as their own delegates and "reserved to themselves the prerogative of making appointments to important judiciary posts".⁴³ When contrasted with this kind of appointment, which tied the person in question to the centre and district relevant to his post, the scope allowed to a man like Ibn al-'Arabī was remarkable, going far beyond that accorded to his predecessors during the Umayyad period, even in its best moments. But this freedom was accompanied by an almost total lack of originality. The noteworthy men of the Almoravid period were imitators of the East, either worthy pupils of far-distant masters, like Ibn al-'Arabī, or else worthy followers-on from old Andalusī masters, like the chief *qāḍī* Ibn Ruṣḥd (the grandfather of the philosopher Averroes) or the *qāḍī* 'Iyād. There was no creative figure. 'Iyād's *Tartīb al-madārik wa taqrīb al-masālik bi ma'rifat a'lām madhhab Mālik*⁴⁴ was a biographical compilation set apart from those of the line of Ibn al-Faraḍī not only by the more specifically focused and therefore more detailed nature of its notes, but above all by the apologetic tone of its preamble; it harks back, in fact, to the *manāqib* of the Umayyad period.

V. THE ATTEMPTED REFORMS OF THE ALMOHADS

The Almohad movement was a phenomenon with its own logic, linked to its Maghribi context. The thought of its founder, Ibn Tūmart, originating as it did in a Berber milieu islamised by the *Khārijis*, had no doubt been filled out through contact with the teachings of Córdoba and the East, but cannot be confined to them. This would be to make a mere syncretism of it, as was done in the analyses of ancient authors, uncritically followed by modern ones, which associate this thought with different and even antagonistic movements: Mu'tazilism, Ash'arism, Zāhirism, *Falsafa*, Shi'ism, etc. It is in fact perfectly coherent and represents a radical attempt to provide a rational basis for belief: the elements of dogma (the existence of a creating God, different absolutely from His creatures, Whose attributes are only designations, and Who predestines men) are developed solely according to the dictates of reason, which, after the event, declares their conformity with Islamic Revelation refined by *ta'wīl* (interpretation), the Revelation thus established then serving as a base for the development of Law according to exclusively positive procedures.⁴⁵ Within the Maghribi context, the sole opponents of this vision of things were, on the one hand, those who rejected the notion of the refinement of Revelation by *ta'wīl* and, on the other, those who had no time for methodological reflection on Law. This situation underlies the two principal themes of Almohad propaganda: the accusation of anthropomorphism against those who took the Quranic text exactly as it stood, and the accusation of being concerned only with specific applications of Law (*furū'*).

These criticisms may not have been a matter of any particular concern to the Almoravids, even in the Maghrib. However, the Almohad reform had assumed a violence which brought it into direct confrontation with the ruling

power, and an amalgam developed between the de facto situation within Morocco and the ideology ascribed to the established power. On moving into al-Andalus the Almohad revolt ran into further complications, for this country, significantly, practised the science of *uṣūl* in its two forms, theological and juridical. Propaganda thus had to encompass these two phenomena which contradicted its own version of events, and it was at this point that it seized on "the problem of *Ghazālī*". A meeting was invoked (whether real or imaginary is not clear) between the Eastern doctor and the future *mahdī*, with the latter being presented as a defender, against the Almoravids, of the former's work. Where necessary, as we have seen, history was rewritten so as to impute to the Almoravids persecutions which were in fact carried out by the propagandists themselves.⁴⁶

The fact is that the meeting between *Ghazālī* and Ibn Tūmart, even if it really did take place, was without significance, for there was nothing in common between the mysticising syncretism of the one and the unyielding rationalism of the other. This is a source of pronounced ambiguity regarding the Almohads in al-Andalus: some confine themselves to the facts and stress this opposition between the two intellectual orientations, while others place their trust in the version provided by propaganda and put forward a hybrid version which retains only those aspects of Almohadism capable of assimilation by Andalusī tradition, i.e. elements close to the Aṣḥ'arī *kalām* and juridical theses close to *Zāhirism*; in short, what could be called "practical" propaganda.

Initially the "drumming up of support" carried out by the Almoravids provided effective resistance. The new ruling power demanded of the '*ulamā*', as of the dignitaries, recognition of their formulation of *tawḥīd*, but it would seem that this formality did not lead to many dismissals, and even if a particular major figure was affected, his less important disciples remained at their posts. The Almohads were thus compelled to await the disappearance of the generation already in place, which only occurred twenty years or so after the seizure of political power. However, they were preparing their offensive from the beginning, with intellectual propaganda as the dominant element. This latter achieved some results, but met with the passive resistance of the '*ulamā*' body—a passivity which was transformed into reclamations when the threat from outside forced the rulers to conciliate the people. The princes then opted for practical propaganda, which was more successful. However, the increasingly powerful thrust of their enemies (Christian in the North and challengers from within in such places as Morocco and the Balearics) led first to the suppression, then to the re-establishment, then to the final suppression of Almohad doctrine. Only the Almohad *fiqh* was to survive for some time yet in North Africa, as one juridical school among others.

The masters dominating the first Almohad period maintained a certain transitional connection with the Almoravid generation, notably with Ibn al-

‘Arabī, but were closer to a master who had then been somewhat marginalised, namely Ibn al-Dabbāgh. He had been the fifth in order of importance with respect to audiences, but his pupils had been scattered figures and his teaching had given him only a minor place within the hierarchy of teachers triumphantly dominated by Ibn al-‘Arabī, Shurayḥ and Ibn ‘Attāb. Al-mohadism was, then, attempting to win over semi-marginal figures, and it established what was effectively a new form of synthesis with respect to teaching, lacking the numerical strength of that of the previous generation, but covering the whole territory and all the disciplines, including, even, exponents in fields which had hitherto been rejected: mysticism and philosophy.

Remarkably, a man of the stamp of Ibn Rushd (520/1126-595/1198, the Averroes of the Latins) appears as fourteenth in order of influence; in other words, just after the important masters and ahead of the masters of second rank. The son and grandson of Cordoban *qādis* who had played important parts under the Almoravids, he openly supported the Almohads and was to be very close to them, both as physician to the Sultan and as the person officially responsible for making known the works of Aristotle. It is obvious, however, that any audience he was able to establish within the framework of al-Andalus derived above all from his capacity as an *‘ālim*. In fact, at the same time that he was preparing his first scientific and philosophical approaches, he was writing a treatise on Law, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid* ("The beginning for the one demonstrating *ijtihād* and the end for the one who is satisfied [i.e. with the teaching he has received]").⁴⁷ This treatise is doubly important.

On the intellectual level, it embodies Almohadism's ideal of rationality. It is a work of *ikhtilāf*, in which all the schools are examined, including the small and non-canonical ones. The author is at pains to demonstrate the mechanisms of the reasoning which has led—or which might have led—to the solutions proposed. Sometimes, even, he proposes a line of reasoning better than that which has effectively been given. The order is perfectly logical and the subject-matter is classified—as far as possible—in order of generality; the major classical divisions are respected, but the work pushes sub-divisions very far. As such the work represents the culmination of the Andalusī contribution to *uṣūl al-fiqh*; while naturally giving special weight to the school of his own country, he is not, for all that, slavish—he contests the adherence to the practice of Medina, while treating traditions in a *Shāfi‘ī* spirit and coming close to Ibn Ḥazm in his sensitivity both to the precise meaning of language and to logic.

This treatise, of which the essential part was published in 564/1168, and whose introduction clearly indicates that the work was conceived with a practical personal aim in mind, led to Ibn Rushd being appointed, in the following year, *qādi* of Seville, a city especially favoured by the new rulers. Next he was appointed in Córdoba, then again in Seville, and finally in

Córdoba, this time as chief *qādī*, while being, at the same time, physician to the Sultan and living alongside him most of the time. He had, therefore, an evident wish to take part in the life of the community, and, as such, Ibn Rushd is a unique case in *Falsafa*: other of its exponents had been ministers and close to princes, but he alone undertook what he did within the framework of *fiqh*, the only truly stable framework, and made himself known in the field.

This was supplemented, on the theological level, by an original interpretation of Almohad dogma. Besides a (lost) commentary on Ibn Tūmart's Profession of Faith (*'aqida*), Ibn Rushd wrote three philosophico-religious works, *Faṣl al-maqāl*,⁴⁸ *Kaṣṣf 'an manāḥij al-adilla*⁴⁹ and *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*.⁵⁰ All three were written in connection with a stay in Seville in 575-6/1179-80. There was also a small treatise, *Al-Ḍamīma*, on a particular point of theology. These are the only cases where Ibn Rushd speaks in his own person. In them he develops both Almohad theses (religious rationalism, role and method of *ta'wīl*, etc.) and continuations specific to the situation in al-Andalus, making a particular point of attacking Ghazālī, who is regarded as the author of a bastard syncretism. He is concerned, on the one hand, to show the agreement of true wisdom (*ḥikma*) of a religious kind with a philosophy derived from Aristotle, and, on the other, the agreement of this élitist perspective with that of the mass of people whose approach to Revelation is an essentially practical one. All intermediate speculation (*kalām*, Sufism, etc.) is regarded merely as a source of disturbance.⁵¹

From 586/1190 onwards, in the face of the Portuguese threat and the rising discontent which this excited among the *fuqahā'*, the ruling power was forced to dissociate itself from Ibn Rushd, allow him to suffer a humiliating inquisition in 592/1196, and subject him to two years or more of disgrace, rehabilitating him only a few months before his death in 595/1198. It was "practical" propaganda and its half-measures which then prevailed. It is evident, however, that the '*ulamā*' charged with this work carried only a section of the Andalusī people. The majority, set apart from these, gathered around a position more in keeping with Andalusī tradition, and one in which mysticism was henceforth to play a prominent part. The foundations for this last had already been laid at the time of Ibn Rushd, since, still better placed than him in the matter of audiences was Ibn al-Mujāhid, the founder of the main mystical school of al-Andalus. The main feature at the end of the 6th/12th century is that it is henceforth "possible to discern a relatively unified pattern, involving a large part of the ascetics, a large part of the Sufis and several major names from *fiqh*, the science of traditions and those of the Quran, who act as intermediaries either between other mystics, or between the Eastern contribution and Spain, or who are heirs to this complex heritage".⁵² The school of Ibn al-Mujāhid at Seville comprised only one fifth of this whole population, but it was the best structured nucleus, taking up the heritage of

Ibn al-ʿArif and the Eastern heritage of *Ghazālī* and al-Ṭurṭūshī, which could be brought together in a number of cases, despite the hostility of the latter towards the former. It is within this shifting pattern that the famous theosophist Ibn ʿArabī (560/1165-638/1240) takes his place, while another group formed around Ibn Sabʿīn (613-14/1217-18-668-69/1269-71) was marginalised and even persecuted on account of its somewhat "philosophising" position.

VI. EVALUATION AND PROSPECTS IN THE NAṢRID ENCLAVE

The brutal advance of the Christians in the 7th/13th century, the subordination of numerous populations who, under the name of Mudejars, were permitted to keep their religion, but with inferior status, the shrinking of the territory of al-Andalus to the Kingdom of Granada, itself politically subjugated and subject to a continual flow of people fleeing the regions conquered—all these are factors throwing the data into confusion. No systematic study has, unfortunately, as yet been made of the *ʿulamāʾ* body from this period on, either in the area still relatively independent, or, for clear enough reasons, in the conquered area. All we have is compilations of names, titles of works and surviving notes on minor, albeit sometimes significant points⁵³

The status of the *ʿālim* hardly changed in Muslim territory, but sources are more explicit about the diversity of material circumstances. Although not officially remunerated, judges could live from landed revenues or from their teaching. Nevertheless, the precarious nature of their status led to their being offered, should the need arise, payment (*murattab*) whose exact value is not known, but which was unlikely to have been high, and which some refused, either on principle or because they were already rich. In Granada a number of *faqīrs* ("poor men") from Iran or India settled and engaged in petty trade; we know of these from the Maghribi traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, but not from local sources. The latter, on the other hand, allude to hermitages and even quasi-monastic foundations (*rābiṭas*) established in the capital and the area immediately round about; at least thirty-seven of these can be counted from historical records from the period of the Christian conquest. Attempts begun during the Almohad period to forbid Muslims to take part in foreign festivals, especially Christian ones, and to introduce new festivals such as that for the birth of the Prophet, finally led to a veritable "cult" of the Prophet, with ceremonial poetry and songs. Finally al-Andalus became open—at last—to the system of officially organised teaching. The first *madrasa* was founded in Granada by Yūsuf I in 750/1349, and assembled not only local scholars but also Maghribis, such as the famous Ibn Marzūq, who came in 754/1353.

This context of physical and mental withdrawal caused scholarly work to move in three separate directions. The first of these took the form of summaries, which could be of a bookish type. Thus there was, as in the rest of the

Arab world, a multiplication of verse works with a mnemonic purpose, the most famous example of these being the *Tuhfat al-ḥukkām fī nukat al-ʿuqūd wa 'l-aḥkām*, known as *Al-ʿĀsimiyya*, of Abū Bakr b. ʿĀsim al-Ḡharnāṭī.⁵⁴ This was a work of around 1,700 lines in *rajaz*, the easiest and most frequently used meter. It was very extensively diffused and became one of the standard works of the Mālikī school, the subject of frequent commentaries up to our own century. The summary could also take the form of a historical recapitulation, the best exponent of this being the famous Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713/1313-776/1375), known as *Lisān al-Dīn* ("the tongue of religion"), a brilliant and equivocal figure, who was twice a minister, but was executed—no doubt wrongly—for heterodoxy. It is worth noting that, quite apart from the numerous notes on the history of the Andalusī 'ulamā' scattered throughout his historical works, particularly *Al-Iḥāṭa fī ta'rīkh Ḡharnāṭa*, he devoted a special work to them: *Al-Katība 'l-kāmina*.⁵⁵ Above all, however, this man of distinctly unmystical cast took it upon himself to synthesise Sufi teaching in his *Rawḍat al-ta'rīf bi 'l-ḥubb al-Sharīf*.⁵⁶ This work takes a form which, if already known, was not widely used, at least in the Muslim West, that of the symbolism of the tree. It is also interesting for the classification it uses, before Ibn Khaldūn, with respect to Andalusī Sufi tendencies, distinguishing between the school of *tajallī*, or "irradiation" and the school of "absolute union".

A second orientation emerging within Andalusī scholarly work is that which may be termed the "critical evaluation". A still unpublished work with no known title, by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḡharnāṭī (8th/14th century)⁵⁷ falls within the framework of the renaissance of *fiqh* which can be observed throughout the Muslim world. Reacting against the plethora of literature concerned with notary formulae, the author reminds readers that the aim of Law is not formulae, but the "fear of God". Ibn al-Khaṭīb, meanwhile, goes so far as to compose a satire against the whole body of notaries.⁵⁸ Abū Ishāq, for his part, sets out a historical vision with regard to Andalusī Law: beginning from Mālik's principle known as "*al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*" (i.e. free application, or permitted equivalence—the idea being that legal principles may, if the *faqīh* considers it advisable, be applied in such a way as to take questions of public interest into account), he shows how his compatriots have in fact frequently gone against theoretical Mālikism. We know, independently of Abu Ishāq, of a number of *fatwas* which apply a "casuistical ruse" to circumvent difficulties of the strict law and adapt it to circumstances, so as, for example, to allow Muslims now under Christian control to buy back lands which had been taken from them as spoils of war.⁵⁹

The third orientation comprises a radical renewal of juridical methodology. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī 'l-Ḡharnāṭī 'l-Shaṭībī (d. 790/1388) proposed that the traditional types of *uṣūl al-fīqh* should be

replaced by a new science called "goals of legislation" (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*). This new science, whose way had been paved by the rationalisation gaining impetus from al-Bājī to Ibn Rushd, aimed at an absolute certainty based on general principles and leaving no room for conjecture. Al-Shāṭibī's work, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharī'a*,⁶⁰ demonstrates those general principles (*kul-liyāt*) of Law (such as "no injury or harmful effect" or "He has placed no constraint within religion") which are the foundation of its final aim: the safeguarding by God of the interests (*maṣāliḥ*) of men within the normal framework of their lives. In the light of this, absolute juridical indications—that is texts from the Quran or from *ḥadīth* which impose some kind of obligation or prohibition—are seen in terms of rational principles (justice, charity, pardon, endurance, etc.) which are the grounds of human reason itself, or, on the other side, in terms of iniquity, turpitude, etc.; while conditional indications—Quranic or *ḥadīth* texts involving recommendations—are seen in terms of devotional principles which reason perceives as external to itself.

This highly novel perspective was not, however, developed as it deserved to be; the teaching of al-Shāṭibī was lost in the practical popularisation of his pupil Ibn 'Āṣim.

VII. THE SURVIVAL OF THE ISLAMIC SCIENCES UNDER CHRISTIAN RULE

The juridical question as to whether Muslims could remain in territory lost to Islamic rule was often resolved, as far as the mass of people was concerned, through compromise arrangements. The 'ulamā', however, almost always followed the letter of the law. Very few remained to direct those among the population who were unable to emigrate; even some of those living in the Granada region were moved to flee to the Maghrib, or even to the East, decades, indeed centuries, before the final offensive. It is worth noting that such flight was particularly conspicuous among the Sufis! It was necessary, initially, for men of religion from North Africa to make visits to Spain to help the Mudejars (those who had remained Muslims under Christian rule). It was only later that the people of the Granadan enclave were once more to turn their gaze towards the North. Thus Abū Ishāq al-Gharnāṭī was to be *qāḍī* of Majorca.

Nevertheless, the Christians were not necessarily ill-disposed, and Alfonso X, after taking Murcia in 1266, asked Muḥammad al-Riqūṭī to remain as a teacher at a college he had expressly founded, bringing together adepts of the three monotheistic religions. The experiment did not last, however, and al-Riqūṭī finally decided to settle in Granada, where, so we are told, he became embroiled (victoriously!) in a number of controversies—a sign, perhaps, that he had failed to fit in there. Another example of peaceful co-existence was provided by "Don Içe de Gebir", Chief *Qāḍī* and Mufti of Segovia, who, in 1462, left behind him a treatise on Law in *aljamiado*,⁶¹

and who collaborated with the Franciscan Juan of Segovia in his work on the Quran.

As for Muslim activity properly speaking, only scattered landmarks stand out from now on. The most important author, undoubtedly, was the Castilian who styled himself "Mancebo ['young man'] of Arévalo" (late 15th/early 16th centuries). His texts—which are at present being published—still contain echoes of *Ghazālī*, this being due, perhaps, to his stay in Granada, whose religious life remained richer, but he mainly refers to a current popular mystic called "La Mora de Ubeda".⁶² The writing of mnemonic verse appears once more in a *Breve compendio*, in which a certain Muḥammad Rabadan collaborated. Baray de Reminyo, *Qāḍī* of Cadrete in Aragon, was the disciple and friend of the Mancebo and also participated in this *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna*.

Following the forced conversion (around 1501 in Castile, some thirty years later in the Crown of Aragon), a split took place. One branch, which soon faded out, attempted to associate itself with the Protestant influence and absorbed several anti-Catholic arguments from this source.⁶³ But it was in North Africa that writers referring back to al-Andalus were, up to the middle of the 17th century, to continue writing in honour of Islam, in Spanish if this was necessary for them to be understood by the exiles.⁶⁴

¹ *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, III, Paris, 1967, p. 455.

² M. 'A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana*, Madrid, 1968, pp. 61, 63.

³ J. Schacht, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed., II, 796.

⁴ This is particularly evident in the biographical compilations. See D. Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du Ve/XIe au VIIe/XIIIe siècle*, Geneva, 1978, pp. 209-14 ("La notion de ra'y dans l'Espagne musulmane").

⁵ Cf. *Le monde des ulémas*, pp. 7-25.

⁶ Ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1892, 2 vols. New ed. Cairo, 1966.

⁷ Ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1883, 2 vols. New ed. 'I. 'A. al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo, 1955, 2 vols.

⁸ Ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1887-89, 2 vols. Beginning of the work, ed. A. Bel and M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers, 1920. Supplements, variants and index, ed. A. Alarcón and A. González-Palencia, *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. New ed. 'I. al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo, 1963, 2 vols.

⁹ Part ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat, 1938.

¹⁰ Ed. Beirut, under publication.

¹¹ Cf. A. Turki, "La vénération pour Mālik et la physionomie du mālikisme andalou", *Studia Islamica*, 33, 1971, p. 45. Reprinted in *Théologiens et juristes de l'Espagne musulmane, polemical aspects*, Paris, 1982.

¹² These are recorded in M. 'A. Makki, "Al-tashayyu' fi 'l-Andalus", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 1954, pp. 93-149.

¹³ *Abenmasarra y su escuela: orígenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1917. New ed. in *Obras escogidas*, Madrid, 1946, I, 1-216.

¹⁴ *Ṭabaqāt al-unam*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut, 1912, p. 21.

¹⁵ "Ibn Masarra, Follower of Pseudo-Empedocles-An Illusion", *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islámicos*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 325-27.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas*, Vol. V, ed. P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente and M. Subh, Madrid, 1979.

- 17 Ed. and trans. M. I. Fierro, Madrid, 1988.
- 18 Cf. K. I. Ja'far, "Min mu'allafāt Ibn Masarra 'l-mafqūda", *Majallat Kulliyat al-tarbiya*, III, 1972, pp. 27-63.
- 19 Cf. D. Urvoy, "Sur les débuts de la pensée spéculative en Andalus", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, 50, 1984, pp. 707-17.
- 20 Cf. H. Monès, "Le rôle des hommes de religion dans l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane jusqu'à la fin du califat", *Studia Islamica*, 20, 1964, p. 63 *et seq.*
- 21 Al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-mulāṭimī fī ta'rikh riḡāl ahl al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1886, No. 347; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 90; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Nos. 420, 421, 425, 1292.
- 22 Cf. D. Urvoy, "La vie intellectuelle et spirituelle dans les Baléares musulmanes", *Al-Andalus*, 37/1, 1972, pp. 87-132, and *Penser l'Islam; les présupposés islamiques de l' "Art" de Lull*, Paris, 1980.
- 23 M. Benaboud, "The socio-political role of the Andalusian ulama during the 5th/11th century", *Islamic Studies*, 23/2, 1984, pp. 103-141, 106. Cf. the same author's *Al-tārikh al-siyāsī wa 'l-ijtimā'ī li Ishbīliya fī 'ahd diwāl al-tawā'if*, Tétouan, 1983.
- 24 *Nafḡ al-ṭib min ḡhṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, I, 220-21.
- 25 Ed. Cairo, 1346/1927.
- 26 Ed. J. Hilal, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 1954, pp. 1-37.
- 27 Ed. A. Turki, *Al-Andalus*, 31, 1966, pp. 73-153.
- 28 Ed. J. Hilal, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 1955, pp. 17-46.
- 29 Ed. A. Turki, Paris, 1978.
- 30 *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue. Essai sur la structure et les conditions de la pensée musulmane*, Paris, 1956.
- 31 Ed. Cairo, 1345-47/1926-28, 8 books in 2 vols.
- 32 Ed. S. al-Afghānī, Damascus, 1379/1960.
- 33 Ed. Cairo, 1347/1928, 11 vols.
- 34 Ed. Cairo, 1317/1899, 5 books in 2 vols. Abridged translation M. Asín Palacios, *Abenḡazam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid, 1927, 5 vols.
- 35 For example heterodox Christian elements within Muslim Spain itself. Cf. D. Urvoy, "La pensée religieuse des Mozarabes face à l'Islam", *Traditio*, 39, 1983, pp. 419-32.
- 36 Ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1959.
- 37 Cf. D. Urvoy, "La perception imaginative chez Ibn Ḥazm", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, in press.
- 38 Cf. D. Urvoy, *Pensers d'al-Andalus. La vie intellectuelle à Cordoue et Séville au temps des empires berbères*, Toulouse, 1990, p. 159 *et seq.* ("La tentation ghazalienne").
- 39 Ed. and trans. M. Asín Palacios, Paris, 1933.
- 40 Cf. the detailed analysis of this in *Le monde des ulémas andalous*, pp. 129-31, and *Pensers d'al-Andalus*, pp. 83-85 and 161-62.
- 41 Ed. 'A. Ṭalbi, *Arā' Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabī al-kalāmiyya wa naqḡuḡu li 'l-falsafa al-yunāniyya*, Algiers, 1981, Vol. II.
- 42 Cf. his bibliography in V. Lagardère, "Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī grand cadi de Séville", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 40, 1985/2, pp. 91-102.
- 43 V. Lagardère, "La haute judicature à l'époque almoravide en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 7, 1986, pp. 135-228.
- 44 Ed. A. B. Maḡmūd, Beirut and Tripoli (Libya), 1387/1967, 3 vols.
- 45 Cf. D. Urvoy, "La pensée d'Ibn Tumart", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, 27, 1974, pp. 19-44.
- 46 This is the version given around 600/1203 by Ibn Ṭumlūs of Alcira in the historical introduction to his treatise on logic (M. Asín, *Introducción al arte de la logica por Abentomlūs de Alcira*, Madrid, 1916).
- 47 Found in numerous editions, e.g., Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, n. d.
- 48 Ed. M. 'Amāra, Beirut, 1981. Trans. G. Hourani, *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, London, 1961.
- 49 Ed. M. Qāsim, Cairo, 1964. Partial translation by J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, London, 1965, Part I, Vol. II, pp. 82-189.
- 50 Ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut, 1930. Trans. S. van den Bergh, London, 1969, 2 vols.
- 51 On all of this see D. Urvoy, *Ibn Rushd (Averroès)*, London, Routledge, forthcoming, notably chapter II, paragraph 4, "la participation à la cité musulmane", and chapter II, paragraph 1, "la théologie rushdienne".

- ⁵² *Le monde des ulémas*, p. 189.
- ⁵³ Cf., essentially, R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, Paris, 1973, notably pp. 277-99, "L'organisation judiciaire", and pp. 417-27, on bibliographical production.
- ⁵⁴ Ed. and trans. L. Bercher, Algiers, 1958.
- ⁵⁵ Ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1963.
- ⁵⁶ Ed. M. al-Kettani, Casablanca and Beirut, 1970, 2 vols.
- ⁵⁷ Cf. J. Aguilera Pleguezuelo, "Manuscrito No. 1077 en lengua árabe de la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de El Escorial", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 36/1, 1987, pp. 7-20.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. Turki, *Theologiens et juristes*, pp. 295-332.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. Arié, *Nasrides*, p. 419.
- ⁶⁰ Ed. 'A. Draz, Cairo, n. d., 3 vols.
- ⁶¹ Ed. P. Gayangos, *Tratados de legislación musulmana*, Madrid, 1853.
- ⁶² Cf. L. López Baralt and M. T. Narváez, "Estudio sobre la espiritualidad popular en la literatura aljamiado-morisca", *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 36, 1981, pp. 17-51.
- ⁶³ Cf. L. Cardaillac, "Morisques et Protestants", *Al-Andalus*, 36, 1971, pp. 29-61.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. L. Bernabé Pons, *El cántico islámico del Morisco hispanotunecino Taybili*, Saragossa, 1988.

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MUSLIM RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN AL-ANDALUS (2ND/8TH–4TH/10TH CENTURIES)

MANUELA MARÍN

INTRODUCTION

Andalusī Muslims, as an emerging community, have not received the attention given to other minority groups such as Christians and Jews; far more studies have been devoted, for example, to the Mozarabic “resistance” movement in 3rd/9th century Córdoba than to the religious usages and beliefs of their Muslim fellow-countrymen during the same historical period. The process of conversion to Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, following the conquest of 93/711, is not very well known, but an estimate locates the “midpoint of Spanish conversion” in 961 A.D.;¹ and, although the material on which this statement is based is scanty and relies only on biographical and onomastic data, it may be accepted as well-founded hypothesis. We can assume, then, that by the middle of the 4th/10th century, the greater part of the population of al-Andalus was practising Islam.²

In al-Andalus, as in other regions, conversion to Islam did not mean a total erasure of previous beliefs and social practices,³ and it is impossible to deny the existence of cultural connections and influences between Islam and Christianity. But the field of religion was always a very sensitive one, and Muslims in al-Andalus—as everywhere—were conscious of the need not to adopt any Christian or Jewish practice. In the early period of their history especially, Andalusī Muslims, living on the edge of the Islamic world and coexisting with a substantial majority of Christians, tried to establish a clear set of rules of behaviour in order to protect the purity of their faith and their religious activity. It is not surprising, then, to find one of the earliest leading ‘*ulamā*’, Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287/900), writing a book on “innovations” (*bidaʿ*)⁴ which is devoted mainly to ritual deviations. Of one of his contemporaries, Yaḥyā b. Ḥajjāj (d. 263/878-7), it was said that he never entered a house which might contain an image or a dog. Nor are these isolated examples; throughout the 3rd/9th century we have evidence of a strong tendency to define and delimit the corpus of belief, together with its implications for the daily life of the Muslim community.

My purpose here is to deal with Andalusis as practising Muslims. They shared, of course, a common creed and ritual with the rest of the *umma*, an orthopraxis⁵ that embraced individual and social life in a way few other religions have done. Again we find that much more research has been dedicated to what is called “popular Islam” than to the “orthodox” manner of practis-

ing it; and if this is particularly true of countries like Morocco, al-Andalus is no exception to this general trend. However, historical and biographical sources provide us with a considerable amount of information on the religious life of al-Andalus. Through these texts (very different in their intent from the theoretical treatises written by the *fuqahā'*) we can observe Andalusi Muslims in their daily practice of religious ritual. Moreover, these sources, in the absence of hagiographical materials, allow us to know the beginning and early development of asceticism in al-Andalus, before the appearance of the great Sufi figures of later periods.

A basic problem posed by the use of these sources should be noted. With a few exceptions, they deal with only two social groups: first, the entourage of the court and the administrative apparatus; and second, the milieu of the '*ulamā'* and *fuqahā'*'. This naturally gives a restricted view of Andalusi society, barely compensated for by the scant information found in some legal sources, such as *ḥisba* (market regulations) treatises and collections of *nawāzil* (legal cases). With this limitation in mind, we shall proceed to examine—in a necessarily cursory manner—the information available to us, arranging it under two main headings: 1) religious ritual and devotional practices; and 2) ascetic and pious manifestations.

I. RELIGIOUS RITUAL AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES

I.1 *Prayer*

Of the five pillars of Islam, prayer is undoubtedly the central pivot of religious life,⁶ a fact implicitly reflected in our sources, which are much richer in information on prayer than on any other aspect of religious practice. Evolution and changes in prayer ritual may be observed in al-Andalus, where two main questions related to it were discussed: the raising of hands during certain parts of the prayer and the recitation of the *qunūt* (invocations included in the *ṣalāt*). Traditionists of great prestige, like Baqī b. Makhḥlad (d. 276/889)⁷ or Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Khushanī (d. 286/899)⁸ used to raise their hands, a gesture strongly disapproved of by Mālikī *fuqahā'*.⁹ However, if this dissension reflects divergences between traditionists and *fuqahā'* in this period,¹⁰ these same *fuqahā'* were themselves divided on the matter of the *qunūt*. This special part of the prayer, recalling one occasion on which the Prophet asked God to punish his enemies and bless his followers, had not been unanimously accepted in the Islamic East, and in al-Andalus, the great *faqīh* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā 'l-Laythī (d. 234/848), the leading Mālikī of his day, was totally opposed to this practice, in spite of Mālik b. Anas' own approval of it. Yaḥyā's descendants followed his opinion, which is duly recorded by the sources, and his family exercised a kind of monopoly over the recension of the *Muwatta'* which he had transmitted,

and which became the most favoured recension in the Islamic West. As was the case with the *Muwatta'*, any *riwāya* originating from Yahyā was of great prestige, and in the second part of the 4th/10th century another member of the family, Abū 'Īsā Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 367/977) still discouraged the *qunūt*, recalling Yahyā b. Yahyā's opinion. What is interesting in this case is that, despite the enormous prestige of Yahyā and his family,¹¹ the *qunūt* was a common practice in Andalusi mosques, surviving even in the prayers of the Mudejars.¹²

These discussions of the *fuqahā'* probably had only limited influence on the general practice of Muslims, although they helped to establish an acknowledged and accepted ritual. Here one should emphasise that, quite apart from the observance of ritual, Islamic prayer has a double significance, both collective and individual: through prayer a Muslim felt, on the one hand, that he was a member of the communal congregation assembled in the mosque during the Friday ceremonies, and, on the other, that communication with God was obtained in a personal way. In Córdoba the post of *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt* was held by the most respected 'ālim, on the appointment of the *amīr* (or the caliph), and he usually also held the responsibilities of *khaṭīb* and judge. The implications of the *khuṭba* are well-known: Muslims are joined together, at the same hour, to express both their religious and their political allegiances. During the reign of the *amīr* 'Abd Allāh (275/888-300/912), al-Naḍar b. Salama, judge of Córdoba, was appointed also as *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt* and *khaṭīb*; and the *amīr* liked al-Naḍar's *khuṭba* so much that he ordered him not to change it, so that the judge repeated the same words for years. The assembled faithful came to know this famous homily by heart, and it became a model for other judges,¹³ reflecting, obviously, the continuing legitimacy of the Umayyad power. But it was at this same period, filled with rebellions menacing the very existence of this power, that the *khuṭba* was pronounced in some places under the name of the Abbasid caliph, thus giving a totally different intent to the Friday prayer.

People attending the communal prayer were stern critics of the quality of the *khuṭba*, which was considered sacred oratory. Because of his ability and knowledge, and despite its constant repetition, al-Naḍar's *khuṭba* was very much appreciated by Cordoban Muslims, while another judge, 'Amīr b. Mu'āwiya (d. 277/890), used to imbue his *khuṭba* with a "delicacy which won all the hearts".¹⁴ Alongside the political implications and religious function, the Friday homily appears, too, as a way of moving the spirit of listeners through the use of language.

Prayers have marked the life of the Muslim community in a way unlike that of any other religion, with daily and weekly prayers establishing a pattern of time totally different from that of the Christian or Jew. Only exceptionally did the need arise for gathering the community outside this well-established rhythm, namely on occasions directly linked with natural catastrophes. Our

sources give examples of prayers at the time of eclipses: the first instance is recorded in 218/833, when the terrorised population of Córdoba sheltered in the Great Mosque and the then judge, Yahyā b. Ma‘mar, prayed and asked for God’s mercy.¹⁵ Earthquakes also provoked meetings and prayers in mosques, as occurred in 332/943;¹⁶ but the most common reason for these exceptional communal prayers was drought.

The Iberian Peninsula, like the greater part of the central Islamic lands, is a semi-arid region, subject to periodic catastrophes when the rains fail to arrive in time. When faced with inclement natural conditions, Andalusī Muslims turned to God, following the ritual established in the East and known as *istisqā’*. According to the sources, the first ‘*ālim* to adopt Eastern uses with regard to this kind of prayer was Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, known as *Shabṭūn* (d. between 196/811-12 and 204/819-20). The main innovation introduced by *Shabṭūn* was the turning up of the mantle during the invocation, a gesture whose origin is attributed to ‘Umar b. al-Khattab.¹⁷ The *istisqā’* was normally conducted by the *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt* or the judge, but in some cases—due to the peculiar character of this prayer, which is intended not only as praise of God, but also as an appeal to His mercy—it was felt that someone different, of a more exalted piety, was necessary if a positive answer was to be obtained.

The sources record two cases of this kind, where two ascetics, Ayyūb al-Ballūṭī and Abū Naṣr al-Ṣadfūrī, were asked to preside at the *istisqā’*. The pattern of the events in which they appear is the same. During the prayer, the *imām* asked them to move forward and make the invocation; they tried at first to resist this invitation, but finally agreed, and obtained an immediate answer from Heaven. Then, shortly after this, they disappeared without trace.¹⁸ These two short accounts, which are paralleled in Eastern pious literature, have a clear edifying intent, that of showing how genuine ascetics are the only ones God may answer and, also, how they conceal themselves from public applause and recognition.

The *istisqā’* sometimes appears in the sources as a kind of spontaneous gathering of believers, but this was probably more often the case in the sudden event of certain natural phenomena, like eclipses and earthquakes. The prayer for rain was a well-organised affair, ordered by the *amīr* or caliph when drought persisted; in 317/929, for example, Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III issued a letter to the governors of the provinces, ordering them to organise *istisqā’* in the main mosques, as he himself had done in Córdoba.¹⁹ There was another place, besides the mosque, where this kind of prayer was said, namely the *muṣallā*. Here, on the outskirts of the city and in an open space, it was easier to gather crowds for the purpose—or for happier occasions, such as the end of the *Ramaḍān* festival or military parades (*burūz*).

Two *muṣallās* existed in Córdoba,²⁰ their use alternating according to the needs of the populace. For a while the one favoured was the *muṣallā* ‘l-

Rabaḍ, because it was a shorter distance from the *amīr*'s palace than the *muṣallā 'l-Muṣāra*; however, a number of accidents occurred on the way to the former, because it was necessary to cross the Guadalquivir bridge and many tried to cross the river by boat to avoid the crowds on it and were drowned. It was the renowned scholar 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852)²¹ who asked the *amīr* to organise religious and social events, once more, in the *muṣallā 'l-Muṣāra*.²² There people gathered to ask for rain, presided over, as we have seen, by the *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt*, whose place was simply marked by a prayer carpet or a javelin stuck on the floor. As in the case of the Friday *khuṭba*, the invocation in the *istisqā'* was expected to be of a moving character, and to be ornamented with rhetorical devices. It was mainly a combination of Quranic texts and pious expressions,²³ arranged in such a way as to provoke a collective response from the crowd. The emotional ambience created—and the anticipated criticism of the public—could overwhelm the *khaṭīb*, as happened with Sa'īd b. Sulaymān, who, on one such occasion, could do nothing but repeat a number of pious formulae.²⁴

To these communal prayers other examples might be added, such as the funeral prayer, in which it seems that the most important point was the personality of the *imām*; the biographical sources very frequently mention the name of the person in charge of the funeral service when giving information about deaths of '*ulamā*' and *fuqahā*'. We may reasonably assume that presiding over this ceremony was a matter of prestige in the scholars' milieu; indeed, some disputes about precedence are recorded in this connection.²⁵

However, prayer was not only a community celebration; it was also an expression of personal piety, of the direct relationship between God and man. The most intense manifestations of piety through prayer will be mentioned later; here I shall examine only the ordinary individual Muslim practice of addressing God.

Personal communication with God was obtained both through *ṣalāt* and through *du'ā'*, or supplication, but the latter is not, like the *ṣalāt*, framed by a ritual of gestures and recitations, nor is there any fixed time for its pronouncement. While the *ṣalāt* is, above all, performed in praise of God, as an act of adoration, the *du'ā'* allows the believer to express personal feelings, to seek forgiveness or assistance and to establish a closer link with God.²⁶ This does not imply, however, that the *du'ā'* is an open conversation between a man's soul and God. Already, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, Muḥammad b. Fuṭays b. Wāṣil (d. 319/931) composed a book (now lost) entitled *Kitāb al-du'ā' wa 'l-dhikr*, which probably contained a number of texts designed to be recited during this kind of prayer. A later work, presumably of the same kind, has been preserved; entitled *Al-Du'ā' al-ma'thūr wa ādabu-hu*, it was written by Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (451/1050-520/1126), and is a collection of supplications for a wide variety of occasions, which al-Ṭurṭūshī recorded in the following sequence: entering or leaving an uninhabited place; performing the ablutions for the communal prayer; listening to the call for prayer;

leaving the house; entering the mosque; performing the prayer; listening to the cock crow; going to bed; rising during the night to pray; facing a difficult circumstance; visiting a powerful person; wearing something for the first time; eating and drinking; travelling; saying farewell to somebody; riding a mount; sailing; falling ill; going to war; having a nightmare; suffering in a tempest; concluding one's business; going to the *istisqā'*; marrying; learning of someone's death; being lost; and going to the market.

For each of the occasions recorded, Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī provides one or more texts appropriate for the *du'ā'*, and in this list (reproduced in the same order as the occurrences) there are three kinds of situations: those related to daily life; those which follow religious practices; and, finally, those in which the individual is exposed to some danger. The first group emphasises a well-known feature of any Islamic society, that is, the utterance of a pious formula in social intercourse.²⁷ The second to some extent reflects the ritualisation of the *du'ā'*, which was gradually incorporated into the *ṣalāt* itself, a good example of the process being found in the biography of Aḥmad b. Baqī (d. 324/935-6),²⁸ son of the famous Baqī b. Makhlad, who was appointed judge and *ṣāhib al-ṣalāt* in Córdoba in 314/926. The biographer records how, on one occasion, Aḥmad b. Baqī was uttering a *du'ā'*—presumably in the mosque—and when he arrived at the sentence “offer sincerely to God your invocation”, he remained silent for a long while, until he considered that people had completed their own invocations. The text then continues:

He said: ‘Oh God! These are Your servants who invoke You in search of Your recompense. They are gathered before You, afraid of Your punishment, desiring Your recompense and trusting in Your praise. Accept them with their sins which You already know and have computed. Turn to them in this situation in which they find themselves with the mercy indispensable for them to enter Your paradise and let them be removed from Your punishment. Amen! Oh You, the most Merciful of the Merciful! Oh You, the Omnipotent!’ Many preachers in al-Andalus have, up to the present day, followed Aḥmad b. Baqī’s example in remaining silent at the end of the second homily during the *du'ā'*.²⁹

The final set of situations presented by al-Ṭurṭūshī has a common character. These are the dangers which might menace the life and possessions of any Muslim when—as was the case with drought—the only possible help was of a supernatural nature. It is not, therefore, surprising to find some *du'ā'* texts especially praised as being able to produce an immediate answer, such texts being known as *du'ā' mustajāb*. Many of the accounts in which they appear are of a miraculous nature and will be examined later.

1.2 The giving of alms

While information on *zakāt* is rather scarce, the practice of almsgiving (*ṣadaqa*) is widely attested. Charity is seen as a means of expressing a communal solidarity, especially during times of difficulty. The historical sources emphasise the distribution of money and food by the *amīrs* and caliphs in

periods of famine, but also on specific occasions, such as the end of *Ramaḍān*. One of these distributions, in 365/975, is vividly recorded by Ibn Ḥayyān: the caliph al-Ḥakam II, accompanied by his son, presided over the ceremony, in which slaves circulated among the crowd with open bags full of money.³⁰ As in other, similar cases, the intention of the chronicler here is to present the prince as a model of Islamic virtues and an embodiment of public piety. In the biographical sources the '*ulamā*' practise charity in the same exemplary way, but there are also cases where special stress is laid on the hidden ways of giving alms.³¹

It is not infrequent to find, in the biographies of '*ulamā*', references to their distribution of money or food to people in need, even when they themselves were in straitened circumstances. Many of them held the post of *wāli-ṣāhib tafriq al-ṣadaqa*, and here again we may see how religious practices and piety could have an institutional dimension directly linked to the exercise of power. Before the end of the 3rd/9th century, judges used to order the distribution of *ṣadaqāt* once a year; they determined, too, who were to be the beneficiaries of charity. It was the judge Aslam b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who introduced some changes in this procedure: since, in his time, the sums of money collected were very high, he decided to make two distributions per year, and, moreover, he was the first judge to ask the '*ulamā*' and the professional witnesses to be present when money was distributed. He also established appointed times for the distribution, having previously made a public appeal to poor people to attend it.³²

One of the motifs concerning charity in Andalusī sources is that of assistance to people of noble ancestry who had lost their wealth; these were poor, but were too ashamed or too proud to beg or attend official distributions. Al-Ḥakam II was apparently very concerned about their situation, because in *Ramaḍān* 362/June 973 he gave special orders to search for such persons in Córdoba and made them the main beneficiaries of a distribution of alms.³³ A son of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 297/909 or 298/910),³⁴ is the central figure of an edifying story along the same lines. He had a neighbour, a man of Qurayshī descent, with whom he was on friendly terms. In a year of drought, the Qurayshī was reduced to extreme poverty, to the point where he and his family were without food for three days, so that his family asked him to look for help. Leaving the house, he met 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, who, on his own initiative, had brought him 10 dinars and some flour and oil.³⁵

The account is interesting in that the same narrative scheme is used in stories of a miraculous nature, when help arrives in a similar way, but after the utterance of a *du'ā*'. In the present case, the narrator simply seeks to emphasise the charity of 'Ubayd Allāh, a man of great wealth of whom it was said that he once gave half his possessions as alms; and, to this end, the anonymous author of the story recorded by 'Iyād has had recourse to an already known story framework, probably circulating in works of a pious

nature. Stress is also laid, here as in other anecdotes of the same nature, not only on the act of charity itself, but on the generosity of the donor. A descendant of the above-mentioned *Shabūn*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād (d. 312/924) is described as *kathīr al-ṣadaqāt* ("donor of many alms");³⁶ at the same time we are informed that he had a good economic position and that he enjoyed entertaining guests: he scarcely ever ate alone and used to invite ten other *fuqahā'* every night. So in this case—and possibly in others—it is not easy to differentiate between charity as a religious practice and generosity as a social virtue.

I.3 Fasting

Fasting is not a feature exclusive to Islam, but the peculiarities of Muslim fast involved a series of collective and private manifestations. In Córdoba, during the *Ramaḍān*, the Great Mosque remained open throughout the night, fully illuminated—the amount spent on lamp oil during this month comprised half the annual expense—and *Laylat al-qadr* was signalled in this mosque by the burning of great quantities of expensive perfume, such as aloe and amber.³⁷ The fasting month was a period marked by the expression of intense religious feeling: by night people would gather in mosques, special prayers were pronounced and alms were distributed. The recitation of the Quran was increased and cases are recorded of pious men who completed the recitation of the holy text in a single night. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Lubāba (d. 314/926), for example, read the entire Quran 60 times during *Ramaḍān*, according to his biographer.³⁸

The period of fasting was also regarded as a time of penitence by some; for example, Hārūn b. Sālim (d. 236/850) used to sleep on the floor, without a mattress.³⁹ Others retired from ordinary social activities in order to preserve the purity of their piety, such withdrawal occurring even within the cities. The same Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād whose generosity is so praised used to spend the fast of *Ramaḍān* in a house he owned, near the Great Mosque of Córdoba,⁴⁰ while Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Lubāba did not leave his residence during the fast, except to attend prayers in the mosque.⁴¹ There were also people who left the cities during *Ramaḍān* and stayed in castles, practising the *ribāt*; the first specific record we have to this effect comes from a slightly later time, from the first half of the 5th/11th century,⁴² but the use of the *ribāt* as a place for retirement and devotional life was already common in the earlier period, and, as such, we may reasonably assume that spending *Ramaḍān* in a *ribāt* was, if not a common practice, at least already a possibility open to some.

The sources provide information about the festivities that marked the end of *Ramaḍān* (especially the ones organised in the royal palace of Córdoba), but it is difficult to find anything concerning the daily practices of the *iftār*,

or breaking of the fast. Probably festive meals were prepared; from later culinary sources we know of the existence of dishes especially associated with *Ramaḍān*.

A curious episode, however, is mentioned in connection with the burial ceremony of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, whose death had occurred during *Ramaḍān* of 298 (May 911). It was a very hot day and the crowd was so numerous that ‘Ubayd Allāh’s son and many others had to break the fast so as to be able to take part in the funeral service.⁴³

I.4 The ḥajj, or pilgrimage

To round off this short survey of the orthopraxis of Andalusī Muslims, something must be said about the *ḥajj*, or pilgrimage. Living as they did a great distance from Mecca, it is amazing for the modern observer to note how many made this long journey, which could last months, and even years. Most of our information on this point comes from biographical sources, with the result that the religious aspect of the *ḥajj* is obscured by the particular interests of the ‘*ulamā*’; in other words, we learn more about the teachers with whom they studied than about their religious experiences.⁴⁴ Only in a later period do we have testimonies of this latter kind,⁴⁵ which allow us to follow an Andalusī Muslim throughout his journey and gain an idea of the feelings experienced in the pilgrimage ceremonies.

As for the period under study, what is known is mainly related to the material difficulties of the journey. As sea routes were the ones most commonly taken, shipwrecks were not infrequent, and pilgrims were faced by other dangers as well, such as attacks by pirates and highwaymen, or by enemies of Muslims. This last was experienced by Salama b. Umayya b. Wadī‘, who travelled to the East in 383/993: on his return to al-Andalus he was captured by Byzantines and spent some years in captivity.⁴⁶ Notwithstanding these dangers, there were ‘*ulamā*’ who made more than one journey during their lifetime; the reason for this could be an intention to repeat the *ḥajj*, as a sign of strong personal piety, or, in other cases, the desire to meet renowned Eastern scholars. ‘Uṯmān b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Uṯmān (d. 372/983) travelled to the Hijaz while a boy, accompanying his father; then, years later, he repeated the journey in order to study with the Meccan scholars, something he had been unable to do during his first trip.⁴⁷

From this last example we can infer that the *ḥajj* was also a family affair. The sources give many other instances of fathers and sons travelling together to the East and even some female names occasionally appear: Ṣawwāb, wife of Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl al-Qabrī (d. 366/976), made the journey with her husband, as did Rāḍiya, a former slave of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, married to Labīb *al-fatā*.⁴⁸ But the most prominent case is that of the women of the Berber family of the Banū Wansūs: six of these, whose names have been preserved in biographical literature, performed the pilgrimage, and the most renowned

of all, Umm al-Ḥasan bint Abī Liwā' Sulaymān b. Aṣḡagh, made the journey to Mecca twice.⁴⁹ This was certainly an exceptional case, however, and we must bear in mind the high social position of this Berber family, whose fortune allowed many of its members to undertake what was an expensive affair. In other cases, 'ulamā' of lower social standing had to employ themselves in various jobs during the journey, or seek the financial help of richer colleagues.

Up to this point, I have dealt with the "ordinary" expressions of religion, that is, with the performance of the basic rules of Islamic rituals. No doubt there were many other celebrations of private and daily life related to religion, such as births, circumcision or weddings, a complete study of which is still needed. My intention now, however, is to move to the field of personal religious attitudes, as they were experienced by men whom the sources call *zuhhād* or 'ubbād.

II. ASCETIC AND PIOUS MANIFESTATIONS

Many of the biographies of Andalusī 'ulamā' use such descriptive epithets as *zāhid*, 'ābid, wari', nāsik, mutabattil, *khāshī'*, *munqabiḍ* or *mujāb al-da'wa*, the first two being the most common. These terms are usually translated as "ascetic", "worshipper", "pious", "humble", etc., while *munqabiḍ* is used in a more specific sense, referring to a person who leads a secluded life or who avoids contact with those in high position. The term *mujāb al-da'wa* is applied only in certain cases, of persons who are able to obtain an answer from God to a supplication addressed to Him.

From the biographies of these 'ulamā' it is clear that many of those termed *zāhid* were simply good Muslims who abstained from anything illicit in their daily lives.⁵⁰ At the same time, it is possible to detect, from a very early period, the appearance of some forms of piety which clearly went beyond these narrow limits, and which may be called ascetic to say the least.

These extraordinary manifestations of devotion are based on the performance of the usual ritual obligations, the *zāhid* distinguishing himself from the ordinary Muslim in that his practice is more frequent. In the 3rd/9th century, for example, we find instances of *zuhhād* who prayed continuously, such as Yaḥyā b. Qāsim b. Hilāl (d. 272/885 or 297/909-10), who only left the mosque to sleep at home.⁵¹ The continuous reciting of the Quran and the performance of *dhikr* was a common practice among pious scholars like Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Bāz (d. 274/887), who used to recite the sacred text on any occasion, "while walking, sitting or working. He made a complete recitation twice every day ... while he was in bed, he was always reciting the Quran."⁵² The central role of prayer in Islamic piety (together with the recitation of the Quran) is more emphasised in the activities of the ascetic, and such behaviour continues into the following century.

Fasting outside the prescribed times of *Ramaḍān* was another honoured practice among ascetic persons. Abū 'l-Ajannas (who lived under al-Ḥakam I, 180/796-206/822) used to have only three meals every seven days during this month,⁵³ and it was not uncommon, among pious 'ulamā', to perform similar fasts to that of *Ramaḍān* during other periods of the year. A person doing this was called a *ṣawwām*. Cases are recorded, too, of exceptional acts of charity, such as the one performed by Sa'īd b. 'Imrān b. Muḥṣrif (d. ca. 275/888), who was the son of a wealthy merchant and distributed the greater part of his property among the poor before leaving for Mecca.⁵⁴

Intensity of religious feeling was not, however, restricted to ritual practices. Emotions experienced while praying or listening to the recitation of the Quran were often expressed through weeping, and a bearing of extreme humility was a characteristic common to many *zuhhād*, a frequent case of the latter being that of an 'ālim who brings his own bread to the public oven, a task usually performed by servants. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. 'Āṣim (d. after 238/852), who was not a poor man, never rode a mount, preferring to walk barefoot in the dirty alleys of the market.⁵⁵

The *mujāb al-da'wa* appears in the biographical and historical sources as somewhat different from the cases just mentioned. His capacity for receiving an answer from God sets him apart from devout and pious men who dedicate themselves to the religious life; he is, of course, one of them, but his piety transforms him into an intermediary or mediator between God and man and, hence, a worker of wonders or miracles.

Andalusī sources do not abound in cases of miracles (*karāmāt*). In the earliest period, before the 4th/10th century, narratives containing this kind of material concern only a handful of very prominent 'ulamā', such as Ibn Bāz, Yahyā b. Qāsim b. Hilāl, Baqī b. Makhhlad and Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, already mentioned.⁵⁶ The stories in which they appear have clear parallels in the Islamic East, and the topoi were probably imported and applied to Andalusis at a later period. During this same century, traditions related to Eastern ascetics were introduced into al-Andalus; Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, in fact, made his first journey to the East in search of this kind of material.⁵⁷ But there existed, too, a local tradition within al-Andalus, preserved in a tenuous way in sources more concerned with other kinds of information. This tradition appears in short biographical entries, such as those dedicated to ascetic men who presided over the *istisqā'*, as noted above.⁵⁸ Another interesting case relates to the activity of the *mujāb al-da'wa* as a redresser of injustice. In these examples the ascetic is portrayed as someone to whom people in distress, more specifically those oppressed by the powerful, could turn.

During the reign of al-Ḥakam I, the governors of the Upper Frontier of al-Andalus, the Banū Salama, made their subjects suffer all manner of vexations, and a *mujāb al-da'wa*, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughallis, was asked to invoke God against them. He refused to do so for a time, but then, after witnessing a particularly revolting act of injustice,⁵⁹ he implored God to put an end to this

state of affairs. The appearance of rebels who destroyed the Banū Salama was considered the answer to his appeal.⁶⁰

A case recorded in a later source⁶¹ involves another form of injustice. Here the oppressors were not holders of political power, but rather *fuqahā'*. The hero of the story, one Ibn Ṣayqal, was threatened by Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā b. Ḥayyawayh, a member of a learned Cordoban family who wanted to buy Ibn Ṣayqal's house. Ibn Ṣayqal refused, and then went to seek the help of an ascetic living nearby, called Shaybān. Together with another pious man, Ḥassān, Shaybān spent a night praying and invoking the name of God. The next day, Ibn Ḥayyawayh was found dead in his residence.

In these two narratives, the moral is evident: evil should be opposed by exemplary behaviour. Evil is, too, equated with worldly concerns. It is not surprising to find in many ascetics an attitude of retirement (*inqibāḍ*) which leads them to avoid any contact with officials and persons related to political power; this is indeed a recurrent motif in many biographies.

All those narratives pertain to a well-established Islamic tradition from which many Eastern parallels could be drawn; it is, in fact, a literature of the exemplar, intended to set forth moral models and to insist on the virtues of religious practice. The spiritual model provided by these texts has a social value too, as the *'ābid* could play the role of mediator with God and also help to establish the ideal order of things when there is menace from injustice. On the other hand, some of these ascetic men presented, in their way of living and their extreme piety, a challenge to those who practised Islam in a more casual way, or who were—as was the case with many *fuqahā'*—deeply involved in worldly pursuits. When piety reached certain extremes, the community of "men of religion" was liable to react against it, setting rules and establishing limits for such exaggerated expressions.⁶²

An early instance of this mistrust may be observed in the biographical texts related to Yumn b. Rizq, an ascetic from Tudela, in the Upper Frontier.⁶³ He led a life of privation, yet, when he wished to give alms, he simply put his hand under the plain mat upon which he slept and took from what seemed to be an inexhaustible source of money. To this miraculous note is added the narration of a dream he had in early youth; he saw himself with a copper padlock on his heart holding a golden key in his hand, and with this key he opened his heart.

The narrative of this dream is exceptional for the early period; and, although no more is said on its possible meaning, it suggests a kind of mystical initiation into the mysteries of religion. Yumn b. Rizq wrote a book entitled *Kitāb al-zuhd*, which was fiercely condemned by both Andalusi and Qayrawānī scholars on the grounds that the author was a man of wicked thoughts. The book is lost, but we know that it was transmitted in Madrid, during the first half of the 4th/10th century, by a North African ascetic called Jassās.⁶⁴

It is difficult, with so little data, to establish the reasons behind the disapproval of Yumn's book, although we may suppose that they were not related

to his ascetic practices as recorded in his biography. Mystical initiation, on the other hand, was a novelty in this period, and was probably regarded, even by pious scholars, as something dangerous. The first occurrence of the term "Sufi" is in the biography of 'Abd Allāh b. Naṣr, who died in 315/927.⁶⁵ A few years later (in 319/931) the death occurred of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra,⁶⁶ a crucial figure in the development of Andalusī religious thought. Ibn Masarra's ideas were condemned too—after his death—and, although they are not very well known, due to the loss of almost all his writings, it is easy to discern a strong mystical component in the traces we have.

It was, we may assume, in the period from the final years of the 3rd/9th century to the second half of the 4th/10th century that mysticism began to flourish in al-Andalus. For all the disparate nature of the materials, some common points may be observed. There is, first of all, a kind of reserve in the sources when dealing with facts of a miraculous nature; very few details are given about the performance of *karāmāt*, and, when narratives of this kind are reproduced, they are frequently of Eastern origin—the main characters may be Eastern themselves, or, if they are Andalusī, miraculous things happen to them while they are living in Eastern countries. All this suggests that, as happened in other fields of intellectual life, Andalusī religious practice accepted and adapted a tradition imported from the main centres of Islamic thought. This process of adaptation did not take place without difficulties and opposition, but it finally produced, from the second half of the 4th/10th century onwards, its own, original form. The development may be exemplified, in the case of the mystic, in the figure of Abū Wahb al-Zāhid (d. 344/955).⁶⁷

Of obscure Eastern origins, Abū Wahb established himself in Córdoba, where he dedicated himself to a life of extreme piety. He was considered a madman at first, and was even attacked physically by passers-by. Gradually, however, he became accepted and revered, so much so in fact that great crowds attended his burial. The sources record verses of an ascetic character attributed to him; but three of them sound a mystical note:

Oh you who censure me; you do not know Him. Leave me with Him; I am not deluded.

Do you not always see me enraptured by Him, as if I were bewitched and seduced?

Nothing better I heard of His love than to be described myself as mad and disturbed.

CONCLUSION

The object of this paper has been to show the ordinary religious practices of Andalusī Muslims, together with some of the ascetic trends which began to spread from an early date. We tend, in our agnostic age, to forget how central

religion was for the life of people in earlier historical periods, and how embedded it was in their cultural identity. In the case of al-Andalus, the study of Islam as a "lived" religion is all the more important, in that it was a predominantly Muslim society located on the frontier with Christianity.

¹ R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1979, p. 114 *et seq.*

² The study of minorities in Islamic countries has held appeal for modern scholarship—a fact which perhaps betrays the uneasy attitudes of Western scholars towards their own minority groups in medieval and modern times. In Spain this trend in scholarship has historical roots and is fused, in certain cases, with the ideological assumption that Islamic civilisation (with its religion) was a mere accident—and an unfortunate accident at that—in the history of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, much effort was devoted to demonstrating the impact of Christian culture, and pre-Islamic culture in general, on the life and practices of the Muslim "invaders", thus emphasising the continuity of a so-called Spanish "essence" throughout the ages (there are and have been, of course, exceptions to this position; on the different attitudes of Spanish Arabists and intellectuals, see J. T. Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present)*, Leiden, 1970, especially Chapter X).

³ See, for instance, the studies by F. de la Granja, "Fiestas cristianas en al-Andalus", *Al-Andalus*, 34, 1969, and 35, 1970, pp. 1-53 and 119-42 respectively.

⁴ Ed. and trans. M. I. Fierro, Madrid, 1988.

⁵ See, on this matter, W. A. Graham, "Islam in the Mirror of Ritual", in *Islam's Understanding of Itself*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and S. Vryonis, Malibu, 1983, pp. 53-71.

⁶ See M. Ayoub, "Thanksgiving and Praise in the Qur'ān and in Muslim Piety", *Islamochristiana*, 15, 1989, pp. 1-10.

⁷ On this Cordoban traditionist, see M. L. Avila, "Nuevos datos para la biografía de Baqī b. Majlad", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6, 1985, pp. 321-67, and M. Marín, "Baqī b. Majlad y la introducción del estudio del ḥadīth en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 1, 1980, pp. 165-208.

⁸ See his bio-bibliographical references in M. Marín, "Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus (93-350/711-961)", in *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*, I, Madrid, 1988, No. 1225.

⁹ For a detailed study of the different doctrinal aspects of this matter, see M. I. Fierro, "La polémique à propos de *raf' al-yadayn fi 'l-ṣalāt* dans al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 65, 1988, pp. 68-93. A later 'ālim who followed this practice was Ahmad b. 'Umar b. Mansūr (d. 312/924) (see 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrib al-masālik li-ma'rifat a'lām madhhab Mālik*, n. d.-1983, V, 215-16).

¹⁰ Well reflected in the process suffered by Baqī b. Makhḥlad; see M. Marín, "Baqī b. Majlad", and M. I. Fierro, "The Introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus (2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries)", *Der Islam*, 65, 1987, pp. 69-90.

¹¹ See M. Marín, "Una familia de ulemas cordobeses: los Banū Abī 'Isā", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6, 1985, pp. 292-320.

¹² M. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana*, Madrid, 1968, pp. 166-67. The number of rak'as during the prayer was also subject to some discussion: see the biographies of the qādī Yahyā b. Ma'mar, in Ibn Hārith al-Khushani, *Qudāt Qurṭuba*, ed. and trans. J. Ribera, 82/101, and of Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Yahyā, in 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, IV, 424.

¹³ Ibn Hārith al-Khushani, *Qudāt Qurṭuba*, 158/196.

¹⁴ 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, IV, 450.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Ta'rikh iftiṭḥ al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. J. Ribera, Madrid, 1926, 66/52; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabis min anabā' ahl al-Andalus*, ed. M. 'A. Makki, Beirut, 1973, p. 57; Ibn Hārith al-Khushani, *Qudāt Qurṭuba*, 81/100.

¹⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fi akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, II, ed. G. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1951, p. 211.

¹⁷ See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Leiden, 1960-, s. v. *du'ā'*.

¹⁸ Both stories are recorded by Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-mustaghithin bi-llāh*, ed. M. Marín, Madrid, 1991, Nos. 149 and 150; see my introduction to the edition of the Arabic text, where other sources are mentioned.

- 19 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabis* V, ed. P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente and M. Sobh, Madrid, 1979, trans. M. J. Viguera and F. Corriente, Saragossa, 1981, 165/190-1.
- 20 On the Cordoban (and other) *muṣallās* in al-Andalus, see L. Torres Balbás, "'*Muṣallā*' y '*ṣarī'a*' en las ciudades hispanomusulmanas", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 167-80.
- 21 On him see the introduction to the edition of his *Ta'rikh* by J. Aguadé, Madrid, 1991.
- 22 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* (ed. Makki), pp. 46-47.
- 23 See an example in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī khabar al-aqtār*, ed. and trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1938, 141/169.
- 24 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* (ed. Makki), p. 51.
- 25 Ibn Ḥārith al-Khushanī, *Qudāt Qurtuba*, 100/122.
- 26 See T. Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran*, Tokyo, 1964, pp. 147-48.
- 27 See M. Piamenta, *Islam in Everyday Speech*, Leiden, 1979.
- 28 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, V, 200-09.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 30 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* V (trans. Viguera and Corriente), p. 92; also in Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, II, 114.
- 31 See the case of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-A'shā, in M. Marín, "The Early Development of *zuhd* in al-Andalus", *Proceedings of the 15th Conference of the U. E. A. I.*, Utrecht (in press).
- 32 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, V, 197.
- 33 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabis fī akhbār bilād al-Andalus*, ed. 'A. 'A. al-Ḥajjī, Beirut, 1965, Spanish translation by E. García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II*, Madrid, 1967, p. 141.
- 34 On 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, see my article "Una familia de ulemas cordobeses", pp. 296-302.
- 35 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, IV, 423.
- 36 *Ibid.*, V, 190.
- 37 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, II, 287; the text refers to the second half of the 4th/10th century.
- 38 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, V, 154.
- 39 *Ibid.*, IV, 142.
- 40 *Ibid.*, V, 190.
- 41 *Ibid.*, V, 156.
- 42 An example in Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 591.
- 43 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, IV, 423.
- 44 See L. Molina, "Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el *Ta'rij* de Ibn al-Faraḍī", in *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*, I, Madrid, 1988, pp. 585-610, and M. Marín, "Los ulemas de al-Andalus y sus maestros orientales" in *ibid.*, III, Granada, 1990, pp. 257-306.
- 45 See the *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), ed. W. Wright and J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1907.
- 46 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 515.
- 47 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rikh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, Cairo, 1966, No. 906.
- 48 Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Takmilā li-kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. 'I. al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo, 1955, No. 338, and Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 1534.
- 49 M. L. Avila, "Las mujeres sabias de al-Andalus", in *La mujer en al-Andalus*, ed. M. J. Viguera, Madrid, 1989, No. 92.
- 50 See L. Kinberg, "What is Meant by *zuhd*?" and M. Marín, "The Early Development of *zuhd* in al-Andalus".
- 51 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, IV, 428.
- 52 *Ibid.*, IV, 446.
- 53 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rikh*, No. 909.
- 54 Marín, "Nómina", No. 558.
- 55 *Ibid.*, No. 763.
- 56 See a study of these miracles in my introduction to Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Kitāb al-mustaghīthīn bi-llāh*.
- 57 See the introductory study of M. I. Fierro in her edition of Ibn Waḍḍāh's *Kitāb al-bida'*, Madrid, 1988, p. 15.
- 58 See section II.1 above.

⁵⁹ Walking along a river, he saw one of the Banū Salama accompanied by a servant who carried a falcon. The servant was ordered to throw the falcon against a woman who was bathing her child in the river. Mother and son perished.

⁶⁰ See M. Marín, *Individuo y sociedad en al-Andalus*, Madrid (in press), paragraph 2.2.1.

⁶¹ Ibn Baṣṣkuwāl, *Kitāb al-mustaghṭhīn*, No. 77.

⁶² I have studied the different opinions of *fuqahā'* on the case of a man accused of disturbing his neighbours with his nightly prayers in "Law and Piety: a Cordovan *fatwā'*", *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, 17, 1990, pp. 129-36.

⁶³ The date of his death is unknown. He probably lived at the end of the 3th/9th century. See Makki, *Ensayo*, p. 157.

⁶⁴ M. Marín, "Núcleos urbanos y actividad cultural en la Marca Media", in *Actas del Coloquio "La Fundación de Madrid"*, Madrid (in press), p. 12.

⁶⁵ Marín, "Nómina", No. 838.

⁶⁶ See M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid, 1914, and M. I. Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 113-18.

⁶⁷ M. Marín, "Un nuevo texto de Ibn Baṣṣkuwāl", *Al-Qanṭara*, 10, 1989, pp. 385-403.

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HERESY IN AL-ANDALUS

MARÍA ISABEL FIERRO

I. AL-ANDALUS WITHOUT HERETICS: THE IMAGE

An 8th/14th century text¹ on the virtues of al-Andalus counts among them the fact that a heretical sect (*tā'ifa mubtadi'a*) or sectarian group (*firqa muta-shayyi'a*) had appeared only rarely and briefly; and the author of the text, the Andalusī al-Fakhkhār (d. 723/1323), remarks that when a person belonging to these groups appeared, God saved al-Andalus from his influence by destroying and annihilating him, as, for instance, in the case of Ibn Aḥlā in Lorca, al-Fazārī in Málaga and al-Ṣaffār in Almería. Quoting al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095), al-Fakhkhār adds that the names of the Prophet's Companions were always mentioned from the *minbars* with due respect; in other words, al-Andalus had also been kept free of Shi'ism.²

Earlier al-Ḥumaydī's teacher, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), had stated in his *Risāla fī faḍā'il ahl al-Andalus*, written before 246/1035, that controversies were mild in al-Andalus and that there was no division into sects (*lam tatajādhab fihā 'l-khuṣūm wa lā khtalafat fihā 'l-niḥāl*).³ When writing this *Risāla*, Ibn Ḥazm could not foresee that he himself would be considered a scholar deviating from orthodoxy. However, Ibn Ḥazm gives a rather different picture of al-Andalus in a later work, his *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥāl*, where he mentions the presence in al-Andalus of *Khārijis*, *Mu'tazilis*, *Murjis* (*Ash'aris*) and *Sufis*, the last two being the sects within Islam that he wished most vigorously to refute. He also notes the presence of sceptics who denied the existence of God and prophecy, or who believed in *takāfu' al-adilla*, "the equivalence of proofs", i.e., the impossibility of proving the truth of God, the prophets or any religion.⁴

The Eastern author al-Muqaddasī had earlier, in the 4th/10th century, given a very orthodox image of al-Andalus. Referring to its *madhāhib*, he says that al-Andalus follows the doctrines of Mālik alone, and the Quranic reading (*qirā'a*) of Nāfi', and that Andalusis claim to know only the Quran and the *Muwatta'* of Mālik. If they seized a Ḥanafī or a Shāfi'i, they expelled him from the country, and if they discovered a Mu'tazilī or a Shi'ite, they sometimes killed him.⁵

Al-Muqaddasī's text introduces an element that has been considered of vital importance in constructing the image of the "orthodoxy" of al-Andalus, namely that it is a stronghold of Mālikism, which, according to this Eastern geographer, forestalled any rivalry from the other legal schools by expelling

their followers, while guarding against possible sectarian doctrines by eliminating anyone propagating these.

Mālikism was, indeed, the predominant trend within Andalusī Islam. The story of its introduction and rise to hegemony in the Peninsula has been told several times,⁶ the main stages being as follows. The school of the Syrian al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774) was the first to be followed in al-Andalus, due to the strong presence of Syrians, before Andalusī students who travelled to Medina during the lifetime of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) brought back his teachings. The most important of Mālik's Andalusī disciples was Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848), whose *riwāya* of the *Muwatta'* attained the highest authority in Western Islam; succeeding generations of scholars then studied with the Egyptian and Medinese disciples of Mālik, and their teachings were collected in such compilations of Mālikī *fiqh* as the *Wāḍiḥa* of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852) and the *Mustakhraja* of al-'Utbi (d. 255/869), these compilations, together with the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn,⁷ becoming the fundamental works of Andalusī Mālikism. The reception of Mālikism was accompanied by the veneration of Mālik,⁸ although Andalusis were not in fact strict followers of his teachings, based on his legal reasoning (*ra'y*), as compiled in the *Muwatta'*. As a matter of fact, they often gave preference to the teachings of his pupils, and especially to the *ra'y* of Ibn al-Qāsim.⁹ Mālikis are in fact described in Andalusī sources as *ahl/aṣḥāb al-ra'y*,¹⁰ who refused to have anything to do with *ḥadīth*.

There are different interpretations of the success of Mālikism,¹¹ but the most convincing of these seems to point to a geographical reason: when performing the *riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm* and the pilgrimage during the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries, Andalusis travelled and studied in places such as *Ifriqiya* and Egypt where Mālikism had already spread from Medina, Medina itself also being a city much visited by them; on the other hand, they hardly ever visited Iraq,¹² where Ḥanafism was predominant. If, however, this factor was instrumental in the introduction and spread of Mālikism in al-Andalus, its hegemony was mainly due to political reasons. In 189/805 and 202/818 there were rebellions by the people of Córdoba against al-Ḥakam I (180/796-206/822), in which some Mālikī *fuqahā'* took part; and, although the Umayyad *amīr* was able to defeat the rebels, he realised that he could not, from then onwards, do without the support of the *fuqahā'* in controlling further outbreaks of discontent against his policies. The lesson was well learned by his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206/822-238/852), who sought, and obtained, the collaboration of the *fuqahā'*. As generally occurred with the *fuqahā'* of the different *madhāhib* in other regions of the Islamic world,¹³ Mālikis in al-Andalus opted for quietism in exchange for their becoming custodians of the religious law (*shari'a*). During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's successor, Muḥammad (238/852-273/886), the hegemony or *ahl al-ra'y* achieved by the Mālikis was challenged by the growing importance of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and the influence of *Shāfi'ism*.

‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, mentioned above as one of the *fuqahā* responsible for the introduction of Mālikī teachings, is also credited with having been the first to introduce *ḥadīth* into al-Andalus (attribution of the same role to Ṣaṣa’a b. Sallām and Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, who both died towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, is not supported by available evidence).¹⁴ Prophetic traditions introduced by Ibn Ḥabīb correspond to the so-called “early *ḥadīth*”; and, as the material was far from meeting the requirements of classical ‘*ilm al-ḥadīth*’ (see below), his transmissions were criticised and rejected by later traditionists.

Two scholars, both of whom died at the end of the 3rd/9th century, were the protagonists of the second phase of the reception of *ḥadīth*: these were Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276/889) and Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287/900),¹⁵ who, trained by Iraqi teachers, introduced into al-Andalus not only new *ḥadīth* material, but also the science of *ḥadīth* (‘*ilm al-ḥadīth*’). Until their time, *fiqh* (introduced, as noted above, in the second half of the 2nd/8th century) and *ḥadīth* were seen as separate and different entities, and the scholars who introduced *fiqh* (mainly Mālikī *fiqh*) are not mentioned in the sources as traditionists. The reception of *ḥadīth* as a structured corpus of legal material, over and above the limited amount of *ḥadīth* embedded in Mālikī works, aroused the opposition of Andalusī Mālikis because of the threat this represented to their established doctrinal teachings and to existing legal practice in al-Andalus—an opposition which led to the accusation of *zandaqa* against Baqī b. Makhlad, who was, like Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, a traditionist, but was also the introducer of Shāfi‘ī’s works and an opponent of the *ahl al-ra’y*, whereas Ibn Waḍḍāḥ was and remained a Mālikī who tried to reconcile the positions of the *ahl al-ra’y* and the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. The *amīr* Muḥammad, however, supported Baqī, and, thanks to his intervention, the persecution of Baqī did not lead to his execution. The *amīr* thus played the role of umpire between the *ahl al-ra’y* and the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, without, though, replacing the former by the latter, probably because he found it useful for his own policy to have the scholars divided. Between the end of the 3rd/9th century and the first half of the 4th/10th century, the Shāfi‘īs had a certain weight in the intellectual milieu; nevertheless, they succeeded neither in establishing their doctrine nor in displacing the Mālikis. In the year 338/950, ‘Abd Allāh, a son of the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, was accused of plotting against his father and his brother (the future al-Ḥakam II), and was executed. He was a Shāfi‘ī and his failure is linked to the failure of Shāfi‘ism in al-Andalus. Its followers had always been, and now continued to be, a minority, and a few years after ‘Abd Allāh’s death, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III openly proclaimed Mālikism as the “official” doctrine of his reign, the caliph al-Ḥakam II subsequently thinking it worthwhile to do the same.¹⁶ During the 4th/10th century, however, the Mālikis could not avoid the intellectual pressure of the traditionists and of al-Shāfi‘ī’s doctrine of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*; and, as such, they were forced to pay more attention to *ḥadīth*, although they did so without introducing any

substantial change in their doctrine and practice.¹⁷ From the end of the 4th/10th century onwards we have evidence of Mālikī activity in the field of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, this trend reaching its peak with the work of the Mālikī-Ashʿarī Abū ʿl-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474/1081), the author of a book entitled *Ihkām al-fuṣūl fī aḥkām al-uṣūl*, which he probably wrote after the famous polemic in which he engaged with Ibn Ḥazm.¹⁸ Al-Bājī's education and training took place mainly in the East, where he studied the art of polemics (*jadal*), Ashʿarī theology and the Eastern Mālikī tradition of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and he was respected and sought after for his knowledge when he returned to al-Andalus. In connection with his reliance on Prophetic tradition, al-Bājī transmitted the *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet wrote (*kataba*) on the day of Ḥudaybiyya (*ḥadīth al-muqāḍāt*), and openly maintained that he did so, despite his being *ummī*. Although the hostility he met on this account did not lead to his being placed on trial, he was accused of infidelity (*kufr*), heresy (*zandaqa*) and of introducing innovations (*tabdīʿ*).¹⁹

Similar accusations had, as we shall see in the next section, been brought against Andalusis before al-Bājī; and the material collected there will show how the authors quoted at the beginning of this paper tended to play down the presence of heresy in al-Andalus.

II. THE HERETICS OF AL-ANDALUS

One of the terms commonly used in Islam to define a concept similar to "heresy" is *bidʿa* (pl. *bidaʿ*), or "innovation". An author as early as the Cordoban Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ wrote a treatise devoted to the reprobation of innovations, where the cases he mentions, however, pertained to the sphere of ritual practices (*ʿibādāt*) and not of dogma. Although he makes no explicit reference to al-Andalus, all the practices he condemns were known in the Peninsula by his time, some of them also being condemned by authors in the following centuries, while others, such as the use of the rosary, were forgotten because other wide diffusion had secured their legitimacy.²⁰ This process can be checked thanks to the continuity of *kutub al-bidaʿ* written by Andalusī Mālikis.²¹

Numerous Andalusis are described in the biographical dictionaries as being "severe against innovators" (*shadīd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ*), and dedicated to putting an end to reprehensible behaviour (*taghyīr al-munkar*). The sources do not, however, always specify who the innovators were, or what was considered reprehensible and required changing. A diachronic study of the material preserved in the *kutub al-bidaʿ* and other sources shows that the concept of the "innovator", or of what was deemed reprehensible from a Mālikī point of view, was not always the same over the centuries: practice did not always correspond to what was established in the doctrine, and the doctrine in turn was able partly to adapt to the changing practice.²²

The *fatāwā* on the subject of innovators and innovations²³ reveal the reluctance of the *fuqahā'* to commit themselves to an uncompromising attitude on a matter so elusive and difficult to define. The Andalusī Ibn Sahl (d. 486/1093) has preserved, in his collection of *nawāzil* entitled *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, a question posed to the Cordoban *mufī* Muḥammad b. 'Attāb (d. 462/1070) on the difference between the *ahl al-bida'* and grave sinners (*ahl al-kabā'ir*). Ibn 'Attāb begins his *fatwā* by indicating his deep dislike of dealing with such a polemical issue, on which there were so many different opinions both within the Mālikī school itself and outside it, and his final statement is that the destiny of both groups depends upon the will of God. The same reluctance to state a clear judgement appears also in the case of al-Aṣīlī (d. 392/1001) and Ibn al-Makwī (d. 401/1010), who were asked whether innovators should be declared infidels (*al-takfīr*): they too responded without committing themselves. Ibn Sahl, however, dared to give a more specific answer. According to him, there were two kinds of innovator: the first kind, such as extremist Shi'ites who believed in the divinity of 'Alī or in his being a prophet, undoubtedly lapsed into infidelity (*kufṛ*); while the second kind, such as those Shi'ites who limited themselves to exalting the imamate of 'Alī and his descendants, and stating that 'Alī was the most excellent Muslim, were judged only to be straying from the right path, deviating from the truth and abandoning tradition and the community (*ḍalāl wa-zaygh* 'an al-ḥaqq wa 'udūl 'an al-sunna wa 'l-jamā'a').²⁴

As for the accusation of *zandaqa*, Mālik b. Anas mentions it in his *Muwaṭṭa'* under the heading devoted to *ridḍa* or apostasy, a crime punished in Islamic law by the death penalty. According to Mālik's view, the *zindīq* is an apostate who has secretly fallen away from Islam under the cloak of outward conformity, and he must be beheaded just like the apostate who does not hide his apostasy. However, Mālik grants the latter the opportunity of repentance (*al-istitāba*) and reconversion while denying the same opportunity to the former. The main characteristic of the *zindīq* is in fact his hypocrisy and concealment of his true beliefs; there is thus no way to be certain of the truth of his statements, and especially of the sincerity of his repentance. This doctrine was adopted by such Maghribi and Andalusī Mālikī scholars as 'Abd al-Mālik b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996), Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070) and Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397). When Mālik included mention of the *zindīq* in the *Muwaṭṭa'*, he must have had in mind the Manichaeans of his own times, who were secretly unfaithful while openly professing Islam, and whom he considered the most representative example of apostates who concealed their apostasy. In fact Mālik did not consider every "cloaked" apostate a *zindīq*, but this nuance is lost in later Mālikī works, where the word is applied to every Muslim considered to have become apostate while failing to admit his new belief or lack of belief. This Mālikī doctrine obviously opens the door to the legal possibility of eliminating

doctrinal opponents under the accusation of *zandaqa*, by giving them no chance of avoiding the death penalty.²⁵

The heretics cited by al-Fakhkhār in the text mentioned at the beginning of this essay belong to the 7th/13th century, and their careers, influence and eventual defeat have yet to be studied. The Andalusī Mālikī-Ash'arī Abū Bakr b. Al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148) informs us of two other Andalusī heretics whose names he gives to illustrate people who have gone astray (*qawm min al-ḡullāl*), namely Muḥammad b. Masarra (d. 319/931) and Maslama b. Qāsim (d. 353/964),²⁶ their deviation taking the form of suspected Bāṭinism.

Muḥammad b. Masarra (d. 319/931) is one of eight Andalusis charged with *zandaqa* between the 2nd/8th and the 5th/11th century,²⁷ and in his case, and in that of 'Abd al-A'lā b. Wahb (d. 261/874), the accusation sprang from their adherence to Mu'tazilī views.²⁸ No trial took place, however, and their lives were not under threat; nor were the other Mu'tazilis recorded by the sources persecuted or charged with heresy. It must also be pointed out that Ibn Masarra's followers were not specifically accused of *zandaqa*—or at least this word is not recorded in the edicts promulgated against them by 'Abd al-Rahmān III, where the words *bid'a*, *hawa*, *fitna*, *zaygh*, *ḡalāl* and *ilhād* are used. Their books were burned and we are told that they were given the opportunity of repentance,²⁹ which, as we have seen, was not granted to those accused of *zandaqa*.

The accusation of *zandaqa* against al-Bāji, already mentioned, forced him to write a *Risāla* defending his interpretation of the *ḥadīth al-muqāḍāt*. Although there seem to have been certain attempts to prosecute him, there was no trial.

Two accusations of *zandaqa* did lead to trials, but not to capital punishment. Baqī b. Maḥlād³⁰ was prosecuted for his membership of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and his independence of the Mālikī school; and, if we recall that none of his Mu'tazilī contemporaries were prosecuted, we may conclude that the Mālikis felt a greater threat from the doctrines of the traditionists than from those of the Mu'tazilis. In the case of Baqī, they did not succeed in obtaining the *amīr*'s support against him, and thus failed in their attempt to rid themselves of a doctrinal opponent who was not perceived as a threat to the State. The other trial took place in the times of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir, under the caliphate of Hishām II.³¹ The accused were scholars and poets interested in theology, philosophy and logic, such as Ibn al-Ifṭilī (d. 441/1050), Sa'īd b. Faṭḥūn al-Saraqusṭī, and also an Umayyad prince. The accusation of *zandaqa* and the resulting trial may have been one of the steps taken by al-Manṣūr to secure the support of the Mālikis, some of whom regarded an interest in non-Islamic sciences with suspicion, but it can also be assumed that al-Manṣūr feared these scholars might, during their meetings, be hatching a plot to end his power and replace the caliph Hishām II by an Umayyad pretender. At the trial, the Umayyad prince narrowly escaped the death

penalty, while Ibn al-Ifilī was imprisoned for a period and Saʿīd b. Fathūn left al-Andalus.

In three cases accusations of *zandaqa* led to the execution of the accused: these were the cases of Muṭarrif, the son of the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275/888-300/912), of Abū ʿl-Khayr in the reign of al-Ḥakam II (350/961-366-976),³² and of Ibn Ḥātim al-Ṭulayṭulī during the reign of the party-king of Toledo al-Maʾmūn.³³ The first two were suspected of plotting against the existing rulers, Muṭarrif being merely an unsuccessful pretender, but Abū ʿl-Khayr being, apparently, both a political plotter and a sectarian, more specifically a Shīʿite agent of the Fāṭimids. In the case of Ibn Ḥātim, political and religious motives for his trial are again intermingled: he seems to have been the scapegoat in the struggle between the two parties competing for political power in Toledo. I assume that he belonged to the party of the Banū ʿl-Ḥadīdī, a family of notables connected with a group of scholars who had received a traditional education in Islamic sciences, but who, at the same time, had become interested and involved in studying the non-Islamic sciences. The most striking accusation against Ibn Ḥātim was his denial of the asceticism of the Prophet, a feature of Muḥammad's biography that was being increasingly stressed in al-Andalus in the context of the rising current of asceticism and mysticism, but also as a result of the polemics engaged by Muslims with Jews and Christians. Ibn Ḥātim's trial took place one year after the Muslim town of Barbastro had fallen into Christian hands (in 456/1064), an event that shocked the Muslims of al-Andalus, as it was the first major town to be lost (Coimbra was also conquered by the Christians in the same year). An ascetic of Toledo, Ibn Labīd, who is defined by the sources as *murābiṭ* and *muḥtasib*, showed extreme zeal in pursuing Ibn Ḥātim. He may have been an agent of the party struggling against the Banū ʿl-Ḥadīdī, but more probably he acted out of a concern not to allow a heretic, who might contaminate the rest of the community, to go unpunished. His concern shows how Andalusī Islam of the 5th/11th century was on its guard against anything that might be seen as helping the Christians in their political and ideological offensive.³⁴

Apart from the cases described above, there were people whose religious beliefs were suspect, but who were not accused of *zandaqa*—or, at least, that accusation is not recorded in the sources. The case of Ibn Ḥazm has already been mentioned: although his Zāhirism was seen as deviating from orthodoxy, he was never brought to trial; and, while it is true that his books were burned in Seville, it seems that the main reason was not his legal doctrines, but the fact that he had denounced as an impostor the Umayyad caliph proclaimed by the ʿAbbāids.³⁵ One of Ibn Ḥazm's teachers, Abū ʿl-Walīd Hishām b. Aḥmad al-Waqqashī (408/1017-489/1095), and his contemporary al-Ḥannāṭ al-Kaffī (d. 437/1045) were regarded as suspect in their religion because of their interest in logic,³⁶ but, as in the case of the Muʿtazilis, this did not put their lives in danger.

A special case is the trial of Abū 'Umar al-Ṭalamankī (d. 428/1036 or 429/1037), a scholar whose works and activities aimed at the spiritual renovation of Islam by ascetic/mystical means. He was accused of having doctrines similar to those of the *Khārijis*, and of *khilāf al-sunna*, that is, innovation; the *qāḍī* in charge of his trial (in 425/1034) acquitted him. Although the sources give very little insight into the motives behind the trial, it is possible that the issue at stake was the doctrine of the imamate held by al-Ṭalamankī, which seems to have been that the *imām* should be the best Muslim, regardless of his genealogy. There is some evidence too that al-Ṭalamankī himself was considered a leader of the community by some of his followers, a path that was later followed by the mystic Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151), who proclaimed himself *imām*.

There were even Andalusis who went so far as to proclaim themselves prophets.³⁷ Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī mentions that Yūnus al-Barghawāfī made the *riḥla* to the East together with other North Africans and Andalusis, of whom three claimed to be prophets, including Yūnus himself.³⁸ This *riḥla* took place in the first half of the 3rd/9th century.

In the year 237/851 a teacher (*mu'allim*) who claimed to be a prophet rebelled in the east of al-Andalus. He made a peculiar interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Quran, preaching that it was forbidden to cut the moustache and the nails, or to depilate the body, his slogan being *lā taghyīr li-khalqī 'llāh*. He was crucified, and while on the cross he pronounced the Quranic verse XL, 29: "Would you kill a man who says 'My lord is God'?"³⁹

In the year 288/901 the rebellion of Ibn al-Qiṭṭ took place. He was member of the Umayyad family, who initially managed to attract the support of Berber tribes by means of predictions and a call for *jihād* against the Christians; soon he presented himself as the Mahdī and came to be considered a prophet by his followers, capable of performing miracles. He was eventually defeated and killed in his campaign against the Christians.⁴⁰

In the year 333/944 a man in Lisbon, who claimed to be a descendant of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and of Fāṭima (probably not the daughter of the Prophet, but 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's wife of the same name, and the grandmother of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), stated that he was a prophet and that the angel Jibrīl had visited him with a revelation. He gave his followers a set of traditions and laws, among them that they should shave their heads, a practice common among *Khārijis*. He suddenly disappeared.⁴¹

The head of the Masarrī group of Pechina (Almería), Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ru'aynī (alive in the first half of the 5th/11th century), held that it was possible to acquire prophecy, and Ibn Masarra himself was accused by those writers refuting his doctrines of having claimed to be a prophet.⁴² None of them lost his life because of such a doctrine.

If we compare al-Andalus with other regions of Islam, there are few examples of sectarian mobilisation. *Khārijism*, already defeated in the 2nd/8th

century,⁴³ was restricted to the Berbers, who appear to have been the only group among the population of the Peninsula to express their discontent in sectarian terms; the followers of the "al-Fāṭimī", who rebelled during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, were Berbers,⁴⁴ as were the followers of the Maḥdī Ibn al-Qitt, both these movements being influenced by Shi'ism. In other words, social, political and economic tensions in al-Andalus hardly ever gave rise to sectarian movements.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The comments of Al-Fakhkhār and Ibn Ḥazm cited at the beginning of this article are to be expected from the genre of *faḍā'il*. The point they wished to make was not that al-Andalus was completely safe from heretics, but rather that heretics were few and successfully eliminated, and this viewpoint has helped to build an image of al-Andalus as the land of monolithic Mālikism, which not only refused to allow any other legal school to prosper, but was itself free of changes and developments, regarding with suspicion any novelty in terms of legal, theological and ascetic/mystical doctrines. This is the impression given, for example, by Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī: "Imitation became their [i.e. the Mālikis'] religion and emulation their conviction. Whenever someone came from the East with [new] knowledge, they prevented him from spreading it and humiliated him, unless he went into hiding among them, acting as a Mālikī and putting his knowledge in a position of subordination".⁴⁵ One of the methods available to Andalusī Mālikis to rid the region of new doctrines was to dismiss them as innovations and heresies; and this they did. The accusation of *zandaqa*, moreover, could lead to the death penalty, although Mālikis appear to have been reluctant to formulate it: the cases we have examined show that when the accusation was in fact formulated, and led to the execution of the accused, it was because the alleged *zindīq* was seen mainly as a political threat, or as a plotter against the existing ruler. Among the "false prophets" recorded by the sources, only those who accompanied their claim to prophecy with a rebellion put their lives in danger.

Contrary to what al-Muqaddasī suggests, the maintenance and success of Mālikism should be looked for not in the physical elimination of its enemies, but in its capacity to survive the challenge of the new doctrines by adapting to them; in other words, in its capacity to change while preserving its identity.⁴⁶ This is a story yet to be told in detail, though there exists a highly ironical text written by an Andalusī logician that points in this direction.

Ibn Ṭumlūs (d. 620/1223), in the introduction to his treatise on logic,⁴⁷ tells how those who devoted themselves to the study of logic in his time were accused of committing innovations (*bida'*) and heresy (*zandaqa*). He was even on the verge of abandoning his interest in logic, when he realised two things: first, that the accusers were people with no idea what logic was

and why it should be condemned, and thus followed the "certitude of the weak" (*yaqīn al-ḍu'afā'*)—that is, they accepted things out of imitation of a previous authority (*al-taqlīd*) without checking for themselves, a phenomenon frequent in every religion (*milla*); and second, he realised that al-Andalus had been conquered by people who lacked any knowledge except that of *fiqh*, so that they ended up by regarding *fiqh* as the only science and everything that contradicted it as infidelity and heresy (*al-kufr wa 'l-zandaqa*). They brought their accusations against Baqī b. Makḥlad because of his introduction of *ḥadīth*, but afterwards became accustomed to the new doctrines, with the result that what had once been considered reprehensible turned out to be considered good, and what had been considered infidelity and heresy was later embraced in faith and religion (*fa-ʿāda mā kāna munkaran 'indahum ma'rūfan wa-mā 'taqadūhu kufran wa-zandaqa imānan wa-dīnan ḥaqqa*n). When the science of *uṣūl al-dīn* was introduced later on, the same process took place: first condemnation, then, in the end, acceptance (although with more reservations than in the case of *ḥadīth*). Then the books of al-Ghazālī were introduced into al-Andalus, and again the new doctrines were considered infidelity and heresy, until the Almohads arrived, and those who had rejected al-Ghazālī's books read them again and realised that they were in accordance with religious law. The conclusion reached by Ibn Ṭūmlūs was a commonsense one: it was clear that Andalusis started by rejecting the doctrines that they in the end accepted, albeit with reservations. Thus, he did not abandon logic, being sure that sooner or later it too would become acceptable to the *fuqahā'*.

¹ See M. I. Fierro and S. Faghia, "Un nuevo texto de tradiciones escatológicas sobre al-Andalus", *Sharq al-Andalus*, 7, 1990, Nos. 14 and 13.

² Neither al-Ḥumaydī nor al-Fakhkhār make reference to the fact that ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, at the time of his alliance with the Fātimids, is alleged to have practised the Shi'ite rites of the call to prayer, which included the disqualification of the first caliphs: see M. I. Fierro, *La Heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 122-23.

³ See the Arabic text of the *Risāla* in al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghushn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1398/1968, III, 176; French translation by C. Pellat, "Ibn Ḥazm, bibliographe et apologiste de l'Espagne musulmane", *Al-Andalus*, 19, 1954, p. 90.

⁴ On heterodoxy in al-Andalus during the times of the party-kings, see my study in Vol. VIII of the *Historia de España fundada por R. Menéndez Pidal y dirigida por J. Ma Jover Zamora* (in preparation).

⁵ *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rīfat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1906, p. 236. As I have shown in *Heterodoxia*, p. 176, al-Muqaddasī's view is influenced by the situation existing in al-Andalus during the times of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmr (366/977-392/1002).

⁶ See the studies by I. Goldziher, J. López Ortiz, E. Lévi-Provençal, H. R. Idris, H. Monès, M. A. Makki, J. Aguadé and M. I. Fierro noted in the bibliography following.

⁷ See M. Muranyi, *Materialen zur mälikitischen Rechtsliteratur*, Wiesbaden, 1984. The transmission of the *Mudawwana* in al-Andalus has been studied by J. M. Fórneas, "Datos para un estudio de la *Mudawwana* de Saḥnūn en al-Andalus", *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino (Palma de Mallorca 1979)*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 93-118, and M. Muranyi, "Notas sobre la transmisión escrita de la *Mudawwana* en Ifrīqiya según algunos manuscritos recientemente descubiertos (Qairawāner Mischellaneen III)", *Al-Qanāra*, 10, 1989, pp. 215-31.

⁸ See A. M. Turki, "La vénération pour Mālik et la physionomie du malikisme andalou", *Studia Islamica*, 33, 1971, pp. 41-65.

⁹ See two examples in M. I. Fierro, "La polémique a propos de *raf' al-yadayn fi 'l-ṣalāt*", *Studia Islamica*, 65, 1987, pp. 69-90, and "Los mālikīes de al-Andalus y los dos árbitros (*al-ḥakamān*)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6, 1985, pp. 79-102.

¹⁰ On the general question of the *ra'y* of the Mālikis, see R. Brunschvig, "Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Mālik", *Al-Andalus*, 15, 1950, pp. 321-68. For the use of the term *ra'y* in Andalusi sources, see D. Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du Ve/XIe au VIIe/XIIIe siècle. Etude sociologique*, Geneva, 1978, appendix.

¹¹ See J. Aguadé, "Some remarks about sectarian movements in al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 64, 1986, pp. 54-62, and Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, pp. 33-37.

¹² See the percentages in L. Molina, "Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el *Ta'rij* de Ibn al-Faradī", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, ed. M. Marín, Madrid, 1988, I, 585-610.

¹³ See I. M. Lapidus, "The separation of state and religion in the development of early Islamic society", *IJMES*, 6, 1975, pp. 363-85, and M. Cook, "Activism and quietism in Islam: The Case of the Early Murji'a", *Islam and Power*, ed. A. S. Cudsi and A. E. H. Dessouki, London, 1981, pp. 15-23.

¹⁴ See M. I. Fierro, "Mu'āwīya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥimṣī: historia y leyenda", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos*, pp. 281-411, and "The introduction of *ḥadīth* in al-Andalus (2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries)", *Der Islam*, 66, 1989, pp. 68-93.

¹⁵ On these, see M. Marín, "Baḳī b. Majlad y la introducción del estudio del *Ḥadīth* en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 1, 1981, pp. 165-208, and my study accompanying my edition and translation of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's *Kitāb al-bida'*, new ed., Madrid, 1988.

¹⁶ See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, sections 8.4. and 9.1.

¹⁷ See Fierro, "La polémique" and "Los mālikīes de al-Andalus".

¹⁸ See A. M. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāḡī sur les principes de la loi musulmane. Essai sur le littéralisme zahirite et la finalité malikite*, Algiers, 1973.

¹⁹ For a detailed study of the whole affair see Ibn 'Aqīl al-Zāhiri's study accompanying his edition of al-Bāḡī's *Tahqīq al-madḥhab* (Riyadh, 1403/1983), written by al-Bāḡī to defend his position and counter the refutations written against him.

²⁰ See the study accompanying my edition and translation of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's *Kitāb al-bida'*, especially pp. 92-117. See also M. I. Fierro, "Una refutación contra Ibn Masarra", *Al-Qanṭara*, 10, 1989, pp. 273-75.

²¹ See the study accompanying my edition and translation of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's *Kitāb al-bida'*, pp. 117-19.

²² See *ibid.*, pp. 92-97. See also M. K. Masud, *Islamic Legal Philosophy. A Study of Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī's Life and Thought*, Islamabad, 1977, on this late Andalusi author who also wrote a treatise against *bida'*.

²³ A section of the collection of *fatāwā* by al-Wansharīsī is devoted to the *bida'* and many Andalusi *fatāwā* are collected within it. It has been published as an independent work by H. Pérès under the title of *Al-Mustaḥsan min al-bida'* (Algiers, 1946). See also the collection of *fatāwā* given by Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī (ed. M. Abū 'l-Ajfan, Tunis, 1405/1984) and my review in *Sharq al-Andalus*, 4, 1987, pp. 351-54.

²⁴ See Ibn Sahl, *Tres documentos sobre procesos de herejes en la España musulmanal Thalāth waḥḍa'iq fi muḥārabat al-ahwā' wa 'l-bida' fi 'l-Andalus*, ed. 'A. W. Khallāf, Cairo, 1981, pp. 25-38.

²⁵ See M. I. Fierro, "Accusations of *zandaqa* in al-Andalus", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6, 1987-88, pp. 251-58, and *Heterodoxia*, pp. 179-86.

²⁶ See his *Al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, ed. 'Ammār Ṭalībī, in *Arā' Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabī al-kalāmīyya*, Argel, n. d., II, 493, and Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, p. 129. On Maslama b. Qāsim's doctrines see now M. I. Fierro, "The polemic about the *karāmāt al-awliyā'* and the development of Sufism in al-Andalus (4th/10th-5th/11th century)", forthcoming.

²⁷ See Fierro, "Accusations of *zandaqa*". There were two other Andalusis charged with *zandaqa*: the 'Āmirid 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchuelo, because of his attempt to be named heir to the caliphate, by the Umayyad Hishām II, and the Shu'ūbī Ibn García. On these see Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Mughrib fi ḥulā' l-Maghrib*, ed. S. Ḍayf, Cairo, 1964, I, 208, and J. T. Monroe, *The Shu'ūbiyya*

in *al-Andalus*, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 17, 93-94, 98, also pp. 59 and 69. In their case, however, the accusation of *zandaqa* is not recorded in the early sources and seems to be a later charge.

²⁸ The available sources give no information as to the identity of the person or persons who made the accusation against Ibn Masarra, or the date on which it was made. The evidence, in any case, shows that the accusation of *zandaqa* took place in Ibn Masarra's youth on the grounds of his Mu'tazilism, and before he developed his Sufi doctrine after his travel to the East. There is no hint that he suffered any persecution between his return to al-Andalus and his death in 319/931. See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, section 7.5.

²⁹ See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, section 8.4.

³⁰ See Marin, "Baḡī b. Majlad", and Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, section 6.2.

³¹ See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, section 10.2.

³² On these see Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, sections 7.2. and 9.1.

³³ On Ibn Ḥatīm see my forthcoming study in *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes*, "El proceso contra Ibn Ḥatīm al-Ṭulayṭulī (años 457/1064-464/1072)".

³⁴ On this attitude, see H. E. Kassis, "Muslim Revival in Spain in the Fifth/Eleventh Century. Causes and Ramifications", *Der Islam*, 67, 1990, pp. 78-110. For a parallel attitude in the trials for blasphemy that took place in al-Andalus when some Mozarabs were seeking martyrdom by insulting the Prophet, see M. I. Fierro, "Andalusī *fatāwā* on Blasphemy", *Annales Islamologiques*, forthcoming.

³⁵ See my study mentioned in the *Historia de España* (see note 4 above), section 2.3.1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, section 2.3.8.

³⁷ On "false prophecy", see Y. Friedmann, *Prophecy continuous. Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and its Medieval Background*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1989, pp. 65-68.

³⁸ See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, section 5.1.

³⁹ See *ibid.*, section 5.6.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, section 7.3.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, section 8.2.

⁴² See *ibid.*, section 10.3.

⁴³ See *ibid.*, section 1.2.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, section 2.2.

⁴⁵ *Al-'Awāṣim*, II, 490-91.

⁴⁶ M. Benaboud, "El papel político y social de los 'ulamā' en al-Andalus durante el periodo de los Taifas", *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 11, 1984, pp. 7-52, points in the same direction.

⁴⁷ *Kitāb al-madkhal li-ṣinā'at al-manṭiq*, ed. and trans. M. Asín Palacios, *Introducción al arte de la lógica por Abentomlūs de Alcira*, Madrid, 1916, pp. 8-9 and 8-10.

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ANDALUSĪ MYSTICISM AND THE RISE OF IBN 'ARABĪ

CLAUDE ADDAS

Disappointment, and even indignation, was the reaction of the famous Andalusī mystic Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. 'Arabī (Ibn 'Arabī) when, on his arrival in Egypt in 598/1200, he viewed the behaviour of Eastern Sufis. "The moment I arrived in this part of the world," he told his master and friend *Shaykh* 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mahdawī two years later, "I enquired after those men following the Ideal Way, in the hope of finding among them the breath of the Supreme Companion. I was taken to an assembled *khanqāh*, in a quite enormous building, where I noted that their greatest care and their chief preoccupation was cleaning their clothes and combing their beards ... In this country I met [Sufis] who, with no feelings of shame before the All Merciful, decked themselves out in the gowns worn by *fityāns*, while neglecting all question of obligatory and supererogatory acts. They would not be fit even to clean latrines."¹

There is something a little disconcerting about the scathing severity of Ibn 'Arabī's judgement on first sight of his Eastern colleagues. Are we to see, in this virulent outburst, no more than an exaggerated expression of Andalusī patriotism, or does his harshness rather reflect a genuine malaise in relations between the Western and Eastern Sufi communities?

It should be made clear, first of all, that Ibn 'Arabī was neither the first nor the last Andalusī to express disapproval of the sometimes rather ostentatious religious bearing of Easterners. We might, for instance, recall the biting irony with which his contemporary Ibn Jubayr, in his *riḥla*, denounces the Eastern '*ulamā*'s taste for solemn procedure, and the pretension displayed in their clothes and in the pompous appellations they assume.²

To be absolutely fair, Ibn 'Arabī's opinion of Eastern Sufism was a good deal less cut and dried than these two references, taken out of context, would suggest. He himself, in the same pages, owns that authentic gnostics are also encountered in the East, and he did not, finally, hesitate, once settled in the region, to adopt the practices appropriate to Eastern *taṣawwuf* whenever he judged this to be necessary or advisable. We are in fact dealing, at bottom, with a misunderstanding which was to evaporate as his acquaintance with Eastern Sufism deepened.

Initially, nevertheless, he very naturally judged the Cairo Sufis on the basis of Sufism as he himself had experienced it in the Muslim West; and while the two Sufi traditions might have aims and doctrinal bases in common, they exhibited wide differences with regard to form and methods.

In the Muslim West *ṣuḥba*, or spiritual companionship, was still an informal practice; it had not assumed the institutionalised and more or less regulated character that it was beginning to take on at the end of the 6th/12th century (and still more markedly in the 7th/13th century) in the East, with the establishment of the organised and therefore more rigid system subsequently understood by the term *ṭarīqa*.

There was in fact, at this period, an evident divergence between the two traditions, with Eastern Sufism, for various reasons, manifesting a progressive structuration—this being particularly reflected in the increasingly communal nature of spiritual life, evidenced by the widespread establishment of *khanqāhs*—while the search for God in Andalusī Sufism still remained a largely individual matter, free and flexible in its practice. Such differences of emphasis could lead to mutual incomprehension, and this was sometimes aggravated by a rather contemptuous attitude taken by Easterners towards Maghribis—an attitude experienced by Ibn ‘Arabī himself when, barely arrived in Cairo, he was told by a Sufi from Irbil that there were no true gnostics in the West.³ At this point incomprehension gave way to indignation, for this son of al-Andalus could not endure such scoffing at the expense of the shining companions and enlightened guides of his quest.

Initially, it must be said, Ibn ‘Arabī was to some extent an *Uwaysī*, one of those whose spiritual development occurs spontaneously, without the intervention of any living earthly guide. There was no master by his side when, at about 15 years old, he was suddenly and even brutally summoned by God: it was by searching into the depths of his own self, and into the *baraka* with which certain prophets—particularly Jesus—surrounded him, that Ibn ‘Arabī travelled down the dazzling and hazardous path of divine illumination. However, about five years after this spectacular conversion he discovered in al-Andalus, almost, so to speak, on his very doorstep, some *‘arīfūn bi Llāh*, men and women whose outstanding spiritual development often went unsuspected by their contemporaries.

Totally won over by the greatness of soul that lay hidden behind the commonplace appearance of these persons, Ibn ‘Arabī placed himself under their tutelage. This was the beginning, for him, of a long period of *ṣuḥba*, in the course of which he kept company with many Andalusī masters; it was in fact only ten years later, during his first visit to the Maghrib in 590/1194, that he became the companion of a certain number of Maghribi Sufis, most of them disciples of Abū Madyan, who was himself of Andalusī origin.

Some of these Maghribi masters—notably ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mahdawī, with whom Ibn ‘Arabī was to consort in Tunis—did indeed play a certain part in his spiritual development. Yet their moulding influence was, finally, a sporadic one, for when Ibn ‘Arabī first met them his training and personality were already fully complete, bearing the definitive imprint of the teaching of Andalusī Sufis and the spiritual models they embodied. Thus, if he had,

initially, been a "self-taught" saint, he was now heir to an Andalusī mystical tradition which profoundly influenced both his spiritual and his literary development.

We should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the profound originality characterising various aspects of the *Shaykh* al-Akbar's writings; this originality did, it is true, spring essentially from solitary meditation, yet his work was also steeped in the teachings of generations of earlier exemplars of Muslim spirituality, both from the East and from the West. Particularly instructive in this respect are the *Futūḥāt makkiyya*: the allusions to past masters with which the work is strewn are conclusive testimony, if any such be needed, that he did not disdain to listen to them, and they reveal, also, two basic features of his relation to those who had gone before him in the Way.

On the one hand we may see that he had—hardly surprisingly—been more marked by the teaching of Western, and especially Andalusī Sufis than by their Eastern brothers: there are, it is true, quite frequent references to writers like al-*Ghazālī*, al-Niffārī and Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, but they are far fewer in number than the countless passages on the experience of Andalusī masters which are scattered through the 560 subdivisions of the *Illuminations of Mecca*. On the other hand, a close reading of these latter passages reveals that he was fascinated less by the doctrinal ideas of his masters than by the spiritual virtues they embodied.

If one is to believe the view prevalent among specialists in the field, the local tradition with which the *Shaykh* al-Akbar thus became involved was a relatively recent one—Andalusī Sufism having, according to them, emerged only at the end of the 3rd century of the Hegira with Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) and his disciples. The sources presently at our disposal do not, it is quite true, indicate any kind of homogeneous mystical trend in al-Andalus before the appearance of the Masarrī movement. Yet let us, nevertheless, guard against hasty conclusions. The absence of surviving written evidence by no means implies that the land of Spain had produced no *awliyā'* up to this point. Would we after all, without Ibn 'Arabī's testimony, ever have heard of *Shams al-Fuqarā'*, or *Ṣāliḥ al-Barbarī*, or so many other admirable Andalusī saints of whom no chronicle or epitaph preserves the memory or the name?

It would, moreover, be extremely imprudent to conclude from its geographical position on the Western edge of the Muslim community that al-Andalus was a closed world. We know that the pilgrimage made each year to Mecca by Andalusis and Maghribis was an opportunity for these outlying Muslims to follow the teaching of Eastern '*ulamā'*' as they visited Mecca, Alexandria, Baghdad, Cairo, Basra—the whole classic itinerary of Western pilgrims in search of knowledge; and it is highly likely, in the circumstances, that a number of these pious emigrants (who generally spent several years in the East) would have met and consorted with mystics such as Sarī al-Saqaṭī

(d. 253/867), Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815), Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) and Junayd (d. 298/910), or with some of their disciples. This particular aspect of the history of Muslim Spain remains, it must be admitted, a very obscure one, so that we are, finally, reduced to conjecture. Curiously, this whole question of relations between East and West during the centuries immediately following the conquest, and, more especially, of the penetration of Eastern mystical teaching into al-Andalus by the medium of the *haji*, has never, to the best of my knowledge, been the subject of any really detailed study.

This is a serious handicap when it comes to research on the school of Ibn Masarra and its origins; nor is it by any means the only barrier to a proper study of this movement, whose major importance for the history of ideas in al-Andalus is universally recognised. This is made emphatically clear in a remarkable—and, unfortunately, unpublished—piece of work produced in 1973 by James W. Morris,⁴ who collated and analysed most of the Arab and orientalist sources concerning Ibn Masarra al-Jabalī and his disciples. The results of this inventory are somewhat surprising, showing that the picture painted of Ibn Masarra and his school by Asín Palacios and his predecessors is in fact considerably at variance with the information actually contained in the sources on which they basically relied. This discrepancy essentially springs, Morris believes, from the fact that orientalists have derived their initial viewpoint on Ibn Masarra from a passage of the *Ta'rikh al-hukamā'* of al-Qifī (d. 646/1248), who lived three centuries after the *Shaykh* al-Jabalī himself; in this account Ibn Masarra is linked with the *bāṭiniyya*, and with the neo-Platonic writings attributed by the Arabs to Empedocles and Pythagoras. On the basis of this observation—which is taken from a *single line* of Ṣā'id (d. 462/1070)—Dozy, in his history of Muslim Spain, manages to convince himself of Ibn Masarra's "Bāṭinism" and of the latter's role as "a secret emissary of Fāṭimid propaganda in Spain".⁵ Goldziher regards him as a "free thinker"—in other words a Mu'tazila—stating that "11th-century Spanish Islam was soon penetrated by a latent movement of free thought which came to be called Masariyya".⁶ Neither Dozy nor Goldziher, however, made the connection between the Masarrī school and later Andalusī Sufism.

It was Asín Palacios who attempted to establish this relationship, in a work which first appeared in Madrid in 1914 under the title "*Abenmasarra y su escuela*". It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of this work, which has exerted a decisive and lasting influence on the whole approach taken towards Andalusī Sufism by orientalists. Even today many works on medieval Sufism are based on the two main theses developed by Asín in this work, the first of which was that Ibn Masarra, "under the Muslim guise of Mu'tazilism and Bāṭinism, was the defender and propagator, within Islamic Spain, of the Plotinian system of pseudo-Empedocles and of the notion most associated with him, namely that of the hierarchy of the five substances, preceded by a spiritual *Materia Prima*".⁷ The second thesis was

that Andalusī Sufism subsequent to Ibn Masarra, from Ismā'īl al-Ru'aynī to Ibn 'Arabī by way of Ibn al-'Arīf and Ibn Qasī, sprang from the Masarri school and itself represented the continuation of this school.

The first of these two hypotheses has been severely questioned, notably by S. M. Stern,⁸ the arguments set out in "Abenmasarra y su escuela" being all the easier to refute in that they were, by the author's own admission, based on *mezquinas fuentes*.⁹ What do these poor sources tell us about Ibn Masarra? The main biographical points to emerge from the *Ta'riḫh* of Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012)¹⁰ and the *Muqtabas* of Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)¹¹ are as follows:

Ibn Masarra was born at Córdoba in 269/883, in the reign of the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahmān. His father, 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra was a learned man; he transmitted *ḥadīth*—four of his students are mentioned in a note in Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Ta'riḫh*¹²—and the same writer records that he enjoyed great fame at Mecca. 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra twice made extended visits to the East, notably to Basra, where he came into contact with Mu'tazila circles. His contemporaries clearly had little relish for the interest he took in studies then regarded as unorthodox. However, as Morris very correctly notes, "Mu'tazila" was at this time used as a convenient blanket term for a huge area of theological or philosophical ideas regarded as suspect because they failed to fit into the rigid framework of Mālikī orthodoxy, and the suspicion of Mu'tazilism attached to Ibn Masarra and those around him (beginning with his father) should not be taken literally.

At the time of 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra's death, which took place in 286/899, during his second visit to the holy places, his son, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Masarra was about fifteen years old, and had, Ibn al-Faraḍī tells us, studied under the direction of his father, of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ and of one "al-Khuṣṣḥānī". The first of the two last-named *fuqahā'* poses no problem of identification: Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287/900) was in fact one of the first and most illustrious representatives of Andalusī Mālikism and played a considerable part in developing the science of *ḥadīth* in al-Andalus. During his second visit to the East he received, according to Ibn al-Faraḍī, transmitted material from 175 masters in Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, etc.,¹³ and it was, so Ibn Farḥūn tells us, thanks to him and to Baqī b. Maḥlād¹⁴ that al-Andalus became the *dār al-ḥadīth*.¹⁵ Still more interestingly, he was also a great ascetic (*zāhid*), and Ibn al-Faraḍī stresses that his first visit to the East in 218/833 was not made in the traditional quest of *ḥadīth*, but rather of *zuhd*, and with the wish to meet 'ubbād, or devotees. As such it is possible, and even likely, that he would, in the course of his journeying, have met such Eastern Sufis as Dhū 'l-Nūn (d. 245/859), Sarī al-Saqāṭī and Bishr al-Ḥāfi (d. 227/841) or some of their disciples. It is clear, in any case, that his teaching was not limited to *ḥadīth*; he also, so the author of the *Dibāj* reports, liked to "relate the history of saints ... and the masters are unanimous in stating that it was he who brought knowledge and asceticism [al-

'ilm wa 'l-zuhd] to the Andalusis". This sheds new light on the possible influence exerted by Eastern mystics on Ibn Masarra—a more decisive influence, in my view, than any pseudo-Empedocles might have had—and on the precise channels through which this Eastern tradition was transmitted to al-Andalus. There is reason to suppose, indeed, that Ibn Waḍḍāḥ himself was one of these channels.

As for "al-Khushanī", this is probably Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Khushanī (d. 286/899), another major transmitter of *ḥadīth* and author of several commentaries on the subject.¹⁶ According to al-Nubāhī, who devotes a long passage to him in his *Kitāb al-marqaba 'l-ulyā*,¹⁷ he risked his life by his stubborn refusal to take on the post of *qāḍī* of Jaén which the Umayyad *amīr* attempted to impose on him. Possibly this refusal of a prestigious post coveted by so many bears the stamp of *zuhd*. We may note, in any case, that he too spent a long period in the East.

These two '*ulamā*', together with his father, instructed Ibn Masarra in the traditional religious sciences, and particularly in *ḥadīth*—it should be noted in this respect that Shams al-Dīn al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1173), in his famous *Tadhkīra*, cites a *Kitāb al-tabyīn* of Ibn Masarra which, he says, contains a *ḥadīth* on the Day of Judgement that Ibn Masarra himself derives from his father and Ibn Waḍḍāḥ¹⁸ (this detail is all the more interesting in that the work in question is not, to the best of my knowledge, mentioned elsewhere). However, his father—who, as noted above, was suspected of Mu'tazila opinions—certainly also introduced him to less orthodox fields of investigation. Did the library he bequeathed his son contain "suspect" works? Ibn al-Faraḍī's reference to this library does at least suggest that it was noteworthy either for the nature of the works involved or by reason of their number.¹⁹

It is also probable that—through Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ and perhaps also through al-Khushanī, who spent no fewer than 25 years in the East—Ibn Masarra learned something of the ascetic, and even specifically mystical tradition of the East. This is clearly a matter of importance, given the place assumed by *zuhd* in his teaching and in the way of life embraced by himself and the first generation of his disciples. Moreover, Ibn Ḥayyān states—though on what basis is very far from clear—that Ibn Masarra had knowledge of medicine, philosophy, astrology, and so on.

All the principal persons among whom Ibn Masarra grew up had, then, visited the East and studied there, thereby coming into contact, directly or indirectly, with the various mystical, theological and philosophical doctrines circulating in that part of the Muslim world, and likely to appear suspicious in the eyes of the Andalusī *fuqahā*. There is no reason, nevertheless, to suppose (as Ibn al-Faraḍī's informant does) that Ibn Masarra was actually accused of *zandaqa*, or heresy, in his own lifetime, and forced to "flee" al-Andalus²⁰—though he did indeed follow his elders' example by himself visiting the East, and so had ample opportunity to consort with Sufis and gain a wider

knowledge of their doctrine. Did he perhaps come into contact with disciples of Sahl al-Tustarī? A close study of his *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* reveals, as we shall see, numerous borrowings from al-Tustarī's treatise on the science of the letters.

Ibn al-Faraḍī and Ibn Ḥayyān insist that Ibn Masarra maintained relations with theologians and Mu'tazila in the East, and say that, on his return to al-Andalus, he passed himself off as a pious and devout man, so that his bearing deceived those who began to consort with him and listen to him. Nevertheless, they continue, when Ibn Masarra revealed his hateful doctrine and made open profession of his ideas, all men of intelligence and learning drew away from him, leaving him only with those too ignorant to know better.

Eleven of these companions who continued to follow the teaching of the *Shaykh* al-Jabalī are mentioned in a note in the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 638/1260),²¹ which was, it is true, written three centuries afterwards, but whose information is based on a work entitled *Kitāb akhbār Ibn Masarra wa aṣḥābihi*,²² which, to the best of my knowledge, is mentioned by no other source.

A study of the relevant biographical details reveals that, while a number of these disciples were, unsurprisingly, from Córdoba, four of them in fact came from Toledo. Four of the disciples, moreover, accompanied Ibn Masarra on pilgrimage, and one of these relates how Ibn Masarra, when in Medina, made his way to the house of Māriya, the Prophet's Coptic concubine, and took scrupulous note of the dimensions and configuration of one of the two upper rooms,²³ then, on his return to al-Andalus, built an exact replica in the mountain retreat where he had his hermitage.²⁴ There is no indication in the sources why the house of Māriya should have held such a particular attraction for Ibn Masarra, as against any other place frequented by the Prophet, but M. I. Fierro pertinently notes that authors link this rather disconcerting action with the practice of *ittibā' āthār al-nabī*, of which his master Ibn Waḍḍāḥ disapproved.²⁵ Finally, most of Ibn Masarra's disciples are portrayed by Ibn al-Abbār as ascetics, being constantly referred to by such terms as *nāsik*, *wari'* and *zāhid*—which is particularly interesting when we consider the absence of this connotation in the biographical notes concerning the second generation of disciples in Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Ta'riḫ*.²⁶

What exactly was the "odious doctrine" that sent such shudders through Ibn al-Faraḍī's interlocutor? One point is quite clear from the outset, namely that the accounts of it put forward by Arab authors are widely different, if not contradictory. Ṣā'id,²⁷ followed by al-Qifī²⁸ and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270),²⁹ portrays Ibn Masarra as a "Bāṭinī philosopher" seized by the philosophy of pseudo-Empedocles, while al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095) attributes to him *ishārāt ṣūfiyya*.³⁰ Ibn al-Faraḍī and (still more) Ibn Ḥayyān stress his Mu'tazilī views; they claim that he favoured notions of free will, believing in the actual carrying out of punishment and reward and denying intercession.³¹ This was also the view of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who claimed that Ibn

Masarra shared Mu'tazili viewpoints on *qadar* and that he subscribed to the notion of divine knowledge as something adventitious and created.³² The author of the *Fiṣal* also provides precious details on the *Masarriyya* [*sic*] of his time and on the dissension excited within their group by the theses of Ismā'il al-Ru'aynī, who regarded himself as the *Shaykh* al-Jabali's successor (he is said to have taken the title of *imām* and to have demanded that his adepts pay the *zakāt*) and the authorised interpreter of his works. He stated, in particular, that it was the Throne which ruled the world, God being too sublime to perform actions; "he ascribed this theory to Ibn Masarra on the basis of certain passages in his works", and retorted to anyone who contested this interpretation: "you have not understood the *shaykh*'s meaning".³³ Al-Ru'aynī further admitted the possibility of *iktisāb al-nubuwwa*, the acquisition of prophecy, basing himself on propositions which, according to Ibn Ḥazm, are indeed to be found in Ibn Masarra's writings.³⁴

These works of Ibn Masarra would appear to be four in number: the *Kitāb al-tabyīn* noted above, the *Kitāb al-tabṣira* mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār, the *Kitāb al-hurūf*, which is several times referred to by Ibn 'Arabī, and the *Kitāb tawhīd al-mūqinīn* cited by Ibn al-Mar'a,³⁵ an Andalusī Sufi contemporary with Ibn 'Arabī. The two first were identified by Dr. Kamāl Ibrāhīm Ja'far, who published an edition of them in 1978, thereby resolving many puzzles and putting an end to numerous controversies.³⁶

The first thing to be revealed is that the true title of the *Kitāb al-tabṣira* is in fact the *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, *i'tibār* being the word used by, among others, al-Fārābī, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and Ibn Sīnā to denote the inductive method. In the treatise bearing this name, Ibn Masarra undertakes to demonstrate that *i'tibār* and *waḥy* (revelation through the prophets) lead, by different paths, to the same certain truths. *I'tibār*, for Ibn Masarra, consists of using 'aql, the intellect, to consider the Signs of God and so rise step by step to the knowledge of *tawhīd*: "The world, its creatures and its signs constitute a ladder climbed by those who apply themselves to *i'tibār* in order to attain the top-most heights of the great signs of God."³⁷ The choice of the term *i'tibār* in the title and text can, it seems to me, be very simply explained by its appearance in several divine injunctions laid on man in the Quran (3:13; 12:111; 16:66; 23:21, etc.); Ibn Masarra is quite clearly setting out to clarify a divine command. The Quran, he emphasises, expressly and repeatedly invites us to use this faculty and reflect on the Signs of His creation, especially when "God said *with reference to his awliyā'*: 'and they meditate on the creation of the heavens and the earth [and declare] 'Lord, You did not create all this in vain!'" (Quran 2/191)".³⁸ The specific reference to the *awliyā'*, i.e., the saints, excludes all possibility of ambiguity: the kind of intellectual activity set forth by Ibn Masarra is of a different order from the speculation of the *falāsifa*. It is a kind of meditation which leads, he says, to *baṣīra*—another Quranic term (12: 108) widely employed in the Sufi vocabulary—that is, to

enlightenment (*laqad aṭla'at-hum al-fikra 'alā 'l-baṣīra*),³⁹ and, from there, to apprehension of the One God: "Through reflection they attain enlightenment, and, when they have become enlightened, they gain awareness of the Divine Oneness of which the prophets have told."⁴⁰ In this way *i'tibār* allows us to decipher the universe, which is "in its entirety a book whose letters are His word",⁴¹ and it confirms what the prophets tell us; so that, while *i'tibār* proceeds from the manifest world to arrive at a higher world, and prophecy, by an exactly reverse process, moves from the higher to the lower, the two are in fact identical in their ultimate validity.⁴²

Given the climate of the time, such statements might well seem inadmissible to the *fuqahā'*. Ibn Masarra does, however, firmly dissociate himself from the *falāsifa*, whose *i'tibār* does not spring from an honest intention: "they have deceived themselves and become lost in mazes without light."⁴³ For all that, however, he does maintain in the *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* that the philosophers and the Ancients of the misguided nations had attained knowledge of *tawḥīd* without the mediation of prophecy.⁴⁴ Ibn Masarra is apparently making a distinction between the purely speculative reflection of the *falāsifa*, which leads to perdition, and the *i'tibār* of the *ḥukamā'*, or sages, such as Plato, which may lead to a knowledge of the divine—a position, it should be said, held by many Sufis, notably by Ibn 'Arabī.⁴⁵ We may note, nevertheless, that this insistence on *i'tibār* already prefigures one of the most singular manifestations in Islam of what might be called "a mystic way of wisdom", which Ibn Ṭufayl was to develop in his *Ḥayy b. Yaḡẓān*. Ibn 'Arabī (though he never, as far as I know, mentioned Ibn Ṭufayl either favourably or unfavourably) recognised the legitimacy of this way of the *ḥukamā'*, a way involving rigorous initial asceticism with a view to drawing aside the "veils" inherent in human nature, but deemed it imperfect because it had not been made complete by faith and revelation.⁴⁶

The second treatise of Ibn Masarra has the very precise title *Risālat khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf wa ḥaqā'iqihā wa uṣūluhā* and is concerned with the meaning and interpretation of the *nūrāniyyāt*, the fourteen separate letters which introduce certain Suras of the Quran. As such it is a basically esoteric work in the purest tradition of Islamic gnosis. In Islam *'ilm al-ḥurūf*, the science of the letters,⁴⁷ which represents the quintessence of those spiritual sciences accessible solely to the élite of the *awliyā'*, inspired two major hermeneutic trends: one, of Hellenistic origin, whose most celebrated representative was undoubtedly Jābir b. Ḥayyān,⁴⁸ tended to search out knowledge of a cosmological, alchemical and even divinatory kind; the other, which had its basis in *taṣawwuf*, viewed *'ilm al-ḥurūf* as the royal path to attaining a knowledge of metaphysical truths. Ibn Masarra's interpretation, which takes its inspiration on a number of points from Sahl al-Tustarī's treatise on the letters⁴⁹ (referred to by him on a number of occasions),⁵⁰ follows the second of these lines.

This text not only demonstrates Ibn Masarra's attachment to the tradition of *taṣawwuf* (so that it is within this framework that his doctrine and movement should be viewed), but also the fact that he was one of the major figures within this tradition and the precursor of an Andalusī mysticism which was to reach its high point with Ibn 'Arabī two-and-a-half centuries later. The influence of pseudo-Empedocles (and that of the neo-Platonists generally), is, to say the least, not obvious in these two texts, while that of Sahl al-Tustarī is, by contrast, clearly present.

How, in these circumstances, are we to explain the divergent opinions expressed on the *Shaykh* al-Jabalī, and judge the doctrine which some regard as belonging to philosophy and others as belonging to mysticism?⁵¹ The varying interpretations no doubt spring from the difference of emphasis reflected in the two treatises in question. A superficial reading of the *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, where ideas specifically concerning *taṣawwuf* are only lightly sketched in, might give the impression that the author is a philosopher rather than a mystic, while the treatise on the secrets of the separate letters reveals a master of *taṣawwuf* and a subtle interpreter. Certain remarks of Ibn Ḥazm, moreover, give the impression that Ibn Masarra had been studied in different intellectual circles, with the particular focus of interest changing over the centuries.

One thing at least is certain: for all the various efforts made by the *fuqahā'* to halt the impetus of Masarrī thought (such as the auto-da-fé of his works in 350/961, and the forced recantation of some of his disciples),⁵² Ibn Masarra's writings continued to circulate and be studied—openly by some, discreetly by others—in the centuries following his death. This is clear from the notes Ibn al-Farāḍī devotes to his second generation disciples,⁵³ and from the reference of Ibn Ḥazm to the "*Masarrīyya*" of his time, i.e. roughly around the beginning of the 5th century of the Hegira. How exactly this Masarrī tradition was handed down after the time of Ismā'īl al-Ru'aynī we do not know, but its visible presence in the 6th/12th century, in the context of the two Sufi authors Ibn al-Mar'a and, especially, Ibn 'Arabī, shows that it had not been extinguished. Ibn 'Arabī mentions Ibn Masarra, with evident admiration, on at least four occasions in his writings. In section 13 of the *Futūḥāt*, writing on the "Bearers of the Throne", he states: "I am told that Ibn Masarra al-Jabalī, who was among the truly great men of the Way in knowledge, state and revelation, once said ...".⁵⁴ In this passage Ibn 'Arabī is basing himself on oral tradition, but elsewhere he makes explicit reference to the *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, notably in his *Kitāb al-mīm wa 'l-nūn*, when he informs the reader of his intention to treat the science of letters without exploring the operative aspect of their properties, "in the manner of Ibn Masarra in his *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*".⁵⁵ These passages, together with the two others mentioning Ibn Masarra in section 272 of the *Futūḥāt*⁵⁶ and in the *Fuṣūṣ*,⁵⁷ shows that Ibn 'Arabī was familiar with at least some aspects of Ibn

Masarra's doctrine and had very probably read his *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*. How far in fact had he been influenced by his ideas?

Referring to certain passages in the *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, we cannot fail to be struck by the similarities. When, for instance, Ibn Masarra brings up the notion of *kawn*, the existential *fiat*, or *habāb*, the primordial dust which he and others regard as constituting the *materia prima*, or the connection between the manifestation of creatures arising out of this *materia prima* and the setting out of the letters, or when he underlines the connection between the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet and the lunar cycles, every reader familiar with the *Shaykh* al-Akbar's works will recognise subjects running through his writings.

It should, however, once more be stressed that these ideas were not exclusive to Ibn Masarra: they were already present in Sahl al-Tustarī's treatise on the science of the letters, which served as an inspiration both to Ibn Masarra and to Ibn 'Arabī, and, in some cases, in the *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. For this reason, and for others to be considered shortly, it would be wise not to exaggerate (but also not to minimise) the influence of Ibn Masarra on the thought of Ibn 'Arabī.

In the light of the relevant texts, then, Asín's thesis concerning Ibn Masarra and his doctrine is seen to be without foundation. But what of this Spanish orientalist's work on the Almería School (where he has, once more, undertaken pioneer work,⁵⁸ and as such merits our profound respect)? Here, too, it has to be said that his investigative methods appear highly debatable and his conclusions often incautious.

For Asín the Almería School basically represents a resurgence of the Masarrī movement, and, while admitting that there is no available documentation to support such a thesis,⁵⁹ he nonetheless undertakes his study from this viewpoint. It is, of course, true that Ibn Masarra, by virtue of works and teaching which had continued to circulate for centuries in Sufi circles in particular, was the source of a specifically Andalusī *taṣawwuf*. Nevertheless, it would seriously undervalue the inestimable wealth of post-Masarrī Sufism to consider it as a mere prolongation of the Masarrī school; if Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn al-'Arif, Ibn Barraġān, and many other Andalusī spiritual figures not mentioned in this study, were in varying degrees influenced by Ibn Masarra, this does not alter the fact that they also derived their inspiration from other sources, notably from Eastern writers and, still more, from their own spiritual experience.

Another of Asín's preconceptions, which was long to dog the approach of orientalist to this movement, was his belief that, of the school's three principal representatives, Abū 'l-'Abbās b. al-'Arif (d. 536/1141), Abū 'l-Ḥakam b. Barraġān (d. 536/1141) and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqi (d. 537/1142), it was the first who was the leader of the group. Initially, indeed, he thought, and

wrote, that the other two were Ibn al-ʿArif's disciples;⁶⁰ and if he became a little less categorical on the point subsequently, he still persisted in regarding Ibn al-ʿArif as the central figure. He also took it for granted that the revolt of the *murīdūn* under the leadership of Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151) (again assumed to be a disciple of Ibn al-ʿArif) represented the political outcome of the doctrine preached first by Ibn Masarra, then by Ibn al-ʿArif.

How far does this viewpoint, which is still shared by a number of scholars today, correspond to what the texts have to tell us about the principal characters involved? It should be noted at the outset that the very expression "Almería School", convenient though it is, is a mere extrapolation. Some writers do indeed bring up the incident in Almería at the beginning of the century, when the Almoravid sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn ordered an auto-da-fé of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyāʾ*. This decision—which, according to the *Hulal*,⁶¹ was taken on the insistence of certain *fuqahāʾ*, particularly the *qāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn, who even pronounced an anathema against anyone reading the work—was certainly not approved of by all the *ʿulamāʾ*. One of them, ʿAlī al-Barjī, reciter of the Quran in Almería, was courageous enough to express open written disagreement in the form of a *fatwā*, and according to Ibn al-Abbār several of his colleagues added their signature to his.⁶² Such a joint condemnation was undeniably noteworthy and significant, but does it really justify notions of a "centre of Sufi resistance" to the Almoravid ruling power? It should be pointed out that the author of the *Muʿjam* refers to the protesters as *fuqahāʾ*: they were, in other words, Mālikī *fuqahāʾ* opposing other *fuqahāʾ*. Protests were in fact also raised in various Sufi circles in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, though these were, as Asín quite rightly notes, on an individual level and more discreetly expressed—which is not to say they were necessarily less effective.⁶³ In any case, the name of Ibn al-ʿArif, who was at least 22 years old at the time,⁶⁴ is never associated with this particular event, and nor are those of Ibn Barrajān and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqi.

What above all led Asín to suppose the existence of a core of Sufi rebels gathered around Ibn al-ʿArif in Almería was the fact that the three were summoned to Marrakesh by the Almoravid sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn—an event, which, it must be admitted, remains a puzzle for scholars.

Let it be stressed, first of all, that nothing we know of the antecedents of these three Sufis from their biographers would lead us to expect so dramatic a turn of events.

All the biographers of Ibn al-ʿArif stress his competence in the *traditional* religious disciplines.⁶⁵ He was the son of a poor weaver, and had, so we are told, to defy the authority of his father in order to pursue his Quranic studies. Quickly excelling in the latter, he taught *qirāʾa* at Saragossa and Almería, and Ibn al-Abbār notes that he also practised *ḥisba* in Valencia.

Al-Mayūrqi is portrayed as a *Zāhiri faqīh*, expert in genealogy and *ḥadīth*.⁶⁶ He travelled to the East, where he met, in particular, Abū Bakr al-

Ṭurṭuṣhī, an Andalusī who apparently played an important and still relatively little-known role as a link between Eastern Sufism and that of the Muslim West.⁶⁷

Ibn Barrajan, according to the *Takmila*, was not only skilled in Quranic studies and *ḥadīth*, but had knowledge of *taṣawwuf* and *kalām*, and Ibn al-Abbār also notes his two works, a commentary on the Quran and a commentary on the divine names.⁶⁸

Just why, then, were these three '*ulamā*' so brusquely summoned before the authorities? All three, it is true, were notorious ascetics, but that was nothing so very extraordinary in al-Andalus at this time. The relevant authors are somewhat imprecise as to the reasons.

Ibn Bashkuwāl, who had corresponded with Ibn al-'Arīf, merely says of the latter's arrest that "he was denigrated to the Sultan, who accordingly ordered him to appear in Marrakesh".⁶⁹ Ibn al-Abbār, in his *Mu'jam*, initially connects Ibn al-'Arīf's summons to Marrakesh with the fact that he was so popular and had gathered so many disciples round him: "those loyal to him in his Sufi path had become so numerous that the matter was reported to the Sultan." Yet immediately afterwards he introduces an "it is said" (*yuqāl*) to the effect that "the Almería *fuqahā*' unanimously condemned his doctrines and denounced him to the Sultan, warning the latter against him. The Sultan then ordered that he should be brought from Almería, together with Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqī of Granada and Abū 'l-Ḥakam b. Barrajan of Seville, who professed the same ideas". He then adds an interesting remark: "Abū 'l-Ḥakam was the major figure of the three, and had in fact been called '*the Ghazālī of al-Andalus*'".⁷⁰ In 1956 Nwyia published three letters from Ibn al-'Arīf to Ibn Barrajan⁷¹ which leave one in no doubt whatsoever as to the relationship between the two Sufis, Ibn al-'Arīf presenting himself as the humble disciple of his master Ibn Barrajan.

The latter, according to al-Sha'rānī, had himself recognised as *imām* in 130 villages.⁷² Al-Sha'rānī is indeed a late source, but a similar reference has been located by D. Gril in the *Wahīd* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Qūsī, a 7th/13th century Egyptian Sufi.⁷³ The impression given is that the Almoravid powers had become anxious about his success and feared a coalition with Ibn al-'Arīf, who also enjoyed great popularity. Why, though, should al-Mayūrqī too have been considered dangerous? The only indication we have on the subject is Ibn al-Abbār's statement that he shared the others' ideas.

Whatever the reasons, the three Sufis were brought to Marrakesh, where they did not, however, receive the same treatment. Al-Mayūrqī, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (d. 703/1303),⁷⁴ was arrested, whipped and then released; after which misadventure he spent some time in the *Mashriq*, then returned to the Maghrib, teaching *ḥadīth* at Bougie.

As for Ibn Barrajan, the *Takmila* merely notes that he met his death in Marrakesh,⁷⁵ without giving precise details as to his fate. However, al-Tādilī

(d. 624/1230) provides the following account in the *Tashawwuf*: "When Abū 'l-Ḥakam b. Barrajan was brought from Córdoba to Marrakesh, he was questioned as to certain matters of which he had been accused, and he defended himself against them in accordance with *ta'wīl*. He dissociated himself from the one who had stirred up criticism, declaring: 'I shall not live [long], but the one who caused me to come will not live on after my death.' He died, and the Sultan commanded that his body be thrown on the city's refuse dump." However, al-Tādili continues, Ibn Ḥirzihim, who was one of the masters of *Shaykh* Abū Madyan, being informed of the Sultan's decision, called out the population of Marrakesh to attend Ibn Barrajan's funeral.⁷⁶

Ibn Bashkuwāl is extremely evasive on the causes of Ibn al-'Arif's death, but very precise as to the date of the event: "He died on the night of the Friday, and was buried during the day on Friday the 23rd in the month of *Ṣafar* in the year 536."⁷⁷

Ibn al-Abbār gives two versions of the facts. According to the first, the Sultan, convinced of Ibn al-'Arif's excellence and piety, ordered him to be released and conveyed to Ceuta, where he died as the result of illness. The second version, to which the author attaches little credit, has Ibn al-'Arif poisoned on his return, during the sea crossing.⁷⁸

The first version derives from Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazāl, who is identified by Ibn al-Abbār as a close disciple of the *Shaykh* of Almería.⁷⁹ However, al-Ghazāl is also the source cited by al-Tādili for the second version of the facts in the *Tashawwuf*, where it is stated that Ibn al-Aswad, the *qāḍī* of Almería, had Ibn al-'Arif poisoned.⁸⁰ However, hagiographers, among whom al-Tādili is to be numbered, do have a tiresome tendency to portray the most famous Sufis as the victims of sovereigns and of the latter's precious allies, the doctors of the Law.

A third event—supplementing the condemnation of the auto-da-fé of the *Ihyā'* carried out by the Almerian *fuqahā'* and the summoning of three famous Sufis to Marrakesh—has been used to reinforce the thesis of dissidence on the part of a group of Andalusī Sufis, namely the revolt of the *murīdūn* unleashed a year after Ibn al-'Arif's death by his "disciple" Ibn Qasī.⁸¹

The conclusion to Nwyia's 1956 article on the three letters from Ibn al-'Arif to Ibn Barrajan very much reflects the general interpretation of this event on the part of orientalists: "The prevailing spirit in the Sufi School of Almería", he writes, "and the feelings of its members towards the Almoravids become very clear when we consider the behaviour of one of the most illustrious disciples of Ibn al-'Arif, the celebrated Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn Qasī. The latter, we may well believe, was doing no more than put the ideas of his master into practice ..."⁸²

In 1978, however, Nwyia discovered and published other letters of Ibn al-'Arif which led him to revise his judgement.⁸³ This correspondence, extracted from the *Kitāb miṭṭāḥ al-sa'āda*,⁸⁴ notably includes two letters addressed to

Ibn Qasī. The first, dated by Nwyia between 525 and 529 A. H. (ca. 1131-34 A. D.), represents the first contact between the two Sufis, and Ibn al-'Arif expresses his surprise at learning, through a third party, that his name is familiar to Ibn Qasī. The latter clearly already enjoys a degree of fame and several disciples have gathered round him, including Abū 'l-Walid b. Mundhir, later to be one of his principal lieutenants during the rebellion.

In the second letter Ibn al-'Arif expresses the pleasure with which he has read certain passages from the writings of Ibn Qasī, praising his intelligence, erudition and mastery of the spiritual sciences.⁸⁵ As Nwyia very justly remarks, the language used bears not the slightest resemblance to that of a *shaykh* towards his *murīd*.⁸⁶ These letters further show that, at the time they came to know one another, Ibn Qasī was an accomplished master whose spiritual and intellectual authority was already recognised by a certain number of disciples. It seems difficult, in view of all this, to ascribe to Ibn al-'Arif a decisive influence on Ibn Qasī's doctrinal training or mystical thought.

These two letters do not invalidate Ibn al-Abbār's claim that Ibn Qasī visited Ibn al-'Arif in Almería before his departure for Marrakesh.⁸⁷ But nor does the fact of this meeting, which probably did take place, by any means allow us to presume that Ibn al-'Arif was in some way implicated in the revolt of the *murīdūn*.

In fact another letter, addressed this time to Ibn Mundhir, actually precludes any such hypothesis.⁸⁸ In this text—in my view the most important and the most noteworthy among the correspondence in question—Ibn al-'Arif expresses his views on the question of submission to power legitimately held by an unjust sovereign, and he certainly does not mince his words on the subject: "No judicious man," he begins, "and no Muslim who is not weak [minded] is in favour of striking at the government and waiting for a *mahdī* to come and reform it." He continues by saying, in substance, that Muslims have in all periods denigrated their rulers. During the reign of the Umayyads people complained and wished for the advent of a *mahdī*—and when this happened, in the form of the Abbasid dynasty, Muslims looked longingly back to the Umayyads, and "realised that the flow of blood and the violation had had the opposite result to the one they anticipated". The same state of affairs, he remarks, came about in Ifriqiya, where the longed-for *mahdī* was "a Rāfiḍī Shi'ite, a *kāfir*"—an allusion, of course, to the reign of the Fāṭimids. In the light of this text, it is impossible to suppose that Ibn al-'Arif would ever—even verbally or from a distance—have encouraged the political ambitions of Ibn Qasī and the *murīdūn* rebellion. His remarks constitute an unqualified condemnation of any millenarian attempt to unseat any sovereign, however unjust; such a position being, in fact, characteristic of the line taken by all Sunni Sufis on this question.

Let us, then, sum up the conclusions emerging from all this. First of all, there is a vast discrepancy between the state of affairs reconstructed by Asín

and that actually authorised by the relevant texts. Ibn Barraġān was the master of Ibn al-ʿArif, not the reverse; and if it really is necessary to specify a leader of the group, then it was he, and not his disciple, who played this role. Moreover, Ibn Qasī, contrary to the currently accepted viewpoint, was not the disciple of the *Shaykh* of Almería, who only in fact came to know Ibn Qasī at a late date, when the latter had already established the *murīdūn* group; and, what is more, the *rasāʾils* in the *Kitāb miftāḥ al-saʿāda* clearly indicate that Ibn al-ʿArif was in no way implicated in the insurrection which broke out shortly after his death.

Having said that, it is of course obvious that the emergence of the *murīdūn* and their participation in the armed struggle against the Almoravid ruling power was in some way connected with immediately prior events. The opposition, whether discreet or openly proclaimed, to the auto-da-fé of the *Ihyāʾ*, the success gained by Ibn Barraġān and ʿAlī b. Tāshfin's decision to summon him to Marrakesh along with Ibn al-ʿArif and al-Mayūrqi, are so many signs of the climate of tension prevailing in al-Andalus when Ibn Qasī's revolt broke out.

Finally, it seems to me that the whole notion of an "Almerian School" is in need of reconsideration. While the 5th century of the Hegira did, indisputably, witness a recrudescence of Andalusī Sufism, with Almería as one of its principal centres, nothing indicates that the city played a clearly pivotal role.

It is perfectly probable that some elements among the Sufis disapproved of certain decisions taken by the Almoravid ruling power, and criticised them either privately or publicly; it is also, frankly, something quite commonplace. Sunni Sufis adopted, according to circumstances and personal temperament, three types of attitude towards those holding the temporal power. Some turned entirely to the Divine Wisdom, avoiding any participation in the affairs of the State and any contact with its auxiliaries. Others, calculating that their participation would be beneficial, chose to cultivate relations with the agents of the ruling power in order better to control and guide them—this, for instance, was clearly the case with Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Qanjāʾirī al-Marī, an Andalusī Sufi contemporary with Ibn ʿArabī, whose influence over the Almohad sovereigns, and intimate relations with them, are stressed by all the biographers.⁸⁹

The majority, however, maintained strict observance of the divine command: "Religion is the proper counsel in the service of God, of His Messenger, of the leaders of the Muslims and of the community in general."⁹⁰ They acted as the censors of princes, exhorting them to good and not hesitating to reprimand them, publicly if necessary, when they strayed from the right path and contravened the Law. Chronicles and works of hagiography teem with delightful portrayals of a ragged mystic insolently denouncing the exactions of some prince, or even, sometimes, of the Caliph in person.⁹¹

We must, at any rate, admit that the information presently available to us does not conclusively indicate the existence of a "school" in Almería. In the case of Ibn Masarra several documents attest to the existence of a homogeneous group associated with his name and doctrine, both during his life and after his death; nothing of the kind, however, exists for any "Almerian School". Finally, our only indication in this connection is the text in which Ibn al-Abbār states that Ibn al-'Arīf, Ibn Barraġān and al-Mayūrqī professed the same doctrine; and this, it seems to me, is insufficient evidence.

We may note in any case that Arab writers do not treat Ibn al-'Arīf, Ibn Barraġān and Ibn Qasī in any kind of uniform way. There is openly expressed sympathy for the *Shaykh* of Almería, who is portrayed as an authentic Sufi and ascetic; there is only slightly tempered esteem for Ibn Barraġān; but there is frank aversion to Ibn Qasī, who is seen by one and all as a charlatan and a cunning, ambitious opportunist.⁹² These differences of attitude are also to be found in Ibn 'Arabī's judgement on the three Andalusī Sufis, made on the basis of their writings.

It is difficult, given the present state of our materials, to determine just how many works Ibn Barraġān actually produced. We know for certain that he wrote at least two books: a commentary on the Divine Names and a commentary on the Quran, specifically mentioned in the *Takmila*. However the title of these works varies from manuscript to manuscript, and we cannot be sure that all the titles in question refer to them. The commentary on the Divine Names appears in Brockelmann under the title *Sharḥ ma'ānī asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*,⁹³ while Gril refers to a manuscript entitled *Tarjumān lisān al-ḥaqq al-mabthūth fī 'l-amr wa 'l-khalq*.⁹⁴ As for the *tafsīr*, it seems to have circulated under various titles. Brockelmann cites a manuscript entitled *Kitāb tanbīh al-afḥām ilā tadabbur al-kitāb*,⁹⁵ while Gril notes the existence of various manuscripts of this *tafsīr* in Istanbul which may refer to two different works, and mentions, too, a *Kitāb al-irshād*, also classed with the *tafsīr*.⁹⁶ Finally, Ibn 'Arabī twice refers to a work by Ibn Barraġān entitled *Kitāb idāḥ al-ḥikma*, which he studied in Tunis in 590/1194 under the direction of 'Abd al-Azīz al-Mahdawī—and this too seems to denote his commentary on the Quran.⁹⁷ It is in this book, he notes in his *mawāqī'* that there occurs the celebrated foretelling of the reconquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187⁹⁸—a prediction which struck people very forcibly, as the following eye-witness account by Ibn Kḥallikān testifies: in 579/1183 A. H. the *qāḍī* of Damascus, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. Zakī addressed to Saladin (who had just taken Aleppo) a poem foretelling the latter's coming victory in Jerusalem, explaining, subsequently, that he was following the interpretation of the first four verses of the *Sūrat al-Rūm* given by Ibn Barraġān in his *tafsīr*.⁹⁹

In the *Futūḥāt* Ibn 'Arabī stresses that knowledge of this event could be obtained through recourse to the science of the letters, and notes that Ibn

Barraġān, by not basing himself on this science, committed an error (*ghalat*) which escaped his readers.¹⁰⁰

For all that, the *Shaykh* al-Akbar always mentions Ibn Barraġān with respect and esteem, classing him among the "men of God".¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the tone is less warm than that which he employs when speaking of Ibn al-'Arīf, whom he places in the ranks of "men of spiritual fulfilment" (*muḥaqqiqūn*), and so venerates as to regard him as one of his masters.¹⁰² I wonder, incidentally, how far this preference on the part of the author of the *Futūḥāt* for the *Shaykh* of Almería helped persuade Asín of the latter's central role.

Apart from a certain number of letters appearing in the *Kitāb miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, the only work of Ibn al-'Arīf known today is the *Maḥāsin al-majālis*, a quite short treatise in which he enumerates and analyses the principal "dwellings" the traveller encounters along the way. His objective, however, is not a humdrum listing of the stages of the Way, of the kind many others had undertaken before him; it is rather designed for the spiritual élite, and its primary purpose is to demonstrate how—with the exception of the dwelling of knowledge and, up to a certain point, that of love—all the dwellings represent veils interposed between the traveller and God, in that they proceed from illusion. Patience, resolution, sobriety, etc. are indeed praiseworthy virtues in themselves, but finally they reflect a persistent illusion in the individual, inducing him to recognise a reality in *mā siwā Llāh*, in that which is "other than God". Interesting though this vision of spiritual journey is, it is in fact less original than might at first be thought: B. Halff, indeed, has shown that, with the sole exception of the passage on knowledge, the whole work is inspired by two treatises of *Shaykh* 'Abd Allāh al-Harawī 'l-Anṣārī, namely the *Manāzil* and, especially, the *Ilal*, which he often reproduces almost word for word and whose content is closely copied even in the final sentence: "Until that which has never been is annihilated and that which has never ceased to be subsists."¹⁰³ However the question of the *Maḥāsin*'s originality is less important, finally, than the lively interest aroused by the work in Sufi circles; the quite numerous references to the *Maḥāsin* in Ibn 'Arabī's *Futūḥāt*,¹⁰⁴ the commentary written on it by another great Andalusī Sufi, Ibn al-Mar'a¹⁰⁵ and, above all, the chain of transmission given for it by al-Wādī Ashī in his *Barnāmaj*¹⁰⁶ are indications of the degree of success the work enjoyed.¹⁰⁷

I have written elsewhere of Ibn 'Arabī's scathing criticism of Ibn Qasī and his *Khal'* *al-na'layn*.¹⁰⁸ The commentary he wrote on this work shows how his point of view, contrary to what might be suggested by certain passages in the *Futūḥāt*,¹⁰⁹ does in the event coincide with that of Arab historians, although for radically different reasons: when, like them, he describes Ibn Qasī as an impostor,¹¹⁰ it is not a matter of reliance on malicious gossip, but rather of judgement based on a considered assessment of the *Khal'*, which leads him to some categorical pronouncements on Ibn Qasī's spiritual knowledge and the authenticity of his vaunted divine inspiration.

From the very beginning, in fact, the author of the *Khal'* claims that his book is inspired: "I have not," he declares, "sought to produce a work in the [ordinary] manner of writers, but have simply conveyed what illumination [*fath*] brought me."¹¹¹ The work is divided into four *ṣuḥufs*, or "small books", in which cosmological, eschatological and angelological subjects are mixed together in a rather confused manner. The work as a whole is marked by a profusion of metaphorical expressions and a vocabulary referring ceaselessly to cosmology. To read the *Khal'* is to gain the impression, at times, that Ibn Qasī is a conjurer dazzling his reader with an ephemeral firework.

Whether venerating or reprimanding these representatives of the main tendencies of Andalusī Sufism—whose works he has studied, and whose first and second generation disciples he has in some cases consorted with—Ibn 'Arabī never remained indifferent to their doctrinal propositions. This should not though, in my opinion, be taken to imply that they decisively affected his own doctrine.

It is true, as I stressed at the beginning of this article, that Ibn 'Arabī's thought is profoundly marked by the Muslim mystical heritage, both Western and Eastern, on which it constantly reflects and which it embraces in an extraordinary synthesis. It is, too, indisputable that ideas can be found here and there in his writings which spring directly from these masters of Andalusī *taṣawwuf*. Nevertheless, when we set alongside these the richness and diversity of the doctrinal areas developed by Ibn 'Arabī, we see that such borrowings constitute, finally, only a tiny part of his works.

Anecdotes and accounts found, in his writings, on the subject of his Andalusī past make it clear that the *Shaykh* al-Akbar's debt to the saints of his native land lies in other areas. It is, quite clearly, not so much through their doctrinal teaching but through their actual personalities, and the example of their exceptional qualities, that these persons have mostly left their mark on his works. The first *murshid* under whose direction he placed himself, Abū 'l-'Abbās al-'Uryānī was, we should remember, *ummī*, that is, illiterate. By contrast, Mūsā al-Mīrtulī, with whom he began to consort shortly afterwards, was a highly educated man and even an occasional poet, who figures in a number of compilations. However, what Ibn 'Arabī speaks of with such admiration is not so much his learning and his poetic gifts as the compassion which characterised both his spiritual state (he was, said Ibn 'Arabī, one of those "men who are assisted by God, and, who, in their turn, assist the creatures ... with goodness, gentleness and pity")¹¹² and the way he bore himself to those around him: "If a man was in need, he would sell a book from his considerable library and feed the wretch with the proceeds of the sale ... When he had sold them all, he died."¹¹³ But the virtues of self-denial, compassion and love implicit in *futuwwa* were not exclusive to al-Mīrtulī: they appear, like a leitmotiv, on every page, on every line even, of the *Rūḥ al-quḍs*. Thus, Muḥammad al-Khayyāt, for example, "endured all

evils, while forbidding himself to inflict any. ... He habitually attended to the poor in person, distributing food and clothing to them. He was, in truth, a man of profound goodness, full of compassion, benevolence and care for others ..."¹¹⁴ Of *Shaykh* Ḥasan al-*Shakkāz*, Ibn 'Arabī recalls how "he never said 'I'"; "never," he insists, "have I heard him use that word."¹¹⁵ And of *Shaykh* al-Qabā'ili, to give one last example, he relates how "his prayers extended to all the inhabitants of heaven and earth, even to the fish in the sea."¹¹⁶

These human qualities which moved Ibn 'Arabī so deeply were accompanied by spiritual features of which they were the natural fruit, and three such features, apparently, specially marked the spiritual profile of the Sufis of al-Andalus: asceticism, poverty and devotion to the Quran; at least, these are the things which constantly spring to Ibn 'Arabī's mind when he remembers his country.

Ijtihād, *jidd* and *zuhd* are terms flowing ceaselessly from the *Shaykh* al-Akbar's pen to describe the zeal and ardour of the men who made up the spiritual élite of al-Andalus. Muḥammad al-*Sharafī*, for example, for example, "remained so long in prayer that his feet became swollen. ... He lived in the same house for forty years and never lit either fire or light."¹¹⁷ As for 'Abd Allāh al-Baghī, he had sticks in readiness "to thrash his legs when they were tired from so much praying".¹¹⁸

The deprivation, austerity and, often, misery they imposed on themselves leave us speechless. Fāṭima bint al-Muthannā lived in a hut of reeds made for her by Ibn 'Arabī and another disciple and fed herself on the refuse the Sevillians left at their doors.¹¹⁹ Some of them filled honoured (if not well remunerated) positions, such as teacher or *imām*, but most of them, it should be stressed, gained their livelihood from humbler occupations: as sellers of pottery, camomile, opium or acorns, as cobblers, etc. Some finally chose to give up all idea of providing for their needs and placed their trust in Providence.

Whether learned or illiterate, whether they worked or held back from work, Andalusī Sufis set recitation of the Holy Book before all other study and all other reading. Thus, to quote just one example, Yūsuf al-*Shuburbālī*—who was so absorbed in contemplation of the Divine Presence that he never noticed an olive tree which had been in his garden since his earliest childhood—never, according to Ibn 'Arabī, read any other book but the Quran till the day he died.¹²⁰

Ibn 'Arabī had certainly not been insensible to the doctrinal teaching lavished on him by his masters. Nevertheless, the things he retained from them above all, it seems to me, were the *makārim al-akhlāq*, the noble virtues they embodied; it was in these, clearly, that he perceived the superior quality of the Andalusī Sufism for which he was to strive, particularly in his *Rūḥ al-quds*, to command respect. All this largely explains the exasperation he felt,

and expressed so bluntly, on his arrival in Egypt: his indignation was all the greater for the enormous feelings of admiration he cherished towards his Andalusī brothers. No doubt, too, the signs of change affecting Sufism in the East—necessary changes, perhaps, but harbingers, too, of the disappearance of a particular kind of world—filled him with painful presentiments that the extraordinary spiritual universe he had just left for good was about to suffer deep and irreversible upheaval.

A testimony to the gratitude he felt towards those men and women who had shared his spiritual odyssey, the *Rūḥ al-quds* stands like a memorial set in the midst of chaos, to recall, for the generations to come, the *fityān*, the heroic saints, who were the Sufis of al-Andalus.

¹ *Rūḥ al-quds*, Damascus, 1970, p. 21.

² *Journeys*, trans. M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1949, p. 344.

³ *Rūḥ*, p. 27.

⁴ J. W. Morris, *A Reconsideration of the Primary Sources*, 1973. I am grateful to him for communicating this work to me.

⁵ *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1932, II, 127-28.

⁶ *Le livre d'Ibn Toumert*, Algiers, 1903, pp. 66-69.

⁷ "Abenmasarra y su escuela", in *Obras escogidas*, Madrid, 1946, I, 113.

⁸ S. M. Stern, "Ibn Masarra, Follower of Pseudo-Empedocles—an Illusion", *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islâmicos*, Coimbra-Lisbon, 1968, Leiden, 1971, pp. 325-39.

⁹ Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁰ *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1891-92. Cf. the note on Ibn Masarra (No. 1202) and that concerning his father (No. 650).

¹¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas*, Vol. V, ed. P. Chalmers, Madrid, 1979, pp. 20-36. See also, in connection with the notes of Ibn al-Faraḍī and Ibn Ḥayyān, M. Cruz Hernández, "La persecución anti-masarrī durante el reinado de 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir li Dīn Allāh según Ibn Ḥayyān", *Al-Qanṭara*, 2, 1981, pp. 52-67.

¹² *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā'*, Nos. 306, 1068, 895, 1216.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 1136. See also N. Mu'ammār, *Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī mu'a'ssis madrasat al-ḥadīth bi 'l-Andalus ma'a Baqī b. Maḥlād*, Rabat, 1983.

¹⁴ On this figure, see M. Marín, "Baqī b. Majlād y la introducción del estudio del ḥadīth en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 1, 1980, pp. 165-208, and M. I. Fierro, "The introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus", *Der Islam*, 66, 1989, pp. 68-93.

¹⁵ *Dibāj*, Beirut, n.d., pp. 204-41.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā'*, No. 1135. See also Fierro, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83. This study refers the reader to her work *La Heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid, 1987, which I have not, unfortunately, been able to consult.

¹⁷ *Kitāb al-marqaba 'l-'ulyā*, Beirut, 1983, pp. 13-14.

¹⁸ Shams al-Dīn Qurṭubī, *Al-Tadhkirā fi aḥwāl al-mawtā*, Beirut, n. d., p. 341.

¹⁹ *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā'*, No. 650.

²⁰ On the question of the anti-Masarrī persecutions, see Cruz Hernández, *op. cit.*; M. I. Fierro, "Accusations of *zandaqa* in al-Andalus", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6, 1987-88, pp. 255-56; al-Nubāhī, *Kitāb al-marqaba 'l-'ulyā*, pp. 78, 201.

²¹ *Al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. Husani, Cairo, 1955, No. 8, 17, 529, 530, 562; and ed. Codera, Madrid, 1886, 113, 186, 326, 347, 339; see also notes 281 and 389.

²² *Takmila*, No. 8.

²³ For details of this house, known as *maṣhrab umm Ibrāhīm*, see *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. *Māriya*.

²⁴ *Takmila*, No. 339. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, II, 354.

- ²⁵ M. I. Fierro, "Una refutación contra Ibn Masarra", *Al-Qanṭara*, 10, 1989, pp. 273-75.
- ²⁶ *Ta'rikh 'ulamā'*, Nos. 897, 127, 1329, 179, 434, 54, 1359, 1364, 834.
- ²⁷ *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheiko, Beirut, 1912, pp. 20-21; trans. Blachère, Paris, 1935, pp. 58-60.
- ²⁸ *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 16-17.
- ²⁹ 'Uyūn al-anbā', Göttingen, 1884, pp. 32-33.
- ³⁰ *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, Cairo, 1952, pp. 58-59, No. 83.
- ³¹ On this subject see E. Tornero, "Nota sobre el pensamiento de Abenmasarra", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6, 1985, pp. 503-06.
- ³² *Al-Fiṣal fī 'l-mīlāl*, Cairo, 1903, IV, 198-200. See also IV, 80 and II, 128-29.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 199.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits*, Paris, 1929, p. 70.
- ³⁶ *Min qaḍāyā 'l-fikr al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1978, *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, pp. 311-44 and *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, pp. 346-60.
- ³⁷ *I'tibār*, p. 350.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*; the recurrence of this notion of *baṣīra* may perhaps explain why this treatise circulated under the title *Kitāb al-tabṣīra*. In this connection, see *Takmila*, ed. Codera, No. 113.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 346.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 350-51.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 357.
- ⁴⁴ *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, p. 315.
- ⁴⁵ *Futūḥāt*, II, 523.
- ⁴⁶ *Futūḥāt*, section 73, questions 12 and 13.
- ⁴⁷ On the science of the letters in Islam, and in Ibn 'Arabī's work in particular, see the excellent analysis by D. Gril in *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, Paris, 1988, pp. 385-487.
- ⁴⁸ On Jābir b. Ḥayyān see Paul Kraus, *Ibn Jābir, contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Cairo, 1943; P. Lory, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Dix traités d'alchimie*, Paris, 1983, and *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam*, Paris, 1989.
- ⁴⁹ *Risālat al-ḥurūf*, ed. Kamāl Ja'far, in his study *Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī*, Cairo, 1974
- ⁵⁰ *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, pp. 317, 335, 339.
- ⁵¹ For a comparison of the opinions ascribed to Ibn Masarra and those to be found in the two treatises, see Kamāl Ja'far's "Min mu'allafāt Ibn Masarra 'l-mafqūda" in *Majallat kulliyat al-tarbiya*, Vol. III, 1972, pp. 27-63.
- ⁵² See note 20 above.
- ⁵³ *Ta'rikh 'ulamā'*, Nos. 897, 127, 1329, 179, 437, 54, 1359, 1364, 834.
- ⁵⁴ *Futūḥāt*, I, 149.
- ⁵⁵ *Kitāb al-mīm*, Hyderabad, 1948, p. 7.
- ⁵⁶ *Futūḥāt*, II, 581.
- ⁵⁷ *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. 'Afīfī, Beirut, 1946, I, 84.
- ⁵⁸ *Obras escogidas*, I, 219-42.
- ⁵⁹ "Abenmasarra y su escuela", pp. 142-43.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- ⁶¹ *Ḥulal*, Rabat, 1979, p. 104.
- ⁶² *Mu'jam*, Cairo, 1967, p. 283, No. 253.
- ⁶³ On this subject, see: al-Tādili, *Taṣḥawwuf*, Rabat, 1984, pp. 96, 145, 169; and Ibn 'Arabī, *Rūḥ*, No. 40, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, trans. R. W. J. Austin, 2nd ed., Sherbone, 1988, pp. 136-37.
- ⁶⁴ According to Ḥafnāwī, *Ta'rikh al-khalaf*, Algiers, 1907, I, 94, the auto-da-fé was ordered in 503 A. H., and Ibn al-'Arif born in 481 A. H.
- ⁶⁵ For the biography of Ibn al-'Arif, see: Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu'jam*, No. 14, pp. 15-20; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-ṣila fī ta'rikh a'immat al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1883, No. 175; *Taṣḥawwuf*, No. 18; 'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm, *Al-lām bi man ḥalla Marākūsh wa Aghmāt min al-a'lām*, Rabat, 1974, I, 5-24; and 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Maṣṣūr, *A'lām al-Maghrib*, Rabat, 1983, III, 231 et seq.

⁶⁶ On al-Mayūrqi, see Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu'jam*, No. 123, and *Takmila*, ed. Codera, No. 608; and Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *Al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, Beirut, 1973, VI, No. 452, pp. 169-71.

⁶⁷ On al-Ṭurṭūshī see *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. *Ibn Abī Randaqa*; and V. Lagardère, "L'unification du mālīkisme oriental et occidental à l'Alexandrie: Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* (Aix-en-Provence), 31, 1980-81, pp. 47-61.

⁶⁸ *Takmila*, No. 1797.

⁶⁹ *Šila*, No. 175.

⁷⁰ *Mu'jam*, No. 14, p. 19.

⁷¹ P. Nwyia, "Notes sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-'Arif avec Ibn Barrajān", *Hespéris*, 43, 1956, pp. 217-21.

⁷² Al-Ša'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 15.

⁷³ D. Gril, "Une source inédite pour l'histoire du *taṣawwuf*", *Livre du centenaire de l'IFAO*, Cairo, 1980, p. 463.

⁷⁴ *Dhayl*, VI, 171.

⁷⁵ Contrary to what I wrote in my biography of Ibn 'Arabi, *Ibn 'Arabi ou la quête du Soufre Rouge*, Paris, 1989, p. 74, it cannot be assumed that Ibn Barrajān was executed.

⁷⁶ *Taṣhawwuf*, p. 170.

⁷⁷ *Šila*, No. 175.

⁷⁸ *Mu'jam*, No. 14, pp. 19-20.

⁷⁹ Ibn 'Arabi also mentions Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazāl on several occasions, specifying, invariably, that he was a companion of Ibn al-'Arif. See, for example, *Futūḥāt*, 1228, II, 201, IV, 550, and *Sufis of Andalusia*, pp. 66, 1021, 104.

⁸⁰ *Taṣhawwuf*, No. 18, p. 120.

⁸¹ On Ibn Qasī see: Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-ḥulla*, Cairo, 1963, No. 142, p. 197; *A'lām al-Maghrib*, III, 257; V. Lagardère, "La tariqa et la révolte des murīdūn", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* (Aix-en-Provence), 35, 1983, pp. 157-70; P. Joseph Dreher, "L'Imāmat d'Ibn Qasī à Mertola", *MIDEO*, 18, 1988, pp. 195-210.

⁸² "Notes", p. 219.

⁸³ "Rasā'il Ibn al-'Arif ilā aṣḥāb ṥawrat al-murīdīn fī 'l-Andalus", *Al-Abḥāth* (Beirut), 27, 1979, pp. 43-56.

⁸⁴ This work, Nwyia notes, gathers together various letters, including those of Ibn al-'Arif, but the latter is not the author of the work.

⁸⁵ Ibn al-'Arif's enthusiasm at reading these few passages from the writings of Ibn Qasī recalls that expressed by the *Shaykh* al-Akbar in the *Futūḥāt*, before a deeper study of the *Khal' al-na'layn* led him radically to revise his opinion (see below).

⁸⁶ In "La tariqa et la révolte des murīdūn" (p. 163), Lagardère, who repeats—often closely—Nwyia's brief analysis (in Arabic) of these letters in *Al-Abḥāth*, has clearly misunderstood the sentence where Nwyia states that it is "difficult to regard the language of these letters as being that used by a master to his disciple", rendering it in a diametrically opposed way: "In spite of the difficulty in interpreting this epistolary language of the guide towards his disciple".

⁸⁷ *Kitāb al-ḥulla*, Cairo, 1963, No. 142, p. 197.

⁸⁸ "Rasā'il Ibn al-'Arif", p. 53.

⁸⁹ For the details of his life, see the long note devoted to him by the *Dhayl*, I, No. 34, pp. 46-58.

⁹⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* "Imān", 42.

⁹¹ An example of this is 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṭṭān, one of the Andalusī masters of Ibn 'Arabi, and called by the latter "the scourge of tyrants". Cf. *Sufis of Andalusia*, No. 16, pp. 112-13.

⁹² See, for example, Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-ḥulla*, Cairo, 1963, p. 197, and al-Marrākushī, *Mu'jib*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 150.

⁹³ C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 434. See also Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1987, p. 236.

⁹⁴ Gril, "La science des lettres", in *Les illuminations de la Mecque*, p. 623, n. 239.

⁹⁵ Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

⁹⁶ Gril., *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ "Risāla", ed. H. Taher, in *Alif*, No. 5, p. 31.

⁹⁸ *Mawāqī' al-nujūm*, Cairo, 1965, p. 142.

⁹⁹ *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, n.d., Vol. IV, No. 594, pp. 229-30.

- 100 *Futūḥāt*, IV, 220. In another passage (*Futūḥāt*, I, 60), Ibn 'Arabī specifies that Ibn Barrajān based his prediction on astrology.
- 101 *Futūḥāt*, II, 649. For other references to Ibn Barrajān, see also *Futūḥāt*, II, 104, 577 and III, 77.
- 102 See, for example, *Futūḥāt*, II, 97, 318.
- 103 B. Halff, "Le *Maḥāsīn al-majālis* d'Ibn al-'Arif et l'oeuvre du soufi hanabalite al-Anṣārī", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 39, fasc. 2, 1972, pp. 321-35.
- 104 See, for example: *Futūḥāt*, I, 93, 279; II, 97, 290, 318, 325; III, 396; IV, 92-93.
- 105 On this Sufi (who was the master of Ibn Sab'īn) and his links with the *Shūdhīyya*, see Massignon, *La passion de Hallāj*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1975, II, 326 *et seq.*; *A'lām al-maghrib*, No. 81, 1, p. 77, where there is a bibliography.
- 106 *Barnāmaj*, Beirut, 1981, p. 302.
- 107 It is of some interest to note that the work was known by the illiterate *shaykh* Abū 'l-'Abbās al-'Uryābī. Cf. *Rūḥ*, No. 1, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, p. 66.
- 108 *Ibn 'Arabī, ou la quête du Soufre Rouge*, p. 78.
- 109 See, for example, *Futūḥāt*, I, 136, 312, 749; II, 52, 257, 686, 693, etc.
- 110 *Sharḥ kitāb khal' al-na'layn*, Istanbul, MS *Shehit* 'Alī, 1174, fo. 111b-112a. See also fo. 99b.
- 111 *Ibid.*, fo. 6a.
- 112 *Futūḥāt*, II, 13.
- 113 *Al-Durra 'l-fākḥira*, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, No. 8, p. 91; French trans., p. 96.
- 114 *Rūḥ*, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, No. 9, p. 93; French trans., p. 99.
- 115 *Durra*, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, No. 12, p. 98; French trans., p. 106.
- 116 *Rūḥ*, in *Sufis of Andalusia*, No. 20, p. 123; French trans., p. 137.
- 117 *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 77; French trans., p. 78.
- 118 *Ibid.*, No. 15, p. 111; French trans., p. 122.
- 119 *Ibid.*, No. 55, p. 143; French trans., p. 160.
- 120 *Ibid.*, No. 6, pp. 79-83; French trans., pp. 82-86.

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**SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY
AND AGRICULTURE**

NATURAL AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES IN AL-ANDALUS

J. VERNET

I. The heritage of the late Roman period

The Arab armies which conquered the Iberian Peninsula did not suddenly alter the existing culture which they encountered. They could not have done so: composed as they were of soldiers who were good warriors and officials who knew how to command an army and administer the conquered provinces, they did not aim to do more than live off the land and obey, in a rough and ready manner, the orders which they received from the Caliph in Damascus. Consequently they had, for their everyday needs, to rely on the practical knowledge of their new subjects: if they fell ill, they were attended by a Christian doctor; if they had problems in the cultivation of their newly acquired lands, it was their labourers or co-proprietors who had to resolve them. The sciences of Muslim Spain were those which had been studied in the Late Roman Empire, perceived through the prism formed by the encyclopaedic work of St. Isidore of Seville.

Immediately after the triumph of the Abbasid rulers, a member of the Umayyad family, 'Abd al-Rahmān I, managed to reach Córdoba and thus save his life. He swiftly gained power and declared himself to be independent of Baghdad. He introduced certain Eastern customs and tastes such as one might expect from a prince who had been educated at the court of the last Umayyad caliphs of Damascus, but he continued to depend upon Christian professional advisers, except in matters connected with warfare and the Muslim religion: military and civil engineers might be charged with the task of excavating a mine, building a bridge or a water channel, or determining, approximately, the direction of Mecca, so that the faithful might be able to turn their faces towards it at the time of prayer. Also during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān I it would seem that, among Spanish Muslims, there was a growing interest in the prophecies and predictions of soothsayers—an interest innate among all peoples—since we know the name of an astrologer who flourished in the last years of his rule: al-Ḍabbī.

During this period the non-mathematical sciences remained firmly within the Isidoran tradition: consider, for example, the T-map conserved in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, the Arabic text of which shows that the author was very familiar with the work of St. Isidore, or the translation into Arabic of the *Historia* of Orosius, completed in Córdoba at a later date. Judging by the testimony of Ibn Juljul, who was writing in the second

half of the 4th/10th century, doctors at this time studied the aphorisms of Christian doctors which had been translated into Arabic, and these should not be confused with the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. For the most part, they are short, penetrating observations, enabling a doctor to make a quick differential diagnosis within the limits of what was then possible. Ibn Juljul mentions six doctors who were practising medicine during the reigns of the *amīrs* Muḥammad I, al-Mundhir and 'Abd Allāh. Five are Christians and two of them have names that betray their origins: Ḥamdīn b. 'Ubba (Opas) and Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Rumān (Roman). One of them, Jawād, invented a medical remedy which must have been famous, for it was known as "the monk's medicine". In the middle of the 4th/10th century the situation began to change in favour of the Muslim doctors, but even so, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān III fell ill with an inflammation of the ear, he was treated by Yaḥyā b. Ishāq, the son of a Christian doctor. The prestige of this traditional medicine endured among the Arabs, so much so that Sa'īd b. 'Abd Rabbiḥī (d. 366/977) states in his *Urjūza fī 'l-tibb* ("Didactic Poem on Medicine") that a proper knowledge of this science can only be attained by a person familiar with the ancient (i.e. Latin) texts which had been translated into Arabic.

It would seem—but this is still open to dispute—that just as astrologers continued to use the techniques of late Roman antiquity to make horoscopes, so farmers—by which I mean the owners of large country estates—cultivated their lands in accordance with the norms of classical agriculture. Until recently it was generally accepted that Iunius Moderatus Columella (1st century A.D.), a native of Cádiz, exercised a direct influence on the agricultural methods that were employed four or five centuries after the Muslim conquest, and it was also believed that his *De Re Rustica* had been translated into Arabic. These ideas were based on the words of a certain Yūnyūs cited by Ibn Ḥajjāj (fl. 5th/11th century), which happen to coincide with those of the above-mentioned Latin author. But, as in so many cases, the topic in question has by its very nature to be defined in *almost* the same words and in the same sequence, regardless of the author and the period to which he belongs. And since the opinions attributed to Yūnyūs now seem to be closer to those of Vindanius Anatolius of Berito, conserved in an Arabic text which derives from an earlier Syriac translation, Yūnyūs would be the distorted form of Vindanius.

Be that as it may, the only thing about which we can here be sure is that certain Roman agricultural practices survived in Muslim Spain, and this inevitably raises the question whether the introduction of certain specific techniques (the excavation of subterranean conduits or water-channels) should be credited to the Arabs, or whether the Arabs found such excavations already in existence and recognised them to be of the same type as the hydraulic devices which their compatriots had employed in the Yemen for centuries (*qanāt* in the West; *fajj* in Arabia).

II. *The first Eastern influences*

In the middle of the 3rd/9th century the first scientific and technical influences of Eastern origin were introduced into Muslim Spain. A few examples may be given by way of illustration. First we should note the arrival in Córdoba of the doctor al-Ḥarrānī, who soon became chief physician to the *amīr* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II. Ibn Juljul gives us this information and mentions al-Ḥarrānī’s two nephews (?), Aḥmad and ‘Umar b. Yūnus al-Ḥarrānī, who studied in Baghdad between 330/941 and 351/962 with Thābit b. Sinān b. Thābit b. Qurra. It was at this same time, that is to say in the 4th/10th century, that magic talismanic doctrines of Egyptian origin seem to have reached Muslim Spain. We now enter a period—that of the Cordoban Caliphate—during which an attempt was made to gather the maximum amount of information, regardless of its provenance, for the purposes of enlightenment. This was the policy which enabled science in al-Andalus to make great strides from the 5th/11th century onwards.

A precursor of all those whom we have hitherto mentioned was ‘Abbās b. Firnās (d. 274/887). Not only was he a poet and an astrologer, but he attempted to fly by leaping from the Ruṣāfa palace in Córdoba—a feat reminiscent of the later attempts made in this direction by the English monk Aylmer of Malmesbury. Unfortunately, Ibn Firnās could not understand the role played by the tail when birds alight on the ground, and he injured himself. But he was an enterprising man: he modified and, in so doing, perfected the technique of cutting rock crystal (quartz), which was already known to the Sassanians and the Romans; in one room of his house he built a kind of planetarium; and he invented a clepsydra (or water clock) capable of indicating the times of prayer, albeit without a high degree of accuracy. This machine (*minqāna* in the Arabic text) may perhaps be regarded as the prototype of those machines that were invented in the 5th/11th century.

In Spain the ancient and unsatisfactory theories of popular pharmacology, of late Roman origin, were displaced by Eastern theories; these were likewise inspired by classical Graeco-Roman and Indian texts, but they had passed through the filter of the East. The most interesting work which reached Córdoba was the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, translated into Arabic by Iṣṭifān b. Basil. In about the year 337/948 the Byzantine Emperor presented the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III with a magnificent copy of Dioscorides in Greek. The readers—some of whom must have known colloquial Greek—could not understand the text. Since the Caliph did not have any hellenists at hand, he urged the Emperor to send him a specialist who could teach scientific Greek to his physicians. His petition was heeded, and it was thus that the monk Nicholas arrived in Córdoba.

With the latter’s help it was possible to carry out a systematic revision of the Eastern Arabic version of the *Materia Medica* and to identify most of the plants, or “simples”, mentioned therein. This is of some importance, since

henceforward scientific Greek became part of the legacy of a group of scholars, such as Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, Ibn Juljul and Maslama of Madrid, each of whom had his own disciples—a group which was active in the first half of the 5th/11th century. Simultaneously, the first signs of a native Andalusī art of medicine began to appear: in about 353/964 ‘Arīb b. Sa‘īd wrote a treatise on obstetrics and pediatrics, the *Kitāb khalq al-janīn*, which contains some information of an astrological kind, but which nonetheless offers evidence that a portion of Aristotle’s writings was already known in Córdoba. A more important author is Abū ‘l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. ca. 404/1013). He wrote a medical encyclopaedia in which there are prominent sections devoted to surgery (soon to be translated into Latin) and pharmacology. In the latter he displays a knowledge of the Egyptian and Iraqi techniques used by Eastern perfume dealers, the distant origins of which are to be found in the Mesopotamian tradition. We are equally indebted to these scholars for some of the first good clinical descriptions of leprosy and haemophilia; the introduction of cauterisation and numerous surgical instruments such as one frequently finds represented in the engravings of Renaissance doctors; and the stitching of wounds by means of ants.

At the end of the 4th/10th century botanical observations of the Eastern type were already known in Muslim Spain: in the work of Ibn Samajūn (fl. ca. 390/1000) one finds echoes of the *Nabataean Agriculture* and the *Kitāb al-nabāt* (“Book of Plants”) of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 150/767). There is also a commentary on the latter by Ibn Ukht Ghānim of Almería.

III. *The golden age of science in al-Andalus*

The beginning of the political decline of a country often occurs before it has attained its cultural pinnacle. This is what happened in Muslim Spain: the political and military hegemony of the caliphs was succeeded by the impotence of the “petty kings” (*mulūk al-tawā’if*). The Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula were now grouped within ten or twelve independent states. Unable to fend off the attacks of the Christians of the North, they purchased peace in exchange for the payment of an annual tribute, and their sovereigns devoted themselves to the pursuit of a luxurious life, opposing one another and indulging their whims, so that they were sometimes encouraged to offer their patronage to specialists in different branches of learning. Thus, the kings of Saragossa, the Banū Hūd, favoured philosophers and men of letters; those of Toledo, the Banū Dhī ‘l-Nūn, favoured scientists; those of Seville, the Banū ‘Abbād, favoured poets, etc. But their generosity was not exclusively limited to those who cultivated such disciplines; it was bestowed upon all deserving men, whether they were residents or travellers in their dominions.

For example, al-Bājī and Ibn al-Sīd found temporary asylum in Saragossa. Al-Kirmānī, a disciple of Maslama of Madrid, made known the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (“Epistles of the Brethren of Purity”), the contents of

which—by means as yet unknown—filtered into Europe. The astronomer Azarquiel of Toledo, who was probably apprehensive about the Christian assault on his country, sought and obtained refuge in Córdoba, which, at that time, belonged to the Sevillian al-Mu'tamid. The Sicilian poets Abū 'l-'Arab and Ibn Ḥamdīs, who witnessed their own country fall into the hands of the Normans, found a new home in Seville. On the other hand—and this phenomenon was to become very apparent in the 6th/12th century—a considerable number of scholars and scientists emigrated from Muslim Spain to North Africa and the Middle East because they were frightened by the continuous defeats suffered by their sovereigns. It was probably as a result of this emigration that the work of Maslama of Madrid (d. ca. 397/1007) came to be known centuries later to the Easterner Ibn al-Shāṭir, and the *Kitāb al-qaṣḍ wa 'l-bayān* by the agriculturalist Ibn Baṣṣāl came to be used by the *rasūlī* sovereign of Yemen, al-Malik al-Afḍal, etc.

We are quite well informed about the development of science during this period thanks to the writings of the *qāḍī* of Toledo, Ṣā'id, sometimes called Ibn Ṣā'id (d. 462/1070), published under the title *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam* (usually translated as the "Book of the Categories of Nations", but which is really a Universal History of the Sciences). There are obviously some inaccuracies, but, even in the state and condition in which it has survived, it constitutes a veritable archive of information, giving us the names of those young men who, at the time of the work's compilation, seemed to have the most promising future.

One of Ṣā'id's contemporaries was the alchemist Abū Maslama of Madrid (not to be confused with the astronomer who is his near-namesake). He wrote a book entitled *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, which, incidentally, contains a description of some experiments made by the author, from one of which one can infer that he was aware of the principle of the preservation of matter. Among this group of authors—it is difficult to know whether to call them technicians or scientists—one must include Aḥmad or Muḥammad b. Kḥalaf al-Murādī, a person unknown twenty years ago, who was "discovered" through the study of his *Kitāb al-asrār fī natā'ij al-aḥkār*, conserved in a single manuscript copied by the hand of Ishāq b. al-Sīd, the chief astronomer of Alfonso X (the Wise).

The work of al-Murādī is of great interest. In spite of the fact that the single manuscript in which it is conserved has been approximately 40% destroyed, it can be almost completely reconstructed. It describes various clepsydras capable of being set in motion at specified intervals of time—so that they could have been used as clocks—and capable of performing predetermined motions. This means that we have found the only book hitherto known in al-Andalus which is comparable to the works of Heron, the Banū Mūsā brothers and al-Jazarī. There is another interesting detail about this work: the manner in which al-Murādī treats his subject-matter seems to be

without precedent; in a couple of key words, the terminology is quite different from that which one finds in the above-mentioned works, and everything seems to suggest that we are here in the presence of a true inventor, or else someone who represents a native Andalusī tradition of artesan-mechanics. Similarly, in his clepsydras he seems to be working independently from Ibn Firnās and Azarquiel. Moreover, and this is important to emphasise, in order to produce hysteresis in his mechanical "toys", al-Murādī uses mercury (al-Jazārī uses metal balls) which is displaced inside the arms of the main balance, or master-balance of the system. Machine number one, which has recently been reconstructed, demonstrates the efficacy of a mechanism which had never before been used in this way.

It is now worth mentioning, to avoid having to insist upon it later, that the manuscript to which I have been referring contains treatises by different authors, one of the most remarkable of which is an account of six machines capable of producing perpetual motion. At least one of these was reproduced by the French artesan-architect Villard de Honnecourt (fl. ca. 1220).

On the subject of agriculture, we may proceed with more confidence, since the history of agriculture in Muslim Spain has recently been rewritten by Lucie Bolens.¹ First in Toledo, under the patronage of al-Ma'mūn b. Dhī 'l-Nūn, and later in Seville, there were, we know, several agriculturalists. Their dates are uncertain, but their activities seem to exist within the framework of the *īā'ifa* period, or, at the latest, up to the beginning of that of the Almoravids. The texts which have survived are, for the most part, incomplete, since they are included in much later anthologies compiled by North African writers. We should note the works of the doctor Ibn Wāfid (398/1007-467/1074) and Ibn Baṣṣāl of Toledo; of Abū 'l-Khayr and Ibn Ḥajjāj of Seville; and of al-Tighnārī, who, after studying in Seville, moved to Granada and, moreover, must have been a distinguished man of letters because his biography is to be found in *Al-Dhakhira* by Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147). The last of them, Ibn al-'Awwām (he lived some time between 512/1118 and 663/1265), composed his writings by a grafting process: it is a mosaic of what his predecessors had written on agriculture.

An analysis of these treatises shows that we are here faced with a mixture of agricultural traditions, the origins of which date back to Babylonian and Egyptian antiquity, and which reach the medieval period through the *Filāḥa nabatiyya* of Ibn Waḥshiyya. The Carthaginian, Roman and Hellenistic influences merge with the earlier sources as a consequence of the Arabic version of the Byzantine *Geoponika*. The majority of quotations by authors whose names are mentioned in these Hispano-Arab works are indirect. In other words, as in the case of the astrologer Ibn Abī Rijāl, these writers have not seen the original texts from which they cite. Furthermore, they mention sources like the *Filāḥa rūmiyya* and the *Filāḥa hindiyya*. The first may be attributed to a certain Qusṭūs, who is probably an imaginary person invented

in the middle of the 4th/10th century by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd. In any case, we know that in the 5th/11th century, in places such as Toledo and Seville, Andalusi agriculturalists planted botanical gardens and sought to investigate how well exotic plants might adapt to the climate of the districts in which they were working. Also, by keeping these plants under constant observation and by analysing the properties of the soil in which they grew, they considered how to improve their cultivation.

In order to do this, these scholars had to rely on the more advanced sciences: botany, pharmacology and medicine. The first of the above disciplines had attained its peak in Muslim Spain with the anonymous work entitled *'Umdat al-ṭabīb fī ma'rifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb*, written at the end of the 5th/11th century. In it one finds an excellent attempt to classify plants into categories (*jins*), species (*naw'*) and varieties (*ṣinf*), which is far more developed than any other system previously conceived of, even including those of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The work of this unknown author does not appear to have had a direct influence on the agriculturalists, even though the latter were particularly interested in the science of grafting. Ibn Baṣṣāl, for example, had noted that grafting is only successful between plants of the same kind: and he had likewise outlined a system of classification, as had Ibn al-'Awwām some years later, which is of much less value than that of *'Umdat al-ṭabīb*.

Medicine, like botany, is linked to astronomy owing to the interest of pharmacologists in obtaining "simples", that is to say, plants which might be employed as remedies, without adulteration. Al-Tighnārī and Ibn Wāfid were both doctors concerned with this question. The latter is said to be the author of a treatise on agriculture—nowadays one is inclined to attribute it to Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī—which has been largely preserved in a Spanish translation and was used by the Renaissance agriculturalist Gabriel Alonso de Herrera (d. ca. 1539). The agriculturalists of Muslim Spain studied the composition of the soil and endeavoured to make untilled land cultivable: they tried to define the characteristics of the manure best suited to each situation, and they analysed the water and examined how land could be irrigated by means of water-channels, wells, water-wheels (*nā'ūras*) and other devices. Their machinery and primitive wheels, articulated by a winding gear which was very imperfect, since it was only required to draw water in an irregular fashion, probably provided mechanics such as al-Murādī with the inspiration to develop their mechanical "toys"—toys which would eventually become clocks.

The agriculturalists were aware of the importance of rotating crops and leaving land to lie fallow; they knew that, in some cases, the mixing of manure was of paramount importance; and thus they managed to raise the standard of agriculture in Muslim Spain to a level which was only surpassed in the 19th century with the development of chemistry. During the Enlightenment (18th century) the Spanish authorities became so convinced of this de-

cline in agriculture that they commissioned a Spanish translation of the works of Ibn al-ʿAwwām—a work which, a good many years later, was translated into French to make it accessible to French Algerian farmers.

If, from the medical point of view, agriculture reached its maturity at the end of the 4th/10th century with the work of al-Zahrāwī, and remained at a reasonably high level in the Iberian Peninsula throughout the 5th/11th century, the initial influence which it exercised on Christian Europe was slight. Here the chief influence was that of the Latin translations of the Salerno school made by Constantinus Africanus in the 5th/11th century.

However, at the end of the *ṭāʾifa* period, the situation changed: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr (d. 470/1078) took advantage of his pilgrimage to Mecca to study medicine at Qayrawān and Cairo, and in the first of these cities he may have met Constantinus Africanus. At all events, on his return to Spain, he became the physician of Mujāhid of Denia. His son, Abū ʿl-ʿAlāʾ (the Aboali or Abulelizor of the Latin texts) received a solid schooling in medicine and literature, and, owing to these circumstances, was summoned to Seville, where he became physician to the ruler, al-Muʿtamid, and when the latter was deposed by the Almoravids, he changed sides to lend his services to the victor Yūsuf b. Tāshfin. He died in Córdoba in 525/1131. At about this time the text of the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) reached Muslim Spain, parts of it commented upon by Abū ʿl-ʿAlāʾ. His son Abū Marwān (487/1094–557/1161) was known to the Christians as Abhomeron Avenzoar. Abū Marwān was a contemporary of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). The latter regarded him as his equal in medicine and perhaps as a better pharmacologist, since at the end of his *Kitāb al-kulliyāt* (the *Colliget* of the Latin translators), with regard to pharmacological questions, Ibn Rushd refers his readers to *Al-Taysir* by his colleague and friend Abū Marwān. This last work was translated into Latin by Paravicini in about 679/1280. It describes for the first time an abscess of the pericardium; it recommends, in some cases, feeding a patient through the oesophagus or the anus; and it gives one of the first descriptions of the mite which causes scabies (*sarcoptes scabiei*).

Meanwhile great progress was achieved in pharmacology as a consequence of the Arabic version of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, established by doctors in Córdoba in the 4th/10th century. This, in turn, was twice summarised in Latin in 7th/13th century Toledo, while Ibn Wāfid's books on balneology (the scientific study of bathing and medicinal springs) and simple plant remedies were translated into Christian tongues: the first into Latin (*De Balneis*) and the second into Catalan (*Libre de les medicines particulars*). In the second of these works, the fruit of twenty years of research, he follows Dioscorides and Galen, but at the same time he makes his own personal observations, alleging that he prefers simples to compounds and that, as far as possible, he would do without either, limiting himself to the prescription of well-proven dietetic treatments.

However, the greatest pharmacologist in Muslim Spain seems to have been al-Ghāfiqī (fl. ca. 545/1150), who made detailed observations on the flora of al-Andalus. Al-Nabānī, Ibn Ṣālīḥ and Abū 'l-Ḥajjāj did the same, while their disciple, Ibn al-Bayṭar, continued this work in the north of Morocco and in all those regions through which he travelled. The text of Dioscorides known in Córdoba during the 4th/10th century was gradually augmented as a result of the contributions made by others over the centuries up to the time of Ibn al-Bayṭar (d. 646/1248). The latter, in his *Jāmi' al-mufradāt*, lists more than three thousand simples in an alphabetical order, using the information collected by his predecessors, but adding his own comments. This work alone describes more than twice the number of species of plants mentioned in the original Arabic version of Dioscorides.

IV. *The century of the philosophers*

Traditionally it used to be thought (possibly through the influence of Dozy) that the landing of African Berber tribes on the Iberian Peninsula—the Almoravids and the Almohads—was the direct cause of the cultural decline of Muslim Spain from the apex attained during the *ṭā'ifa* period. This may be true with regard to literature, but it is obviously not true as regards the development of science. Whereas in the 5th/11th century, the century of the *ṭā'ifa* kings, there were some outstanding astronomers, in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, when philosophers such as Ibn Bājjā (Avempace) and Ibn Ruṣḥd were prominent, scientists also played an important role, since the former did not merely cultivate philosophy in the sense in which that word is understood nowadays: at that time the term comprised everything which until the 18th century was known as natural philosophy, including those sciences—such as mathematics and astronomy—which had still not become separated from the Aristotelian concept of science.

Without entering into a detailed analysis of the contributions to science at this period, it should be noted that it was during this century of philosophy (6th/12th century) that Muslim Spain *exported* most of its ideas to the East (Egypt, Syria, Persia and China) and to Europe (France, Italy, Germany and England). These invisible exports, which had started unobtrusively at the end of the 4th/10th century, now grew as a result of the scientific progress achieved in the Iberian Peninsula during the 5th/11th century: the flow of imported books—or at least of Eastern ideas—virtually came to a halt, while the scholars who emigrated eastwards personally conveyed their knowledge to those parts (as in the case of Abū Ṣālt of Denia), or else their works reached Cairo and Damascus in the hands of merchants, many of whom were Jewish. A contributory factor in this whole process was the expansion of maritime trade, which, by the 7th/13th century, had reached all the coasts of the Mediterranean, leading to growing competition between the Italian

city-states—Venice, Genoa, Pisa—and the chief “autonomous” ports—Barcelona and Marseilles.

Let us look at an example of how science was exported to Egypt from Muslim Spain. There was a Jew of Saragossa named Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Ḥasday. He wrote well in Arabic and already in about 457/1065, when he was still a young man, he was familiar with two works by Aristotle: the *Physics* and *On the Heavens*. He converted to Islam and, some years later, emigrated to Egypt. A person of almost the same name is cited in that country as a correspondent of Ibn Bājjā (Avempace) at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. But Ibn Bājjā was also from Saragossa and we know that he died, perhaps as a result of poisoning, around 533/1138. I believe one may plausibly maintain that Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Ḥasday, who travelled east *before* 478/1085, was a friend and disciple of Ibn Bājjā. But he also studied under the mathematician Ibn al-Sayyid of Denia, a person who is likewise cited in eastern lists of names.

Abū 'l-Faḍl (= Abū 'l-Faraj) b. Ḥasday deserves much more attention than he has hitherto received. Ibn Šā'id of Toledo had seen in him a young man with a promising future and he was in fact to become a great writer employed in the chancery of al-Muqtadir and al-Mu'taman of Saragossa. As a cultivated man, he probably aimed to display more erudition than that which one finds in the satirical letter (*ḥazaliyya*) addressed by Ibn Zaydūn, the great poet of Córdoba (394/1003-463/1070), to his rival in love, Ibn 'Abdūs. Just as Ibn Zaydūn began to discuss in his work everything which a cultured person in Córdoba in the first half of the 5th/11th century ought to know, so Abū 'l-Faḍl did the same for the second half of the century with reference to Saragossa, a city in which Ismā'īlī doctrines, introduced there by al-Kirmānī, were well known, as we shall immediately demonstrate. This fact is important.

Shi'ite commentaries on the following Quranic verse (24:35) were known in Saragossa:

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His light is, as it were, that of a niche containing a lamp; the lamp is in a *container* of glass which is like a radiant star: it is lit by the *grace* of a blessed tree, an olive-tree that is neither of the east nor of the west, the oil whereof almost gives light although the fire does not touch it. Light upon light. God guides whomsoever He wills to His light, and God forms parables for men. God has full knowledge of all things.

Shi'ite commentaries on this verse reached Europe by way of Saragossa and they contributed to the formation of an ideological substratum which would later infiltrate Catharism and some European literary works (Chrétien de Troyes, *Parsifal*, etc.).

Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Ḥasday must have been born in about 436/1045. After falling in love with a Muslim girl, he became a Muslim and married her. In the course of his administrative work he must have known the chief figures of his age, including the Cid, Hugo, Abbot of Cluny, al-Bājjī, the young Ibn

Bājja (Avempace, who, the writer Leo Africanus informs us, was of Jewish origin), Moses ha-Sefardī, who became Pedro Alfonso, Bahya b. Paqūda, the astrologer Ibn al-Khayyāt and many others. The bad relations which existed between al-Muqtadir of Saragossa and his brother Yūsuf Ḥussām al-Dawla of Lérída perhaps gave Abū 'l-Faḍl the idea of creating a fictitious exchange of letters between a doctor of Lérída named Burduqūn (Perdigón, from the Romance *Perdix*, the modern *Perdiz*; the surname *Perdices* ["Partridges"] is still widespread in that region) and an astrologer of Lérída nicknamed al-ʿĀfiya ("the healthy one") because he has lost an eye. The latter writes a letter to the doctor *Perdigón*, who has lost one of his testicles, saying that his way of walking reminds him of mechanical toys (*hiyal*) and mentions Philo and a certain Tālās as inventors of these devices; the doctor's remaining testicle was as large as a spherical astrolabe; his penis was similar to the alidā or index of a flat astrolabe; the astrologer knows that in their construction work masons use a level and architects use a plummet; he has seen an armillary sphere and geometrical instruments like cylinders and cones; he refers to the *Book of Animals* (probably that of Aristotle, *not* that of al-Jāhiz); he mentions Galen and Aesculapius and enters fully into the subject of optics—although obliquely, as in the case of everything treated in these epistles: in a couple of words he speaks about the emission of rays of light and proceeds to assert that "if the light of all the stars were gathered together, they would shine brighter than the full moon".² The interpretation of the text will here depend on whether one regards this as a simple literary metaphor or a precedent of Olbers' paradox. He lists several constellations, notes that persons with good eyesight can count as many as seven stars in the Pleiades, alludes to moon-spots, demonstrates awareness that the lunar month does *not* begin at the time of the real conjunction of the moon and the sun, etc.

There is another aspect of these epistles which is especially interesting and which perhaps may explain why, at the time of al-Mu'taman, Abū 'l-Faḍl emigrated to Egypt, where he died before 515/1121, that is to say when he was about seventy-five years of age. It is the letter in which *Perdigón* mocks al-ʿĀfiya, saying: "There is some truth in that, since you are [the constellation of] the Whale (Cetus), the beast (*dābba*) of the sea that swims in the waves and in the celestial sphere. It is like that because Galen created it by gathering together a group of stars known as 'the sea-beast', whose belly sinks into the River (Eridanus); its tail goes behind Aquarius and it is in the place where Aquarius lets the water flow into the mouth of the Southern Fish. At the highest point of its mane are to be found the stars of the Fish, the sign of the zodiac... You [*Perdigón*] are certainly the one-eyed Antichrist (*Dajjāl*), the long-awaited *Qā'im*! We beg God to give us strength to face your banners, that He may assist us under your rule! We appeal to God that we may be able to breathe beneath your reins and that your aggressiveness and crimes may be kept far away from us, whether you are unjust or tyrannical,

whether you are capricious or go astray! God is certainly forgiving and merciful to His slaves."³

The Beast (*al-Dābba*), the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) and *al-Qā'im*, all explicitly mentioned by Abū 'l-Faḍl, place us directly in touch with the Ismā'īlī atmosphere which must have existed in Saragossa in the second half of the 5th/11th century. And in the background there is the exegesis which must have been applied to a key passage in the Quran.

Another example—and one which is more significant—is that of Ibn Ruṣḥd and Maimonides. Both were born in Córdoba: the first in 520/1126, the second in 535/1140. Ibn Ruṣḥd wrote his first commentary on Aristotle in 554/1159. At that time Maimonides was in Fez on his way to Cairo, which he reached in 560/1165. One may deduce from this that Maimonides had not read the works of his fellow-citizen Ibn Ruṣḥd while he was in the West. These reached him in the hands of learned merchants, such as the Jew Josef ben Yehuda ben Ishāq ben 'Aqrūn, named in Arabic Abū 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. Ishāq al-Sabtī 'l-Maghribī, who arrived in Cairo in about 580/1185. Since we know that Ibn 'Aqnīn and Maimonides studied the book of al-Mu'taman together, it must have already been in Cairo when they arrived (perhaps it was Ibn Ḥasday who brought it?); and since, during this period, they also read the works of Ibn Ruṣḥd and Jābir b. Aflaḥ, one must assume that books were then travelling swiftly from West to East. On the other hand, the *Astronomy*, which al-Bīṭrūjī must have been composing at that time, arrived later, since, according to J. Samsó, it was completed between 580/1185 and 588/1192.

But the route from East to West was also quickly traversed. Whereas previously the route had reached north of the Pyrenees across Muslim Spain, now it crossed Christian Spain: this explains why the religious and philosophical works of Maimonides were known very early in Catalonia and Provence, giving rise to a heated controversy in the Jewish communities of those regions—a controversy comparable to that which the works of Ibn Ruṣḥd produced in Christian Europe, where they came to be known very soon, chiefly through the translations of Michael Scot.

It would be very interesting to know whether, as is generally said, Ibn Ruṣḥd had *no* disciples in the Muslim world. Since his name is missing in almost all subsequent biographical dictionaries, this is something which is hard to prove, but one must add that the names of many important mathematicians, doctors and astronomers are also missing. Officially Ibn Ruṣḥd only had two Arab disciples: his son Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (who was physician to the Almohad sultan al-Nāṣir) and Ibn Ṭumlūs of Azila. But if one accepts the definition of "disciple" given by the alchemist Abū 'l-Qāsim Maslama of Madrid in his *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* with reference to Jābir b. Ḥayyān, we might find another. Abū Maslama says that "one hundred and fifty years separate me from Jābir b. Ḥayyān, but, despite that, I regard myself as

a true disciple of his because of the great esteem in which I hold his works".⁴ By this criterion, Ibn Rushd had a magnificent disciple in the figure of Ibn Khaldūn. Al-Maqqarī, who in this instance is faithfully copying Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, informs us that Ibn Khaldūn "explained and summarised a large number of books by Ibn Rushd".⁵ Since Ibn Khaldūn finished his *Muqaddima* three years after the assassination of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it would seem that he went on gathering together materials from Ibn Rushd, whom he cites ten times and with whom, at one point, he takes issue. Similarly, Ibn Rushd himself did not always agree with Aristotle. To conclude, Ibn Khaldūn regarded himself as a disciple of Ibn Rushd a full two hundred years after the latter's death.

Furthermore, if we consider that Europe ends at the Urals and that Constantinople (Istanbul) belongs to the Western World, since it is situated to the west of the chain of mountains, one should count the number of Ibn Rushd's manuscript works which are located today in western libraries. If one does some statistics, on the basis of the information supplied by Miguel Cruz Hernández,⁶ it will be found that the libraries of the Maghrib—from Istanbul to the West—contain more works than those situated to the east of the above-mentioned meridian.

One may therefore conclude that mutual intellectual contacts between East and West were at their height in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. We may proceed to inquire whether certain institutions, the origins of which lie in Iraq, took as long to reach Muslim Spain as is commonly supposed. Take, for example, the mental asylums and the colleges called *madrasas*. Mental asylums and, in a broader sense, hospitals, existed in Muslim Spain at least a hundred years before the date generally given (Granada, 769/1367). A year after the conquest of Valencia (636/1238) by Jaime I ("the Conqueror") one already finds Latin documents donating grants to maintain beds (for patients) in the Hospital of Saint Vincent in the said city. It would be very strange indeed if it had occurred to the Aragonese and Catalans accompanying the King to *create* a new institution, unknown in their realms, unless they found it already functioning in the newly conquered city. We learn from the documents that in this hospital there was one room for men and another for women, and that the doctors only came to visit the sick in the morning or in the evening, in exactly the same way as they do nowadays. Moreover, in the *Vocabulista in arabico* by Ramón Martí (627/1230-682/1284), a writer from Barcelona, the word *malestan/maristán* (in Arabic *māristān* or *bimāristān*) already appears. This would not have happened if the word were not in constant use in the regions known to the author.

The *madrasa* or school of higher education appears in an embryonic form in the Near East at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Soon afterwards we already find it as an institution in its own right under the jurisdiction of the Seljuq minister Nizām al-Mulk. This was a real university college,

comprising a place of prayer, some pupils with scholarships, a rector, and some teachers who relied on income deriving from a foundation trust which was technically inalienable and protected by the law governing religious endowments (Arabic *waqf* or *ḥabs*, Spanish *habiz*). It took time for this institution to reach the West because Mālikī law had a different theory of how the goods of the deceased should be administered. However, endowments of this kind definitely existed in the 7th/13th century in Naṣrid Granada, and the building of what is supposedly the earliest *madrasa* in Muslim Spain (750/1349) is still standing. There are nevertheless grounds for suspecting that the administrative "model" for this college was utilised a century earlier and that the school founded by Alfonso the Wise in Murcia, which was governed by al-Riqūṭī, was already a *madrasa*, since the Christian king was not at all concerned about the juridical theories of the different Sunni schools of law and saw only the didactic results which might be achieved by the new institution, with its remote resemblance to a cathedral school.

This sovereign, Alfonso the Wise, never reckoned what his contemporaries and posterity might think of him as a scientist (posterity unjustly attributed to him the saying that "If God had consulted me at the time of the Creation about how to make the heavens, I would have advised Him to do so in a simpler way"). This is proved by the fact that throughout his whole reign (1252-1284) he kept in touch with the scholars of the Near East, regardless of the sect or religion to which they belonged. His embassies to the Mamlūks and the Mongols—and those which he received from them—not only had a political objective but also sought to procure materials to further his scientific projects. He was a learned king, but he was not very prudent—*savant* rather than *sage*. Thus he witnessed not only his son Sancho's rebellion against him but, what is more interesting from our point of view, the consolidation of Granada's independence under the rule of the Naṣrids.

V. *The end: the Naṣrid kingdom*

This last bastion of Islam in Spain attained its final moment of splendour in the 8th/14th century during the reign of Muḥammad V. From 748/1348 to 751/1351 it had to endure the scourge of plague, so well described by two polymath writers, Ibn Khātima and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who give information on how the epidemic spread from the East to the West. It is to this period that one must assign the start of the transition from clepsydras to mechanical clocks, which, according to textual accounts, were operating up to a point in Granada, Fez, Tlemcen, etc., and the appearance of the first Arab nautical map which is extant (of the Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic Coast from Cape Bojador to England), usually called the Maghrib Map. This map may be dated about 730/1330, that is to say approximately fifty years later than the oldest known nautical map, which is that of Pisa. It is also certain

that during this period scientific contacts with the Near East remained strong and there was still a keen interest in agriculture and medicine. Ibn Luyūn (681/1282-750/1349), for example, wrote a didactic poem on agriculture. With regard to medicine, we know that one doctor from al-Andalus emigrated to serve in Christian lands and that others, such as Muḥammad b. al-Shaḥra (d. 761/1360), had non-Muslim pupils in their classes.

¹ Lucie Bolens, *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva-Paris, 1981. See also J. Vernet, J. Samsó, *Les développements de la science arabe en Andalousie* (in press).

² Taken from Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhira fi maḥāsini ahl al-jazīra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1974, I, 3, 456-94.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See J. Vernet, *Historia de la ciencia árabe: la alquimia*, Madrid, 1981, pp. 181-83.

⁵ *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, VII, 180-81.

⁶ M. C. Hernández, *Abū-l-Walīd ibn Ruṣḥd (Averroes). Vida, obra, pensamiento, influencia*, Córdoba, 1986, pp. 316-24.

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THE EXACT SCIENCES IN AL-ANDALUS

JULIO SAMSÓ

I. GENERAL REMARKS

Andalusī civilisation, which extended, approximately, from 93/711 to 897/1492, witnessed no scientific development in the field of the exact sciences until the reign of the *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206/821-238/852), who, according to a late anonymous Maghribi source, was the first to introduce astronomical tables in al-Andalus.¹ Before that period we can only discern the survival of a Latin astrological tradition and suppose that it probably coexisted with an Arabic tradition of folk astronomy dealing mainly with weather predictions based on the *anwā'* system and with *mīqāt* problems, such as determining the *qibla* in order to establish the more or less correct orientation of the *mihrāb* in the new mosques.² The middle of the 3rd/9th century saw the beginning of a period of easternisation in Andalusī culture, favoured both by the common practice of a *riḥla* to the East designed to complete the education of young men from any family which could afford it and, also, by the cultural policy of the Umayyad *amīrs*, who encouraged Eastern scholars to establish themselves in Córdoba and did their best to buy the new books published in the great capitals of the Mashriq. This period lasted at least until the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate (422/1031), which entailed the loss of political unity, but was followed by a subsequent period of fifty years (422/1031-479/1086) which may be regarded as the Golden Age of the exact sciences and of all the other manifestations of Andalusī cultural life. Sovereigns of the "petty kingdoms" (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) encouraged the development of science, and one of them, Yūsuf al-Mu'taman of Saragossa (474/1081-478/1085), was probably the most important mathematician in the history of al-Andalus. This period also witnessed the scientific activity, in Toledo and Córdoba, of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā 'l-Naqqāsh, known as Ibn al-Zarqālluh or Ibn al-Zarqiyāl (d. 493/1100), who became, without any doubt, the most original and influential astronomer in al-Andalus. On the other hand, this golden half-century also entailed a progressive slowing down in contacts with the Mashriq, which meant that the development of the exact sciences in al-Andalus from the middle of the 5th/11th century on became somewhat original and independent of the East. This loss of contact with a cultural area which, especially from the 7th/13th century onwards, was producing new ideas in the field of astronomy was also one of the main reasons for the decay of Andalusī science, the first symptoms of which appeared during the 6th/12th century.

II. MATHEMATICS

Mathematics did not, it should be stressed, have anything like the same importance in al-Andalus as astronomy. The oldest extant Andalusī mathematical text is the unpublished treatise on land surveying (*taksīr*) written by the physician Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn al-Jabalī towards the middle of the 4th/10th century; the book is of a practical nature, and this seems, indeed, to be one of the main characteristics of the first manifestations of Andalusī mathematics. The second half of the 4th/10th century witnessed the important mathematical and astronomical school founded by Abū ʿI-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrīfī (d. 397/1007), three members of which—Maslama himself, Abū ʿI Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035) and Abū ʿI Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Zahrāwī—wrote treatises on commercial arithmetic (*muʿāmalāt*). These texts do not seem to be extant, but we can gain an idea of their contents through the *Liber Mahameleth*, a Latin translation, ascribed to John of Seville, of an Andalusī treatise on the same subject.³ The authorities quoted in it (Euclid, Archimedes, Nichomachos of Gerasa, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and Abū Kāmil Shujāʿ b. Aslam al-Miṣrī) are precisely those one would expect to be known in al-Andalus in the second half of the 4th/10th century. The book deals with elementary arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and extraction of the square root, together with adequate methods for obtaining good approximations to imperfect square roots) and algebra (equations of the first and second degrees), and ends with a long collection of practical problems which might be of interest to a merchant.

Ibn al-Samḥ himself seems, apart from his *Kitāb al-muʿāmalāt*, to have written extensively on arithmetic and geometry, but his works on these subjects are apparently lost. Nothing, on the other hand, is known of the development of algebra in al-Andalus in this period, apart from what we can gather from the *Liber Mahameleth* and, possibly, from an analysis of the treatises on division of inheritance (*ʿilm al-farāʿiḍ*).⁴ We have to wait till the last stage of Andalusī history, the Granada of the Banū Naṣr (631/1232-897/1492) to find an abridgement of algebra (*Ikhtisār al-jabr wa ʿl-muqābala*), written by one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Badr,⁵ of whom we know only that he wrote this book before 744/1343 and was (perhaps) an Andalusī author. The *Ikhtisār* is a treatise on elementary algebra dealing, among other things, with indeterminate equations in the Diophantine tradition, which are here documented for the first time in al-Andalus. Far more interesting is the work of the last important Andalusī mathematician, Abū ʿI-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Baṣṭī al-Qalaṣādī (b. ca. 815/1412, d. 891/1486 or 912/1506),⁶ who wrote extensively on arithmetic, algebra and *farāʿiḍ*.⁷ His mathematical works seem to have been strongly influenced by those of the Moroccan mathematician Abū ʿI-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī (654/1256-725/1321),

but his originality has been exaggerated by modern scholarship. Thus, although he did indeed make interesting improvements to the method of successive approximations of imperfect square roots, the way he dealt with summations of series of squares and cubes merely followed the lead of Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) and al-Umawī al-Andalusī (fl. 8th/14th century). Again, although he has been regarded as the man who introduced algebraic symbolism—and it is obvious that he did use it—he had numerous predecessors in this, both in the Mashriq and in the Maghrib.

If this brief survey of arithmetic and algebra in al-Andalus is somewhat unencouraging, a different picture emerges when we consider geometry and spherical trigonometry. Apart from the lost geometrical works of Ibn al-Samḥ, we should here consider three important figures of the 5th/11th century: King Abū ‘Āmir Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Mu’taman of Saragossa, Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sayyid⁸—who flourished in Valencia between 456/1063 and 490/1096 and was the master of the famous philosopher and physicist Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Šā’igh, known as Ibn Bājja (463/1070?-533/1138)—and the *qāḍī* of Jaén Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mu‘adh al-Jayyānī (d. 486/1093). About al-Mu’taman we only knew, until very recently, that he had written an important treatise called *Al-Istikmāl*, but this situation has now changed as a result of important works by A. Djebbar and J. P. Hogendijk.⁹ The latter has discovered four incomplete manuscripts of the *Istikmāl*, containing fragments of the work dealing with number theory, plane geometry, study of the concepts of ratio and proportion following books V and VI of Euclid’s *Elements*, and the geometry of the sphere and of other solid bodies and conic sections. The extant parts of the *Istikmāl* prove that al-Mu’taman had an important royal library containing the best books available in the 5th/11th century for the study of higher mathematics: Euclid’s *Elements* and *Data*, Archimedes’ *On the Sphere and Cylinder* (and, also, Eutocius’ commentary on the second book of this work), the books on *Spherics* by Theodosius and Menelaos, Apollonius’ *Conics*, Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, Thābit b. Qurra’s treatises on amicable numbers and on Menelaos’ theorem, the treatise of the Banū Mūsā on the measurement of plane and spherical figures, Ibrāhīm b. Sinān’s book on the quadrature of the parabola, Ibn al-Haytham’s *Optics*, etc. Nevertheless, al-Mu’taman’s treatment of geometrical problems is not limited to mere reproduction of his sources, but, quite often, offers original solutions which prove that he was an excellent geometer.

Our knowledge of the works of Ibn Sayyid is more limited, as none of his books seem to be extant. He wrote on arithmetical series, following the tradition of the *Arithmetic* of Nichomachos of Gerasa, and his disciple Ibn Bājja gives us some information about his research in geometry, in which he studied conic sections—giving new definitions equivalent though not identical to those of Apollonius—plane curves higher than those of the second degree

and which were not conic sections, and also such classical problems as the trisection of the angle and the determination of the two mean proportionals.

Two of the works of our third mathematician, Ibn Mu'ādh, have been published and studied, namely his *Maqāla fī sharḥ al-nisba* ("Commentary on the concept of ratio")¹⁰ and his *Kitāb majhūlāt qisī al-kura* ("Unknown arcs of the sphere").¹¹ The former deals with a question which, as we have seen, interested al-Mu'taman: Greek mathematicians considered that a ratio existed only when the result of the division between two magnitudes was a rational number, although Euclid seems to have accepted the possibility of a ratio existing in the case of a relation between two quantities the division of which gives an irrational number. This Euclidian line of research was followed by such Arab mathematicians as Ibn al-Haytham and 'Umar al-Khayyāmī, and Ibn Mu'ādh's book is a brilliant defence of Euclid's definition of ratio—the first known instance, it seems, of an adequate comprehension of it (we should bear in mind that this definition was rarely understood in Europe until the 17th century). The *Kitāb al-majhūlāt*, on the other hand, is the first treatise on spherical geometry compiled in Western Islam, and also the first known instance of this mathematical discipline existing independently of astronomy. While Greek mathematicians and astronomers used only one trigonometrical tool, the so-called Menelaos' theorem (*shakl al-qatṭā'* in Arabic) which established relations between six magnitudes (arcs and angles) belonging to two spherical triangles, Arab mathematicians in the Mashriq had, towards the end of the 4th/10th century and the beginning of the 5th/11th century, developed a series of new theorems which possessed the obvious advantage of establishing relations between four magnitudes belonging to the same spherical triangle. This entailed a kind of "trigonometrical revolution", and Ibn Mu'ādh introduced six of these new theorems into the West. His *Kitāb al-majhūlāt* is a complete treatise on spherical trigonometry, in which he studies the solution of all possible cases of spherical triangles. He is clearly aware of the mathematical and astronomical work carried out in the East by al-Bīrūnī and his predecessors and contemporaries, and the sources he uses belong to a group which very rarely reached al-Andalus and Latin Europe. He was the first, in the West, to use a method of quadratic interpolation and to compute a tangent table in which the value of the gnomon used was 1. It is difficult to establish the extent of the *Kitāb al-majhūlāt*'s originality until his sources have been properly studied, but it does seem, for example, that his use of a polar triangle is independent of that of his Eastern predecessor Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. 'Irāq (d. ca. 428/1036).¹² Ibn Mu'ādh's book was not translated into Latin, its influence on Medieval Europe being exerted indirectly through the *Iṣlāḥ al-majisṭī* written by Abū Muḥammad Jābir b. Aflāḥ (fl. ca. 545/1150) towards the middle of the 6th/12th century; this work was translated into both Latin and Hebrew, and four of Ibn Mu'ādh's trigonometrical theorems appear in it.¹³

III. ASTRONOMY

III.1 *Astrology, sundials and the survival of a Latin tradition*

If the Andalusi heritage in the field of mathematics is, with a few exceptions, not too rich, the situation changes entirely when we consider astronomy and astrology, two branches of knowledge which were closely related in the Middle Ages. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ishāq al-Ḍabbī (fl. ca. 184/800) is probably the first Andalusi astrologer to have left a written work, and it gives an idea of the situation of the discipline towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. He composed an astrological *urjūza* of which only 39 verses are extant¹⁴ and in which astrological predictions are based on the late Latin "system of the crosses" (*ṭarīqat aḥkām al-ṣulūb*). This Latin astrological tradition was much cruder than the standard Hellenistic one adopted by the Eastern Arabs and later introduced into al-Andalus: it identifies astrological houses with zodiacal signs, predictions are based on the positions of the planets (mainly Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and the Sun) in the four triplicities of air, water, fire and earth, only mean positions of the planets are taken into consideration and, obviously, it ignores the precession of equinoxes. Astrologers of this period, who did not have *zīj*es (astronomical tables), probably used approximate rules and diagrams allowing them to compute mean planetary longitudes:¹⁵ such rules and diagrams are documented in Latin *computus* treatises, and they may be the origin of the zodiacal scale which appears in the back of Andalusi and Maghribi astrolabes, providing a simple means of calculating the solar longitude for a given date of the solar year. Such zodiacal scales appear in the oldest extant Andalusi astrolabes and are described in the first Andalusi treatises on this instrument. Eastern references to such diagrams are much later, and I suspect that this diagram was introduced into the Mashriq by the Andalusi polymath Abū 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt (ca. 460/1067-529/1134), who, in Alexandria (Egypt) in 503/1109-10, wrote a treatise on the use of the astrolabe in which he describes two different methods of determining the solar longitude (a solar ephemeris for a given year and the zodiacal scale).

A second example of the survival of a Latin astrological tradition in al-Andalus is to be found, probably, in sundials. The oldest extant Islamic sundials of the standard Hellenistic type (horizontal sundials in which the solar shadow for the solstices describes two arcs of a hyperbola, while in the equinoxes it describes a straight line) are Andalusi, but they are, in general, crude and poorly made,¹⁶ and it is not until the end of the 7th/13th century that we find a *Risāla fī 'ilm al-ẓilāl* ("Epistle on the science of shadows"), in which an Andalusian-Tunisian astronomer, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Awsī, known as Ibn al-Raqqām (d. 715/1315), demonstrates considerable competence in gnomonics and describes the way to construct all kinds of

sundial using the Hellenistic mathematical tool known as *analemma*.¹⁷ There is, however, a second kind of Andalusī sundial known as *bilāṭa*, or *balāṭa* (the word does not seem to be of Arabic origin), whose description appears in several sources: Qāsim b. Muṭarrif's *Kitāb al-hay'a* (written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century), extant in manuscript Istanbul Carullah 1279;¹⁸ a passage ascribed to Abū 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh, known as Ibn al-Ṣaffār (d. 426/1035) in the mechanical treatise *Kitāb al-asrār fī natā'ij al-afkār* (probably written in the 5th/11th century by a certain Aḥmad or Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Murādī); a passage in Ibn Mu'ādh's *Tabulae Jahan* quoted in the *zij* of Ibn Ishāq al-Tūnisī (fl. beginning of the 7th/13th century);¹⁹ and, finally, a quotation of the famous Andalusī Jewish philosopher and scientist Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides) (530/1135-601/1204).²⁰ All these texts describe what seems to be a very primitive kind of horizontal sundial in which the vertical gnomon is fixed in the centre of a semicircle—or two gnomons appear in the centres of two quadrants—and the limits of the hours are determined by radii that divide the circle equally (?) into 15 degree arcs. I believe this primitive kind of sundial corresponds to a Latin tradition related to the kind of dial often found in churches, and called a “mass clock” in England.

III.2 *Other astronomical instruments: equatoria, observational instruments and universal astrolabes*

Equatoria, the pseudo-*torquetum* designed for observation by Jābir b. Aflah and universal astrolabes all seem to be instruments of Andalusī origin. Equatoria are apparently first found in al-Andalus at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, although a possible Eastern ancestor designed by Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin (d. between 350/961 and 361/971) has been suggested by D. A. King.²¹ The first Andalusī treatises on this instrument were written by Ibn al-Samḥ, Ibn al-Zarqālluh and Abū 'l-Ṣalt.²² Abū 'l-Ṣalt was, perhaps, responsible for the diffusion of this instrument in the Mashriq during his long stay in Egypt: the only published Eastern treatise on the equatorium was written by the 9th/15th century astronomer Jamshīd Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī, and we find in it details reminiscent of the work of Ibn al-Zarqālluh and Abū 'l-Ṣalt.²³ The introduction of the new instrument into Latin Europe was earlier and more productive, for the first treatises belong to the 13th century and the tradition of building them, both in metal and in paper, lived on up to the 17th century.²⁴

The birth of equatoria probably sprang from the development of astrology as a profession. The standard astrolabe solved, quite easily, the problem of the division of the houses necessary to cast a horoscope,²⁵ but the computation of planetary longitudes using a set of astronomical tables (*zīj*) entailed quite a lot of work. An equatorium solved this problem graphically, because

it consisted of a set of Ptolemaic planetary models made to scale. The user of the instrument needed only to obtain the mean longitudes and mean anomalies of the planets from a *zīj*, and these data enabled him to establish the position of the centre of the planetary epicycle on its deferent, and also that of the planet on its epicycle. An alidade rotating around a point corresponding to the centre of the earth would, then, materialise the imaginary line connecting the earth and the planet, and would determine, on the ecliptic, the true longitude of the planet in question. The precision obtained with this kind of instrument was enough for the needs of a professional astrologer.

The three Andalusī equatoria are fairly straightforward and easy to understand for anyone basically acquainted with Ptolemaic astronomy. Ibn al-Samh's instrument seems to be narrowly related to the astrolabe, and it used a set of plates (one for each planet, plus another for the epicycles) which were kept within the "mother" (*umm*) of an astrolabe, using the scale engraved on the rim of the instrument as an ecliptic scale on which the true longitude of the planet was measured. However, in an effort to make his equatorium self-contained, he engraved mean motion tables in longitude and anomaly for each planet in the empty spaces of every plate. With Ibn al-Zarqālluh the equatorium becomes independent of the astrolabe, and we find, in his instrument, an attempt to represent all the planetary deferents and related circles on a single plate, engraved on both sides. A second plate, with all the epicycles, was superimposed on it. Furthermore, the complexity of the Ptolemaic Mercury model led him to take a revolutionary step and represent Mercury's deferent not as a circle but as an oval curve practically equivalent to an ellipse. Ibn al-Zarqālluh only represented graphically what was already implied in the Ptolemaic model,²⁶ but he seems to have been the first astronomer with the courage to cross the boundary of an astronomy based on circles and introduce a new astronomy of non-circular curves. Abū 'l-Ṣālt seems to have continued along similar lines, but his efforts to represent on one side of his basic plate all the planetary deferents and related circles (except for those of the Moon, which appear in the back of the same plate) in the Ptolemaic order suggest an attempt to make a real picture of the universe and to transcend the attitude of his predecessors, who were only interested in the practical applications of their mathematical models.

Andalusī astronomers were extremely interested in the development of astronomical instruments, most of which were, like the equatorium, analog computers. Only in two exceptional instances do we see them designing instruments meant for use in observations. One of these is Ibn al-Zarqālluh's armillary sphere, on whose construction he wrote a treatise which is extant in a 7th/13th century Spanish translation.²⁷ This instrument seems to be a development of the *astrolabon* described by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*, V, 1: Ibn al-Zarqālluh adds six rings to those of Ptolemy and states that the armillary sphere can be used to determine the longitudes and latitudes of the sun,

moon, planets and stars. The second observational instrument described in Andalusī sources was designed by Jābir b. Aflah,²⁸ and consists of a large graduated ring (Jābir mentions a diameter of about six spans) with an axis in its centre on which rotates a graduated quadrant with an alidade and two sights. The instrument can be mounted on the plane of the meridian, on that of the equator or on that of the ecliptic, and it has been regarded as a predecessor of the *torquetum*, first described towards the end of the 13th century by Bernard of Verdun and Franco of Poland, although the similarities between the two instruments are not very clear.

Our third group of Andalusī astronomical instruments comprises the so-called universal astrolabes designed in the 5th/11th century by Ibn al-Zarqālluh and his contemporary Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Shajjār, or al-Ṣaydalānī, and, in the 7th/13th century, by Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Bāso. These universal astrolabes claim to correct the main defect of the standard astrolabe: being the result of a stereographic projection of the celestial sphere on the plane of the equator with the centre of projection in the South Pole, the horizon appears in it as an arc of a circle, and a special plate is therefore required for each latitude. The standard astrolabe is obviously the most useful analog computer applied to solving problems of spherical astronomy, or those related to the motion of the sun and the fixed stars, if an adequate plate is available; if this is not the case, however, it requires the use of approximate methods yielding insufficiently accurate results.²⁹ This problem was solved by Ibn al-Zarqālluh and 'Alī b. Khalaf, both of whom designed instruments in which the projection used was also stereographic but the centre of projection was the equinoctial point (both Aries 0 degrees and Libra 0 degrees, which appear superimposed on the centre of the plate) and the plane of projection the solstitial colure. With this projection the horizon becomes a diameter of the plate, and a rotating ruler can easily become a movable horizon and be adapted to any required latitude.

Ibn al-Zarqālluh seems to have been the first to design a universal instrument of this kind:³⁰ 440/1048-9 saw his treatise, divided into 100 chapters, on the instrument called *al-ṣafiha al-'abbādiyya*, for it was dedicated to the future al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, king of Seville, who was then only eight or nine years old. This instrument had, on its face, a double grid of equatorial and ecliptical coordinates and a ruler-horizon, while, in its back, it had a zodiacal scale, an orthographic projection of the celestial sphere, a sine quadrant and a diagram which, combined with a most elaborate alidade, allowed the computation of the geocentric distance of the moon for a given time.³¹ At a later date he seems to have dedicated a new version of his instrument to the same al-Mu'tamid. This second species of *ṣafiha* is usually called *al-shakkāziyya*, and appears described in treatises divided into 60 chapters. It is a simplified version of the *'abbādiyya* type, with only one complete grid of equatorial coordinates (the ecliptical grid is limited to the

projection of the great circles of longitude which correspond to the beginnings of the zodiacal signs) in its face, while its back resembles that of a standard astrolabe because the orthographic projection, the sine quadrant, the lunar diagram and the sophisticated alidade have disappeared.³²

There is some evidence that Ibn al-Zarqālluh conceived his two instruments—especially the *shakkāziyya*—as an auxiliary plate to be used when an astrolabe did not have a standard one for the adequate latitude, and as such it sometimes appears in the back of both Islamic³³ and European³⁴ astrolabes. Its use was more difficult and entailed a greater effort of the imagination than that of the standard astrolabe, mainly because it lacked a rete or spider (*ʿankabūt*) the rotation of which represented that of the celestial sphere around the earth. This is probably why ʿAlī b. *Khalaf*, in 464/1071-2, designed a new instrument which he called *al-aṣṭurlāb al-maʾmūnī* and dedicated to king al-Maʾmūn of Toledo (435/1043-467/1074). The front of this instrument consists of a single grid of coordinates on which he superimposed a rotating rete one half of which corresponded to a second grid of coordinates and the other half to the projection of a few stars as in the spider of an ordinary astrolabe. This instrument, like those of al-Zarqālluh, was well-known both in the Maghrib and in the Mashriq, and, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, it influenced the work of the Syrian astronomer *Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr*, known as Ibn al-Sarrāj.³⁵

The last Andalusī attempt to design a universal astrolabe was made towards the end of the 7th/13th century by the Granada *muwaqqit* and instrument maker Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Bāṣo, who invented a plate, to be used with a standard astrolabe, which he called *al-ṣafiha al-jāmiʿa li-jamīʿ al-ʿurūd* ("a general plate for all latitudes"). In this *ṣafiha* two well-known traditions converge: on the one side the efforts of Ibn al-Zarqālluh and ʿAlī b. *Khalaf*, who influenced Ibn Bāṣo in both the design and the use of his instrument; and, on the other, the Eastern tradition of the *ṣafiha āfāqiyya* ("plate of horizons"), whose invention is ascribed to Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (d. ca. 250/864). This plate exerted its influence throughout the Islamic world, and similar solutions were applied by late European instrument makers—the last instance in which the rich Andalusī tradition of instrument design was influential.³⁶

III.3 *Zījes and astronomical theory*

The first set of astronomical tables (*zīj*) was introduced, as we saw in section I above, at the time of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II; this *zīj* was probably the famous *Sindhind* in the recension made by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi (fl. ca. 215/830). Al-Khwarizmi's *Sindhind* was the object of new versions made by Maslama and his disciples Ibn al-Ṣaffār and Ibn al-Samḥ. Only a fragment of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's Arabic version is extant, in a manuscript written in Hebrew script in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. As for Maslama's

work, we know it through two Latin translations made by Adelard of Bath (fl. 1116-42) and Petrus Alfonsus (fl. 11th-12th century).³⁷ It is difficult to establish the precise innovations Maslama introduced in the *zīj*, since al-Khwārizmī's original work does not seem to be extant. Secondary sources, however, ascribe to Maslama an important change in the mean motion tables: al-Khwārizmī used as a *radix* date the era of the last Sassanian king Yazdijird III (midday of 16.6.632) and his years were Persian years of 365 days without fraction. Following Maslama's revision, however, the *radix* date is the beginning of the *Hijra* (midday of 14.7.622) and the tables are adapted to the Muslim calendar, using lunar years of 354 or 355 days. As al-Khwārizmī's calendar, in its present state, is composed from materials derived from Indian, Hellenistic and Andalusi sources, it has generally been accepted that Maslama introduced such Andalusi materials as the use of the Spanish era (which corresponds to -37), intercalation of a supplementary day in bissextile years at the end of December instead of February, a correction of the difference in geographical latitude between Arin and Córdoba which amounts to 63 degrees in our text and implies a displacement of the western meridian 17;40 degrees to the west of the Fortunate Islands,³⁸ adaptations of several tables to the geographical coordinates of Córdoba, etc. It seems, however, that Maslama also dealt with Indian materials and introduced unfortunate modifications in the tables of eclipses and in those which allow the computation of planetary latitudes.³⁹ He may also have been responsible for the introduction of such Ptolemaic materials as the right ascension table and the sine table. Finally, Maslama seems to have added a certain number of astrological tables such as those concerned with the projection of rays (*maṭraḥ al-shu'ā'āt*), which constitute about a third of the whole *zīj*;⁴⁰ here he has been fully successful, and has improved on al-Khwārizmī's tables for the same purpose, for those of Maslama are easier to use and give exact results, whereas al-Khwārizmī only gave approximations. We should, however, be very cautious before ascribing to Maslama materials not found in al-Khwārizmī's original *zīj*, since Adelard of Bath's Latin translation also has later interpolations, such as, for example, the table for the visibility of the new moon which is computed for the latitude of Saragossa, a city in which the exact sciences were not seriously cultivated until the 5th/11th century.⁴¹

The time of Maslama not only saw a serious study of the Indian astronomical tradition represented by al-Khwārizmī's *Sindhind*, but also the introduction of the more elaborate Ptolemaic astronomy. We know that Maslama studied Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and his disciple Ibn al-Samḥ wrote a summary of this work. Maslama also wrote on al-Battānī's *zīj*, and parameters derived from this work were used by Ibn al-Samḥ in his treatise on the equatorium. Ptolemy's *Geography* was also known, being quoted by Ibn al-Ṣaffār in his epistle on the astrolabe, and Maslama wrote an important commentary on Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium*, in which he provided new and elegant solutions

to problems of stereographic projection.⁴² Finally, an older contemporary of Maslama, Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān, seems to be aware of the size of the Universe according to Ptolemy's *Planetary Hypotheses*.

However, if Andalusī astronomers knew Ptolemy's works, they still never fully abandoned the Indian tradition. We have a good example of this in Ibn Mu'ādh's *Tabulae Jahen* (the *zīj* of Jayyān, i.e. Jaén in the south of Spain), of which only the canons are extant, in a Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona. These tables were, fundamentally, an adaptation of al-Khwārizmī's *Sindhind* to the coordinates of Jaén,⁴³ but Ibn Mu'ādh seems to be using a different version of the work from that of Maslama and introduces new materials which are either original or derive from Ptolemaic sources. Thus, his lunar and planetary models, and also the numerical parameters quoted in the canons, derive from al-Khwārizmī, but his table of the solar and lunar equations was not calculated, as al-Khwārizmī's was, according to the Indian "method of the declinations", but rather employed a Ptolemaic exact method. Al-Khwārizmī's *zīj* entirely ignores the precession of the equinoxes, while Ibn Mu'ādh's canons have a description of a table of constant precession calculated for years and months. In other instances, Ibn Mu'ādh—who is, let it be remembered, the author of the trigonometrical treatise *Kitāb majhūlāt qisī al-kura* (see II above)—demonstrates awareness of developments in the Mashriq associated with al-Bīrūnī and his immediate predecessors: his method for the division of the astrological houses of the horoscope is strongly reminiscent of a similar method specially favoured by al-Bīrūnī,⁴⁴ and he also gives an adequate description, with personal comments, of the so-called "Method of the *zījes*" to determine the azimuth of the *qibla*, a method in which al-Bīrūnī and his "school" were strongly interested.⁴⁵

The *Tabulae Jahen* were not as successful as the *Toledan Tables*, which, once again, we know only through a Latin translation, extant in an enormous number of manuscripts. These tables seem to have been the result of a hasty adaptation of all the available astronomical material (al-Khwārizmī, al-Batānī and the *Almagest*) to the coordinates of Toledo. This work must have been carried out in little more than one year, around 1069, by a group of Toledan astronomers led by the famous *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Qāsim Ṣā'id b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ṣā'id (d. 462/1070), others of the group including Ibn al-Zarqālluh and 'Alī b. Khalaf.⁴⁶ Even if the results were not brilliant—indeed, they can on the whole be considered a fiasco—we should consider that the mean motion tables are original and are the result of a programme of observations which must have begun earlier than 1069 and was continued by Ibn al-Zarqālluh until much later. This personage, whose work on universal astrolabes is considered in III.2 above, is the most original and influential Andalusī astronomer, but he started as an instrument maker; his interest in observations and astronomical theory was probably aroused by the collective work of *qāḍī* Ṣā'id's team, and he must have continued as

leader of the group after the latter's death. In any case, we know that he observed the sun over a period of twenty-five years,⁴⁷ and according to the *Al-Zij al-kāmil fi 'l-ta'ālīm* of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ghāfiqī al-Ishbili, known as Ibn al-Hā'im (fl. 601/1204-5) he also observed the moon for thirty-seven years.

The *Toledan Tables* bear witness to the first original development of Andalusī astronomy, which was extremely influential in Europe up to the Scientific Revolution, namely the theory of trepidation. This theory claims to design geometrical models capable of justifying two facts attested by more or less precise observation: (1) that the obliquity of the ecliptic is not constant, but is submitted to a slow diminution (Indian astronomers mentioned an obliquity of 24 degrees, Ptolemy of 23;51,20 degrees and the astronomers of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, ca. 215/830, of about 23;33 degrees); (2) that the velocity of precession is not constant (Hipparchus and Ptolemy established that it amounted to 1 degree in every 100 years, while al-Ma'mūn's astronomers considered that it was about 1 degree in every 66 years). Trepidation, as formulated by Muslim astronomers, had clear predecessors both in Classical Antiquity⁴⁸ and in the echoes of Greek astronomy in India;⁴⁹ these early formulations established that the equinoctial and solstitial points had a very slow movement forwards and backwards along a limited arc of the ecliptic (8 degrees according to Theon of Alexandria, ca. 370 A.D.), but no geometrical model justifying such a motion is known; one has to wait in fact until the first half of the 4th/10th century, when Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (296/908-335/946), the grandson of the famous Eastern mathematician and astronomer Thābit b. Qurra, designed the first known trepidation model.⁵⁰ Either this formulation of the theory or a different one was introduced in al-Andalus through the *Kitāb naẓm al-'iqd* written by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, known as Ibn al-Adamī and published by one of his disciples in 338/949. This book was known to qāḍī Ṣā'id, and the latter probably dealt with the topic of trepidation, which was one of the main concerns of the group of Toledan astronomers; according to Ibn al-Hā'im, one of them, Abū Marwān al-Istijī, wrote a *Risālat al-iqbāl wa 'l-idbār* ("Epistle on accession and recession"), and he is one of the candidates—Ṣā'id being another—for the authorship of the famous *Liber de Motu Octave Spere* ("Book on the motion of the eighth sphere") traditionally ascribed to Thābit b. Qurra.⁵¹ The authorship of *De Motu* is extremely difficult to establish, but it seems probable that the trepidation tables which appear in some manuscripts together with the Latin text, and which are also extant within the *Toledan Tables*, are independent of the *De Motu* and can be related to the work of the Toledan astronomers.⁵² This work was continued by Ibn al-Zarqālluh, who, around 478/1085, wrote his treatise on the fixed stars (extant in a Hebrew translation),⁵³ in which he successively studied three different trepidation models, the third of these being an improvement, from a practical point of view, on

that of the *Liber de Motu*, in that variable precession became independent of the oscillation of the obliquity of the ecliptic.

Ibn al-Zarqālluh dedicated twenty-five years of his life to solar observation, and, between 468/1075 and 473/1080, he wrote a book entitled either *Fī sanat al-shams* ("On the solar year") or *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a fī 'l-shams* ("A comprehensive epistle on the Sun"). This book seems to have been lost, but we know of its contents through secondary sources,⁵⁴ both Arabic and Latin. Analysis of these sources proves a number of things: (1) Ibn al-Zarqālluh established, in observations of 467/1074-5, that the longitude of the solar apogee was 85;49 degrees, and this not only led him to confirm the common opinion of Muslim astronomers since around 830 that the solar apogee moved with the velocity of precession, together with the fixed stars, but also made him the first to state that the solar apogee had its own motion of about 1 degree in 279 Julian years; (2) he confirmed the length of the sidereal year (6,5;15,24 days) previously used in the Toledan Tables; (3) his observations led him to establish that the solar eccentricity for his time amounted to 1;58P. Given the fact that Hipparchus had, around 150 B.C., determined the solar eccentricity to be 2;30P, and that both Thābit b. Qurra and al-Battānī had established new values for that parameter (the former 2;2,6P, using observations of ca. 830, and al-Battānī 2;4,5P for the year 883), Ibn al-Zarqālluh concluded that the solar eccentricity was variable, and designed a geometrical model able to justify its variability and compute the value of the solar eccentricity for a given date. This model was well known in Europe up to the time of Copernicus.

Finally, we should remember that Ibn al-Hā'im furnishes new evidence concerning the thirty-seven years of lunar observation, involving a slight modification of Ptolemy's lunar model: according to this source, Ibn Zarqālluh stated that the centre of the Moon's mean motion in longitude was not the centre of the Earth, but was placed on a straight line linking the centre of the Earth with the solar apogee. This entailed the introduction, for the Moon, of an equant point which moved with the rotation of the solar apogee, and which forced him to introduce a correction in the mean longitude of the moon amounting to a maximum of 24 minutes. Ibn al-Zarqālluh's correction appears in Andalusī (Ibn al-Kammād) and Maghribi (Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Bannā') *zījes*, and also in the Spanish canons of the first version of the *Alfonsine Tables*.

Trepidation, a solar model with variable eccentricity, the correction in the lunar model and some Zarqāllian parameters appear in a family of characteristic Andalusī *zījes*. The first of these is Ibn al-Zarqālluh's own *Almanac*,⁵⁵ which is, perhaps, less influenced by such peculiarities than other sets of tables in this group, although the solar tables seem to derive from Toledan parameters. The *Almanac* is based on a Greek work computed by a certain Awmātiyūs in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., and its purpose is to furnish astro-

logers with astronomical tables enabling them to obtain planetary longitudes without all the computation involved in the use of a *zīj*; to this end, Awmātī-yūs and Ibn al-Zarqālluh used the Babylonian planetary cycles usually called "goal years". After the completion of one of these cycles, the longitudes of a given planet will be the same on the same dates of the year as at the beginning of the cycle. The elaboration of perpetual almanacs of this kind also appears to be characteristic of Andalusī astronomy; astronomers of the Mashriq, in contrast, computed ephemerides which were valid for only one year.

The other *zījes* seriously influenced by Ibn al-Zarqālluh's astronomical theories are those composed by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Yūsuf, known as [Ibn] al-Kammād (fl. beginning of the 6th/12th century), Ibn al-Hā'im and Ibn al-Raqqām, but Ibn al-Zarqālluh's ideas also exerted a strong influence on such Maghribi astronomers as Ibn Ishāq al-Tūnisī (fl. beginning of the 7th/13th century) and Ibn al-Bannā' al-Marrākushī. [Ibn] al-Kammād was probably a direct disciple of Ibn al-Zarqālluh, and composed three *zījes* entitled *Al-Kawr 'alā 'l-dawr*, *Al-Amad 'alā 'l-abad* and *Al-Muqtabis*. Only the third of these (which is a summary of the other two) seems to be extant, in the Latin translation made by John of Dumpno in Palermo in 1262 (which also contains fragments of *Al-Kawr 'alā 'l-dawr*); this *zīj* awaits detailed study, but [Ibn] al-Kammād seems to have followed his master's theories, although he introduced corrections in the parameters and computation procedures. The *Muqtabis* seems to be the main source of the astronomical tables prepared for King Peter IV of Aragon in the 14th century.⁵⁶

[Ibn] al-Kammād was strongly criticised by Ibn al-Hā'im, who, in 601/1204-05, dedicated his *Al-Zīj al-kāmil fī 'l-ta'ālīm* to the Almohad caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (596/1199-610/1213). This work, extant in MS Marsh 618 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, is not a standard *zīj*, for it contains an extremely elaborate set of canons (173 pages) but no numerical tables. These canons are mainly concerned with computational procedures to solve astronomical problems, and they include careful geometrical proofs which show their author to have been a good mathematician, perfectly aware of the new trigonometry introduced into al-Andalus by Ibn Mu'ādh. This *zīj*, which is an extremely important unexplored astronomical source, contains a great deal of historical information on the work carried out by the Toledan school in the 5th/11th century, but Ibn al-Hā'im, for all his obvious fidelity to Ibn al-Zarqālluh's theories, introduces what he considers to be improvements in the Zarqāllian parameters. Such changes, he states, are simply practical (*'amalī*) and have no theoretical (*'ilmī*) implications.

The last of these "Toledan" *zījes* are the two composed by the Andalusio-Tunisian astronomer Muḥammad b. al-Raqqām, whose treatises on sundials were noted in III.1 above. These are *Al-Zīj al-shāmīl fī tahdhīb al-kāmil*, extant in a manuscript of the Kandilli Museum of Istanbul, and *Al-Zīj al-*

qawīm fi funūn al-ta'dīl wa 'l-taqwīm, of which just a few sheets survive in a manuscript in the Museo Naval in Madrid. The former was composed in 679/1280-1 in Tunis, with the aim of simplifying the canons of Ibn al-Hā'im's *Al-Zīj al-kāmil*, adding the numerical tables lacking in this work and renewing the parameters so as to obtain a better agreement between computation and observation. The *Al-Zīj al-qawīm* was probably an adaptation of the previous *zīj* to the geographical coordinates of Granada, composed after Ibn al-Raqqām's arrival in the city in the time of Muḥammad II (672/1273-702/1302). Interestingly, Ibn al-Raqqām must have made a very careful determination of the latitude of Granada, for the table permitting determination of the visibility of the new moon explicitly mentions 37;10 degrees, which is precisely the modern value for the latitude of this city.

III.4 *The criticism of Ptolemy's astronomy and the birth of Andalusī cosmology*

We have seen that Andalusī astronomy, like Islamic astronomy in general, was not purely Ptolemaic, but introduced important modifications in the parameters and models of the *Almagest*. This obviously implied a degree of criticism, which reached its peak with the *Iṣlāḥ al-majisṭī* ("Revision of the *Almagest*") written towards the middle of the 6th/12th century by Jābir b. Aflāḥ, who has already been mentioned in II and III.2 above. Jābir's criticisms are purely theoretical in character, pointing mainly to such inconsistencies, in the *Almagest*, as the Ptolemaic order of the planets (Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), which, as Jābir shows, necessarily implies transits of Mercury and Venus in front of the solar disk. As such transits have not been observed,⁵⁷ Jābir concludes that Mercury and Venus must rotate above the Sun and not below it. On another occasion Jābir is led to criticise Ptolemy by his own mathematical scruples: Ptolemy assumed the bisection of the eccentricity for the superior planets without giving any proof, and calculated the parameters for them by a long iterative process for which his starting point was three observations of oppositions between the planet and the mean Sun. As Jābir considers Ptolemy's method also has methodological defects, he proposes a new one in which he uses two pairs of oppositions, avoids Ptolemy's flaws and obtains sound results from a mathematical point of view. Unfortunately, however, the conditions he requires for his two pairs of oppositions are such that they cannot be observed in a period of time sufficiently short for the planetary apogee not to have altered its position substantially. It seems, then, that Jābir was a competent mathematician, but did not have much practical sense.⁵⁸

On the other hand, the 6th/12th century saw the birth, in al-Andalus, of an important school of philosophers, including such figures as Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl (before 504/1110-581/1185) and Ibn Rushd (520/1126-595/1198) and

Maimonides, which regarded the Ptolemaic system of the world as a mere mathematical tool, capable of accurately computing planetary positions, but unable to represent the physical structure of the Universe, mainly because it employed geometrical lines and points rather than solid spheres, and because it contradicted Aristotelian physics. Ptolemy himself tried to overcome the first of these "defects" in his *Planetary Hypotheses*, a work in which he conceived solid rings instead of mathematical circles and tried to estimate the size of the Universe.⁵⁹ These hypotheses were, as noted above (III.3), apparently known in al-Andalus towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, since Qāsim b. Muṭarrif, in his *Kitāb al-hay'a*, gives a list of the distances and sizes of the planets which is the same as that of Ptolemy's work.⁶⁰

Ptolemy's *Planetary Hypotheses* was still, however, at variance with Aristotelian physics, and, indeed, with any kind of physics known in the 6th/12th century, and several attempts were therefore made by Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd to create a cosmological system with a physical capacity to exist. We do not have a sufficiently detailed knowledge of the results obtained by Ibn Bājja and Ibn Ṭufayl, while Ibn Rushd himself recognised the total failure of his efforts in this direction.⁶¹ It is only with the *Kitāb fī 'l-hay'a* of Abū Ishāq Nūr al-Dīn [b.] al-Bīṭrūjī⁶² (a disciple of Ibn Ṭufayl), probably composed between 581/1185 and 588/1192, that a complete cosmological system appears. With a limited knowledge of the astronomical literature available,⁶³ he conceives a homocentric universe in the tradition of Eudoxus,⁶⁴ and, using geometrical models which—as Goldstein has shown—derive ultimately from Ibn al-Zarqālluh, displaces Ptolemaic deferents and epicycles to the zone of the north pole of each planetary sphere. His planets are thus always kept at the same distance from the centre of the Earth, but, although al-Bīṭrūjī shows a certain ingenuity in the conception of his models, his system is purely qualitative, has too many defects and inconsistencies and could never have formed the basis for the computation of a set of tables. However, as his main interest has been to create a cosmological system compatible with physical reality, it is important to say a few words about his physical, mainly dynamical, ideas. Both Ibn Rushd and al-Bīṭrūjī were concerned with the problem of justifying how a single first motor can transmit motions in two contrary directions: daily motions from East to West (as a result of the rotation of the Earth) and motions in longitude from West to East. To explain this, al-Bīṭrūjī uses notions taken from neo-Platonic, not Aristotelian dynamics: the daily rotation is transmitted from the first motor to the planetary spheres—even though the former is separated from them—and this transmission is explained through an allusion to the neo-Platonic *impetus* theory, which states, for example, that when an archer shoots an arrow he impregnates the projectile with a certain amount of force (*impetus*) which allows the arrow to move even if it is separated from its motor (archer and bow). The arrow progressively loses its *impetus*, and this entails a slow-

ing down of its movement until it stops and falls to the earth. Such slowing down also affects the planetary spheres as a result of their distance from the motor; and this is why the starry sphere is the fastest of all, followed, in decreasing order of velocity, by the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, through to the Moon. The motions in longitude, from West to East, of the stars (precession of the equinoxes) and planets are analysed as the delay (*taqṣīr*) which corresponds to this diminution of velocity. The *taqṣīr* (motion in longitude) is, then, maximum for the Moon and minimum for the sphere of the fixed stars. To this al-Bīṭrūjī adds that each planetary sphere feels a desire (*shawq*) to imitate (*tashabbuh*) the motion of the sphere immediately above and tries to reach the perfection (*kamāl*) of the motion transmitted by the first motor. This *shawq*, again a neo-Platonic idea, compensates for the *taqṣīr*, and is identified by al-Bīṭrūjī with the motion in anomaly of each planet on its epicycle. The result is, therefore, what one would expect: a complete failure to explain the physical world, due, mainly, to the inadequacy of the available physical notions. Despite his interest for the history of philosophy, al-Bīṭrūjī's astronomy does not stand comparison with the great developments of Ibn al-Zarqālluh and his school, with whom Andalusī astronomy attained its highest level.

It is, perhaps, premature to attempt any kind of conclusion from this short survey of the development of the Exact Sciences in al-Andalus. I would, however, say that our knowledge of the subject has changed considerably over the past twenty years. Until fairly recently we should have said there was no such thing as Andalusī mathematics, but, following research undertaken on King al-Mu'taman and Ibn Mu'adh al-Jayyānī, this is now no longer the case. Ibn Mu'adh appears to be original in his study of the Euclidean concept of ratio (*nisba*), and, if his treatise on trigonometry seems to derive mainly from sound assimilation of Eastern sources largely unknown in the western Islamic countries, his work in the field was, nevertheless, probably extremely significant for the development of the subject both in the Maghrib and in Latin Europe. As for al-Mu'taman, it is still much too early to judge him, but Hogendijk's research clearly points in the direction of originality. These two figures are, however, exceptions; Andalusī mathematics does not seem to have had the importance and, especially, the continuity of its eastern counterpart. If we do in fact have to change our minds in the future, this will probably entail the discovery of new manuscripts like those of al-Mu'taman's *Istikmāl*.

The situation is entirely different when we consider the history of Andalusī astronomy. Here we have a clear continuity of astronomical studies from the 4th/10th to the 8th/14th century at least, and also a central figure: the famous Toledan astronomer Ibn al-Zarqālluh, whose astronomical ideas and lines of research dominate the development of the subject for more than

three centuries, both in al-Andalus and in the Maghrib. Until the 5th/11th century, al-Andalus remained an offshoot of Eastern Islam in astronomy, and the fact that the Indian tradition of al-Khwārizmī's *Sindhind* was strongly influential at a time when it had become obsolete in the Mashriq did little to raise the country's reputation in the field. The arrival of Ibn al-Zarqālluh, however, changed the situation entirely, in that he contributed to the development of a new kind of Andalusī astronomy characterised by a peculiar mixture of Indian elements (*Sindhind*), Greek elements (Ptolemy) and Islamic elements (al-Battānī), to which he added certain new ideas (trepidation, motion of the solar apogee, solar model with variable eccentricity, correction to the Ptolemaic lunar model) which were extremely influential both in the Maghrib and in Latin Europe, and even, sometimes, in the Mashriq. To this one should add the design of new calculating devices (equatoria, universal astrolabes), the recovery of perpetual almanacs and the appearance of a new cosmology attempting to create a new astronomical system compatible with a kind of physics which, again, was the result of a peculiar mixture of Aristotelian and neo-Platonic elements. The picture as a whole is highly original within the general frame of Islamic astronomy.

¹ L. Molina, *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1983, I, 138.

² J. Samsó, "Sobre los materiales astronómicos en el 'Calendario de Córdoba' y en su versión latina del siglo XIII", in *Nuevos estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo de Alfonso X*, ed. J. Vernet, Barcelona, 1983, pp. 125-38; *idem*, "En torno al problema de la determinación del acimut de la alquibla en al-Andalus en los siglos VIII y IX. Estado de la cuestión e hipótesis de trabajo", in *Homenaje a Manuel Ocaña Jiménez*, Córdoba, 1990, pp. 207-12.

³ J. Sesiano, "Le Liber mahameleth, un traité mathématique latin composé au XIIe siècle en Espagne", *Actes du Premier Colloque International d'Alger sur l'Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes*, Algiers, 1988, pp. 69-98; *idem*, "Survivance médiévale en Hispanie d'un problème né en Mésopotamie", *Centaurus*, 30, 1987, pp. 18-61.

⁴ A. Djebbar, "Quelques aspects de l'Algèbre dans la tradition mathématique arabe de l'Occident Musulman", *Premier Colloque International d'Alger*, pp. 102-06.

⁵ Edition and Spanish translation by J. A. Sánchez Pérez, *Compendio de Algebra de Abenbêder*, Madrid, 1916. See also Djebbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-11.

⁶ M. Souissi, "'Ālim ri'yādī Andalusi. Al-Qalaṣādī", *Ḥawliyyāt al-jāmi'a 'l-Tūnisiyya*, 9, 1972, pp. 33-49; *idem*, "Un mathématicien tuniso-andalou: al-Qalaṣādī", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino de Estudios Históricos*, Madrid, 1973, pp. 147-69; A. S. Saidan, "al-Qalaṣādī", in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, XI, New York, 1975, pp. 229-30; A. Djebbar, "Al-Qalaṣādī: 'ālim Andalusi-Maghribi min al-qarn al-khāmis 'aṣhar", *Al-'ilm wa-l-tiknūliyyā (Revue Arabe des Technologies)*, Paris, 1, No. 9, July 1990, pp. 12-23.

⁷ His *Kaṣḥf al-asrār 'an 'ilm ḥurūf al-ghubār* has recently been edited and translated into French by M. Souissi, Tunis, 1988.

⁸ See A. Djebbar, *Deux mathématiciens peu connus de l'Espagne du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1984, which provides a general survey of the secondary sources on al-Mu'taman and Ibn Sayyid.

⁹ J. P. Hogendijk, "Discovery of an 11th-Century Geometrical Compilation: the *Istikmāl* of Yūsuf al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd, king of Saragossa", *Historia Mathematica*, 13, 1986, pp. 43-52; *idem*, "Le roi-geomètre al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd et son Livre de la Perfection (Kitāb al-Istikmāl)", *Premier Colloque International*, pp. 53-66; *idem*, "The Geometrical Parts of the *Istikmāl* of Yūsuf al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd (11th century). An Analytical Table of Contents", to be published in *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*.

¹⁰ E. B. Plooi, *Euclid's conception of ratio and his definition of proportional magnitudes as criticized by Arabian commentators. Including the text in facsimile with translation of the commentary on ratio of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Mu'ādh al-Djajjānī*, Rotterdam, 1950.

¹¹ M. V. Villuendas, *La trigonometría europea en el siglo XI. Estudio de la obra de Ibn Mu'ādh*, Barcelona, 1979. See also J. Samsó, "Notas sobre la trigonometría esférica de Ibn Mu'ādh", *Awraq*, 3, 1980, pp. 60-68; and M. G. Doncel, "Quadratic Interpolations in Ibn Mu'ādh", *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 32, 1982, pp. 68-77.

¹² M. T. Debarnot, "Introduction du triangle polaire par Abū Naṣr b. 'Irāq", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 2, 1978, p. 132, n. 30.

¹³ R. Lorch, "The Astronomy of Jābir ibn Aflah", *Centaurus*, 19, 1975, pp. 85-107. In spite of this, N. G. Hairetdinova ("On Spherical Trigonometry in the Medieval Near East and in Europe", *Historia Mathematica*, 13, 1986, pp. 136-46) has postulated a direct influence of Ibn Mu'ādh's trigonometry on Regiomontanus.

¹⁴ Edition and Spanish translation by J. Samsó, "La primitiva versión árabe del Libro de las Cruces", in Vernet (ed.), *Nuevos estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo de Alfonso X*, pp. 149-61. See also J. Samsó, "The Early Development of Astrology in al-Andalus", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 3, 1979, pp. 228-43.

¹⁵ J. Samsó, "En torno a los métodos de cálculo utilizados por los astrólogos andalusíes a fines del s. VIII y principios del IX: algunas hipótesis de trabajo", *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 509-22.

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¹⁷ See the edition and Spanish translation by J. Carandell, *Risāla fī 'ilm al-zīlāl de Muḥammad ibn al-Raqqām al-Andalusī*, Barcelona, 1988. See also J. Carandell, "An analemma for the Determination of the Azimuth of the Qibla in the *Risāla fī 'ilm al-zīlāl* of Ibn al-Raqqām", *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 1, 1984, pp. 61-72.

¹⁸ I am most grateful to Professor Fuat Sezgin of the University of Frankfurt for his generosity in providing me with a microfilm of this manuscript.

¹⁹ Ibn Ishāq's *zīj* is extant in manuscript Hyderabad Andra Pradesh State Library 298. It was discovered by D. A. King, who sent me a photocopy.

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²³ E. S. Kennedy, *The Planetary Equatorium of Jamshīd Giyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī (d. 1429)*, Princeton, 1960.

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HYDRAULIC TECHNOLOGY IN AL-ANDALUS

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Introduction

Although the remarks that follow are primarily concerned with hydraulic techniques, mainly those related to irrigation systems and to irrigation agriculture and a "technology" that includes both mechanical and institutional elements, they are also directed to broader questions of the place of technology within Islamic culture and in the historiography of that culture.

I. Irrigation agriculture and the Arab "green revolution"

Although the Romans irrigated in Spain, dry-farming was the basis of Roman agriculture and the artificial supply of water was supplementary. The considerable hydraulic works of the Romans (which the Arabs later admired as being monuments to the engineering prowess of the ancients—*al-uwal*), such as the Aqueduct of Segovia, were designed for urban water supply only, not for agriculture, although certain storage dams in Extremadura may indeed have stored water for agricultural use. In any event, the Muslims must have found that much of the pre-existing irrigation infrastructure was buried in subsoil. Such was no doubt true of the Valencian *huerta*, which had suffered a catastrophic population loss after the political turmoil of the 3rd century A. D.

The Muslim settlers, therefore, whether Arab or Berber, either took over or extended pre-existing channels or else installed them anew, basing themselves on practices learned in the Near East or North Africa. The context in which irrigation agriculture was established, however, was peculiar to the circumstances of the Arab conquest and the world it created. The conquests of the 2nd/8th century promoted a vast East-to-West movement of crops mainly grown in India under Monsoon conditions and which could not be grown in the Mediterranean world, with its characteristic summer droughts, without irrigation. The most notable of these crops, in order of their economic importance, were rice, sugar cane and such fruits as oranges and related citrus, the banana and the watermelon.¹ We therefore confront a richly complex diffusion which included: irrigated cultivars, mainly of Indian origin; a doctrine of agricultural knowledge—Indian agriculture (*filāḥa hindiyya*)—on how to cultivate them; and the theoretical and practical knowledge of irrigation required to grow them in the Mediterranean. The irrigation component of the new agriculture was itself a complex amalgam of technology

(in the form of hydraulic appurtenances required to divert, conduct and raise water for irrigation) and institutions (the arrangements necessary for distributing the water among communities of farmers, including notions of water rights, principles of allocation and measurement, and mechanisms for administration, adjudication of disputes and social control of water distribution). The customary and legal principles according to which hydraulic agriculture was organised do, I wish to emphasise, constitute a technology, because without them the mechanical and physical structures of irrigation could not be put into use.

II. *Sources for the study of irrigation in al-Andalus*

In view of the paucity of documentation dealing directly with hydraulics, the study of Andalusi irrigation requires a mixture of techniques and approaches. Certain hydraulic appurtenances such as *qanāts* and *norias* are dealt with in technical treatises, so we have some information on how they were in fact constructed. Such descriptions can then be checked against both archaeological evidence and recent ethnographic information, which must be considered a valid source of information in view of the conservativeness of agricultural practices and their resistance to change in traditional societies. Place names also provide complementary evidence on the distribution of hydraulic structures, such as dams and *qanāts*, as well as providing some evidence as to their dating, as do the frequent arabisms by which irrigation techniques and practices continued to be called in Spain. So far as institutions of water distribution are concerned, the few Arabic documents antedating the Christian conquest that have been discovered² nevertheless reveal enough information to validate the vast documentary evidence of Islamic irrigation systems that survived into the Christian period. In general, wherever the Christians encountered functioning irrigation systems these were ordered to continue functioning "just as they were in the times of the Saracens" (to cite a typical formula). Two documental genres have proven particularly rich in yielding information concerning pre-existent Islamic systems: the first are the books of *repartimiento*, or land division, which record the human landscape of al-Andalus (though not without distortion) as the Christians encountered it;³ and second are the registers of the properties of religious endowments ("habices") and related documents—translations into Spanish of Arabic land registers in Granada—on the basis of which the irrigation institutions of Nasrid Granada can be at least in part reconstructed.⁴ Finally, comparative study of past and present Islamic irrigation systems, both in Syria and Yemen (the two areas of the eastern Islamic world whose imprint was salient in Andalusi irrigation) and North Africa, can be expected to yield important clues as to the cultural filiation of irrigation in al-Andalus.

In the past ten years a number of coincident circumstances have joined to stimulate an avalanche of new historical studies of irrigation agriculture in

Spain, many of which reflect upon the Islamic period and the Muslim contribution.⁵ Among these stimuli I might note: (1) the *régimen de autonomías*, which has both stimulated and financed numerous high-quality studies of local history; (2) the dissolution of an older consensus of Spanish medievalism, which concentrated on cereal farming as the basis of agriculture; and (3) the flowering of medieval archaeology, which has generated numerous new hypotheses concerning the social organisation of al-Andalus, including some interesting notions about hydraulic agriculture.⁶ Here, I will limit my discussion to one archaeological study because it shows both the strengths and the limitations of the genre. Recently, Karl Butzer, Joan Mateu and a group of archaeologists and medievalists began to study a number of irrigated sites in the province of Castellón in order to study the origin and historical and cultural patterns of successive irrigation in Roman, Islamic and Christian agrarian régimes. Their conclusions were that the Islamic conquest "did not fundamentally alter the available range of cultivars and technology" and that, because of the depopulation and pattern of farm abandonment of late imperial times, "the Islamic cycle of renewed intensification and improved productivity gains undue prominence because of this ultimately catastrophic decline".⁷

Such a conclusion (of "undue" prominence) introduces a value judgement which distorts the meaning of cultural change and requires a short historiographical digression. Spanish Arabists and medievalists of the generation of Miguel Asín Palacios and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz held that the Islamic conquest only added superficial cultural gloss to a native population which continued to display "Hispanic" cultural and character traits, a "pan-Hispanic" view which was raised to the level of national ideology under the Franco régime, which embraced the historiography of Sánchez Albornoz, a republican exile, even as it excoriated his political stance. This view, which I call "pan-Hispanism", is currently known in historian's argot as "continuism". Following the lead of Américo Castro, who held that there was a sharp socio-cultural break caused by the Arab invasion, many historians of my generation and virtually all of the younger Spanish medievalists have argued that the acculturation of Muwallads was complete and that their culture should be called "Andalusi" in preference to misleading hyphenates like "Hispano-Arab". Following Don Américo we hold that what is "Hispanic" cannot be "Arab" and vice-versa.⁸ The successful attack on pan-Hispanism, however, has now produced a new kind of rigidity which dissuades from any re-evaluation of institutional continuity between Roman and Islamic Spain, because any hint of "Roman survivals" smacks of continuism. This leaves a new generation of medieval archaeologists hanging on a limb, because there is no theoretical structure in place for putting such evidence (on irrigation régimes, or on pottery, to cite the two most salient examples) in a viable explanatory context.

Butzer's findings must, therefore, be reckoned with. Yet I challenge the notion that "undue prominence" has been given to the Arab (and possibly Berber) role in the renewal of the Peninsula's agricultural base. Such a view runs the risk of reviving the old canard that Arab civilisation, because of its genius for the synthesis of disparate cultural elements, was somehow lacking in originality, as if synthesis were not a culturally creative act. Our view is quite different: the melding of Indian agriculture, Roman and Persian hydraulic techniques, and a legal régime of water distribution combining elements of Arab and Berber tribal norms, Islamic law and Roman provincial customary law (a complex mixture that needs to be unravelled) constituted something quite different from its antecedent Roman irrigation agroecosystem, in terms of both water use and norms of distribution, let alone the kind of economy into which it was integrated.

Such strictures aside, we can say that the merit of Butzer's approach is to have provided a model for the study of such systems, by factoring them into a scale of analysis. The macrosystems of the great alluvial *huertas* were rebuilt by the Muslims on top of a Roman skeleton. Mesosystems (a village irrigating from one or more springs) and microsystems (tank, cistern or *noría* irrigation of family parcel) have different origins:

The meso- and micro-scale networks in the adjacent mountains, were not superimposed on pre-Islamic irrigation layouts. They represent a significant expansion of irrigation into new eco-habitats, presumably during the second half of the economic revival (11th and 12th centuries) and were probably the work of settlers whose forebears had already been acculturated as Arabic-speaking Muslims.⁹

The over-definition of "origins", with its consequent cultural loadings, vitiates the otherwise perceptive findings of this study (although it describes the agriculture of Eastern Spain only).¹⁰

III. *Macrosystems*

The southern alluvial plain of the Mijares river provides the best archaeological evidence. The westernmost sector, now dry-farmed, has the remains of several Roman canals. The middle sector is irrigated by canals built by Christian settlers in the 1270s. The eastern third is rich in Arabic place names, was the focus of Muslim settlement and was described by Idrisi as a prosperous irrigated district.¹¹ Although Butzer believes that Arabic toponyms have been overworked as cultural markers,¹² such studies yield results not much different from the archaeological survey of Burriana, the chief irrigated settlement of Muslim La Plana. Place-name evidence yields similar results. Further south, in Lorca, Robert Pocklington finds that 68% of the canals have pre-Islamic names, those with Arab names being found on the periphery and representing Muslim-built extensions of a pre-existing system. In Murcia, on the other hand, only 22% of the canals have pre-Islamic names. Those

with Arab names form a coherent network, while those with pre-Arab names display a scattering pattern.¹³ The inference is that the intensification of the irrigation system built by the Muslims blotted out the much more modest canal network they encountered there. In these cases, archaeological and toponymic evidence yield comparable results: the Muslims took over an area which had been modestly irrigated (the *huerta* of Lorca is much smaller than that of Murcia), rebuilt and extended the systems and, to the extent that the Arab and/or Berber settlers were tribal groups, they reorganised the allocation and administration procedures in accordance with tribal norms (a fundamental point not alluded to by the aforementioned authors).

The *huerta* of Valencia presents a similar picture. There is no clear picture of the extent to which the Romans irrigated there.¹⁴ Although ceramic canal checks clearly identifiable as Roman have been excavated, continuous use of the *huerta* since at least the 4th/10th century has obliterated earlier remains, or made them inaccessible. Of the major canals and branches about half have Arabic names, including Mislata (*Manzil* 'Aṭā'), Favara (Hawwāra—a Berber tribe), Rascanya (in Arabic *rās al-qanāh* "head of the canal"), Faitanar (*khayṭ al-nahr*, literally "thread of the river", in Arabic), Benatger (after a tribal segment), Algiròs (from *al-zurūb*, "the canals") and so forth.¹⁵ I have made the case for the Arab nature of the irrigation system of the Valencian *huerta* based on the similarity of distribution arrangements there with those of Barada river of the Ghūṭa of Damascus. In each case the water of the river is considered to carry 24 units of water (*qirāṭs* in Damascus; *filas* in Valencia) at each stage of diversion.¹⁶ Guichard has challenged my interpretation on the basis of his supposition that the *huerta* was settled mainly by Berbers, e.g. the Hawwāra, who at some time irrigated along the Favara Canal.¹⁷ Others have criticised his hypothesis of Berber settlement (see discussion, below), but for me the controversy serves to illustrate an elementary point about irrigation systems and their diffusion. The Arabs and Berbers who settled in al-Andalus did not bring canals, *qanāts*, dams or *norias* with them; they only brought ideas. In assessing the hydraulic technologies of al-Andalus, therefore, the physical origin of canals is irrelevant: whatever the Muslims found they integrated into a quite different social, cultural and economic system than that prevailing before, according to norms they brought with them. And, even if Berbers vastly outnumbered Arabs in the *huerta* of Valencia (which cannot be demonstrated), the presence of just *one* Arab who knew the Syrian system could have sufficed to introduce it. To suppose that ideas and techniques can only diffuse via a folk migration is simply ingenuous.

The meaning of the common term in which measurement units of water are expressed in Eastern Spain, *fila* (Valencia; *hila* or *hilo* in Castilian) merits a brief discussion apart. The word means "thread", and we know both from place names like Faitanar or Alfeitami¹⁸ and from documentation¹⁹ that

fila is simply a Romance translation of Arabic *khayṭ*. The *fila* is virtually everywhere a twelve-base unit of account (that is, it is imaginary) which expresses the water right of an individual, collectivity or town as a proportion of the total amount of water in the stream, in some segment of the stream, or at some stage of it. Whenever it had to be measured, as in the case of a water shortage, it was converted, logically, into time units (hours or days of water). The universality of twelve-base measurement units for irrigation throughout the Islamic world makes the *fila* the lynchpin of the case for Arab imprint upon distribution arrangements, along with the terms for irrigation turn, *tanda* (of uncertain origin, but presumed an arabism) in Valencia, *dula* (from *dawla*, the nearly universal expression for "turn" in the Yemen and in the Saharan chain of oases), *ador* (from *dawr*), and so forth. In the canals water was divided into aliquot portions by means of physical structures called divisors (*partidor* in Catalan and Castilian, but a number of synonymous arabisms are also found in post-conquest Christian systems—*almazem*, from *maqṣam*, in Gandia, and *sistar*, from *shaṭara*, in the Vall de Segó, both from Arabic words meaning "to divide").²⁰

The diversion dam, a structure built across a stream to divert its water into a canal, is a universal technique known throughout the ancient Mediterranean and Middle East, and no cultural paternity can be assigned to it, even though Christian witnesses in court cases in 14th century Valencia were able to recognise those dams built before the conquest by their masonry. But the hydraulics of diversion dams were understood by all, as is suggested by the semantic equivalence of Catalan *resclosa* and Arabic *sudd* (which yields the common arabism *assut* in Catalan, *azud* in Castilian), both indicating closure. The current wheel, a compartmented *noria* which lifts water from a stream and discharges it into an elevated canal, is associated both with macrosystems (e.g. in Murcia) and with mesosystems (e.g. in Teruel). In the former, it was used to integrate lands of high elevation into the wider *huerta* system.

IV. Mesosystems

Those that Butzer studied in the Sierra de Espadàn are quite small—villages irrigated by one or two springs and with a dense packing of hydraulic techniques closely associated with Arab settlement, including terraced fields, cisterns, *shādūfs*, *norias* and measurement by clepsydra.²¹ Thus in Ahín water from a perennial spring is stored in three cisterns and then distributed to fields on each bank in a weekly rotation. At Chóvar, one irrigation system consisted of a spring, two cisterns and canals irrigating some nine hectares; a second, distinct system irrigates around five hectares with spring water stored by storage dam and distributed in time-units measured with a clepsydra. This second system required that water be lifted onto some fields, and ruins of

both a *shādūf* and a *noria* remain. From this evidence, Butzer's group concludes that "the lift and storage technology of the sierra in particular and the Valencian irrigation sphere in general indicates a combination of classical and Islamic roots. Introduction of the animal-driven water-wheel implies greater efficiency and will have facilitated Islamic intensification of agriculture in previously unirrigated areas."²²

A larger mesosystem, in this case of distinctly Arab introduction, is that of Banyalbufar, Mallorca. This area of 60 hectares is irrigated by water from a *qanāt* and then distributed into cisterns or holding tanks of two varieties, uncovered (*ṣahrīj* in Arabic, *safareiq* in Catalan) and covered (*jubb* in Arabic, *aljub* in Catalan), from which terraced fields are watered in weekly turns. The fields are embanked in terraces called *marjades*, a *marqa* being the sustaining wall. These terms are thought to be derived from Arabic *ma'jil* and to have been introduced, along with the associated repertory of hydraulic techniques, from South Arabia under the Banū Ghāniya in the late 6th/12th century.²³ The turn procedure in Banyalbufar is broadly consonant with those of South Arabia (seven day turns, with days counted from sunrise to sunset), although it is also somewhat anomalous. In Yemen water is usually distributed to irrigators by time-units measured with clepsydras or other devices and overseen by an official. In Banyalbufar there is no formal irrigation community and no official designated to oversee the turn, which is executed by agreement of the irrigators.²⁴ This is a rare procedure in Eastern Spain, but not unheard of.

The *qanāt*, or filtration gallery, is a Persian technique widely diffused in Islamic Spain in meso-level irrigation systems. *Qanāts* are sometimes described as vertical wells, but a true filtration gallery is built to skim along a water table and is provided with vertical shafts to supply access and air to workers engaged in maintaining the tunnel. In fact, the Arabs used a variety of related techniques to transport water underground, particularly in difficult terrains, not all of which captured water by filtration, and also built filtration galleries in river beds, not a topography characteristic of *qanāts*. Archaeologists have recently studied *qanāts* in Mallorca and Crevillente (Valencia);²⁵ river-bed galleries or *cimbras* in Andarax (Almería), shorter than *qanāts* usually are, without breathing wells, and which are not tunnels but rather covered trenches.²⁶ In Cocentaina there are *alcavons*, tunnels with breathing wells, but which carry water from the Alcoi river to irrigation canals without collecting water by filtration.

V. Microsystems

Those studied by Butzer were fields sited above the communal mesosystems and irrigated by tanks.²⁷ But by far the most common type of microsystem was the single family farm watered by an animal-powered *noria*. The larger current wheel, which lifts water by means of a compartmented rim rather

than a chain of pots, lifts large amounts of water and is characteristic of macro- or mesosystems where they are found on perennial streams or rivers or, as in the *huerta* of Murcia, on main irrigation canals.²⁸ A current wheel can be converted into an undershot vertical mill simply by connecting it to a horizontal axis. Thus the two techniques are closely related, and an artisan who can make a current wheel can also make a vertical mill.

But the *noria* that concerns us here is the smaller kind, powered in the Islamic Middle Ages by burros or oxen. Among the Andalusi agronomical writers, both Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Abū ʿl-Khayr provide specifications on tapping wells and on building *norias*.²⁹ For all their ubiquity, *norias* have not been much studied³⁰ and now have practically disappeared from Spain. Only their sites, therefore, can be studied, both from an archaeological and an engineering perspective. A recent archaeological survey in Villacañas (La Mancha), an area of the Islamic kingdom of Toledo where *norias* were densely implanted, reveals many *noria* wells provided with staircases or tunnels leading to the surface of the water. This technique is related to that of tunnelling for a *qanāt*, and indeed, as its name suggests, there was also a *qanāt* in Villacañas.³¹ In a recent article, Robert Pocklington has suggested that the *qanāt* was also called *naqb* in Andalusi Arabic, as in the phrase *naqb al-bīr*, "the tunnel of the well", and, on this basis, suggests that the etymology of the place name Moncófar is *manqūba*, that is, a well with a gallery—a *qanāt*.³² This might be so, but it is also true that wells could be tunnelled not only horizontally, as in a *qanāt*, but also vertically, and indeed diagonally as in the access staircase of a *noria*.

The large-scale introduction of the animal-driven *noria* made it possible for a family farm to produce a surplus for the market. The "*noria* revolution" was, therefore, intimately involved with the expansion of regional economies that characterised the *ṭāʾifa* period.³³ A *noria* site continuously used from the first half of the 4th/10th century to the mid 800s/1400s has recently been excavated at Oliva (Valencia). The chief interest of the site is that it yielded more than 5000 fragments of *noria* pots (*arcaduz* in Spanish, from Arabic *qādūs*) which show, first, that the perforation in the base recommended by Ibn al-ʿAwwām as a way to prevent breakage resulting from the impact of the pot on the surface of the water was introduced towards the end of the 5th/11th century, and, second, that the form of the pots suggests Syrian prototypes.³⁴ I might also add that in those areas of Spain where *norias* were used, the *noria* pot, required in huge numbers for replacement, was the basis of the local pottery industry.³⁵

VI. Mills

The origin of the water mill is uncertain. The common horizontal (vertical axis) gristmill which is generically called the "Norse mill" in the West was also known in the East at an early date.³⁶ Documentary evidence for mills in

al-Andalus is not abundant. The *Repartimientos* (Castilian; *Repartiments* in Catalan), land registers which recorded elements of the Andalusī landscape in parcels granted out to Christian settlers, show that al-Andalus was amply endowed with mills. That of Valencia mentions more than one hundred mills, with thirty-five in the city and *huerta* of Valencia itself, and nineteen in Játiva.³⁷ These were horizontal mills, many with more than one millstone (an indication of the abundance of hydraulic energy available in rivers or irrigation canals) and many belonged to important officials (for example, to a *rā'is* and a *qā'id*; also, in Játiva, two mills are recorded as belonging to the state—*almazem*).³⁸ These mills are presumed all to be horizontal gristmills, first because no industrial mills (which were generally vertical) are specified, and second because in Valencia there are no mill sites provided with the millponds that overshot, vertical mills require. That would not rule out undershot vertical mills which involve an easy adaptation of the current wheel, but none are clearly documented. It may be that horizontal mills could be adopted for simple industrial purposes, and al-Qazwīnī mentions a horizontal mill in Mallorca which, in times of water shortage, was connected to a *noria* wheel (*dūlāb*) and run as an overshot vertical mill fed by a chute.³⁹

The *Repartiment* of Mallorca similarly documents 162 mills, and Miquel Barceló estimates that just before the Christian conquest of 626-7/1229 there were around 197 mills in all.⁴⁰ In consonance with the limited water resources of the island, these were small, very few having more than one millstone. Almost one-quarter of these horizontal mills were powered by *qanāts*. As in Játiva, the *makhzan* owned mills, as did the *habūs* (three mills) and an unnamed *shaykh*. Barceló believes that the tribal pattern of collective control of water prevented the formation of groups that monopolised mills.

Complementary evidence on Andalusī mills comes from place names. The *Repartiment* of Valencia mentions places with the elements *Raal*, *Rahal*, *Arreha*, *Raha*, etc. from Arabic *raḥā*, pl. *arḥā'*.⁴¹ In spite of the salience of mills with multiple stones on the *Repartiment* of Valencia, simpler, one-stone mills must have been the most common and were typically massed at points of concentrated hydraulic energy, whether on suitable watercourses or near the heads of irrigation canals. Such a place was the Faḥṣ al-raḥī, "field of the mills", near Córdoba.⁴²

Conclusion

No doubt the diffusion of mills and irrigation systems was linked. According to Miquel Barceló, in al-Andalus the mill was an afterthought to irrigation and subordinate to it, in contrast to the situation in feudal Catalonia, where milling was an end in itself (as a feudal monopoly) and irrigation a mere by-product.⁴³ The contrast in the two systems is a marker, for Barceló, of two different kinds of rural social organisation, the feudal and hierarchical Christian system and the egalitarian, tribal Muslim one. The model is promis-

ing, at least as a working hypothesis, and serves to underscore a central issue in the history of technology, namely the linkage between social systems and techniques. Mills and irrigation canals, both nearly universal techniques, nevertheless acquired different economic, social and cultural meanings when adopted in sharply different societies and cultures. Techniques are artefacts which, in their mechanical sense, can be analysed and classified without respect to their ambient culture. But *technologies*, techniques as cognitive systems, are specific to particular societies and cultures. Al-Andalus stood astride Europe and Asia geographically, and between Roman Hispania and Spain historically. But the patterns of diffusion, invention and innovation which history and archaeology reveal have to be interpreted on the basis of what we know of the social organisation of Andalusi society. Inasmuch as rural Andalusi society can only be known archaeologically and through comparative analysis, advances in the history of its technology must await the generation of hypotheses concerning the social structure within which these techniques were deployed.

¹ See Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge (England), 1983, and his earlier summary, "The Arab Agricultural Revolution and its Diffusion, 700-1100", *Journal of Economic History*, 34, 1974, pp. 8-35.

² See below, notes 4 and 19. Most of the pre-conquest documentation is from Naṣrid Granada and, hence, late.

³ See, for example, the *repartimientos* of Valencia and Murcia: M. D. Cananes and R. Ferrer Navarro, *Repartiment de València*, Saragossa, 1979, 2 vols.; Juan Torres Fontes (ed.), *Repartimiento de Murcia*, Madrid, 1960. Texts of the *repartiment* of Mallorca survive in Latin, Catalan and Arabic versions; see Angel Poveda, "Toponimia árabe-musulmana de Mayurqa", *Awraq*, 3, 1980, pp. 75-101. See also Poveda's studies of water-related place names in Mallorca, "Aigües i corrents d'aigua a la toponímia de Mayurqa segons el *Llibre del repartiment*", *Bulleti de la Societat d'Onomàstica*, 10, 1982.

⁴ On the utility of the *Libros de Habices* for deciphering Andalusi irrigation systems, see Juan Martínez Ruiz, "Terminología árabe del riego en el antiguo reino de Granada (siglos XV-XVII), según los libros de habices", in *El agua en zonas áridas: Arqueología e historia* (Acts of the I Coloquio de Historia y Medio Físico), Almería, 1989, II, 143-65.

⁵ See Thomas F. Glick, "Historia del regadío y las técnicas hidráulicas en la España medieval y moderna: Bibliografía comentada", *Chronica Nova*, Granada (in press).

⁶ The most interesting theories have been generated by Miquel Barceló and his group. See Barceló, "El diseño de espacios irrigados en al-Andalus: Un enunciado de principios generales" in *El agua en zonas áridas*, I, xiii-l; and Ramon Martí, "Hacia una arqueología hidráulica; la génesis del molino feudal en Cataluña", in *Arqueología medieval. En las afueras del "medievalismo"*, ed. Miquel Barceló, Barcelona, 1988, pp. 165-94.

⁷ Karl W. Butzer *et al.*, "Irrigation Agroecosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 75, 1985, p. 482. An agroecosystem is defined as "successfully 'tested' packages of technology, domesticates, and organisational strategies" (p. 479). In the view expounded here, I regard irrigation technology as including both the specific crops grown and the strategies for managing the hydraulic system.

⁸ I have discussed the anthropological ramifications of the debate between Castro and Sánchez Albornoz in "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11, 1969, pp. 136-54 (with Oriol Pi-Sunyer); "The Ethnic Systems of Premodern Spain", *Comparative Studies in Sociology*, 1, 1978, pp. 157-71; and "Américo Castro: La historia como antropología cultural", *Anthropos*, Barcelona, 21-22, Jan.-Feb. 1983, pp. 84-91.

⁹ Butzer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

¹⁰ See, on this account, Miquel Barceló's comments in "La qüestió de l'hidraulisme andalusí", in *Les aigües cercades (Els qanat(s) de l'illa de Mallorca)*, Palma de Mallorca, 1986, pp. 9-36.

¹¹ Butzer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 487; André Bazzana and Pierre Guichard, "Irrigation et société dans l'Espagne orientale au Moyen Age", in *L'homme et l'eau en Méditerranée et au Proche-Orient*, ed. J. Metral and P. Sanlaville, Lyon, 1981, p. 138.

¹² Butzer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

¹³ Robert Pocklington, "Acequias árabes y pre-árabes en Murcia y Lorca: Aportación toponímica a la historia del regadío", *Xé Colloqui General de la Societat d'Onomàstica. 1er d'Onomàstica Valenciana*, Valencia, 1986, pp. 462-73. Although I believe that toponyms have an archeological value, I do not believe that such evidence justifies the kind of naive generalisations which mar Pocklington's otherwise interesting study. Water was sold in Lorca, he says, because of the "capitalist" nature of "Romano-Visigothic" society (p. 468). See also Barceló's comment on this article, in "La qüestió de l'hidraulisme andalusí" (note 10, above), p. 14.

¹⁴ Anti-continuists deny the existence of macrosystems in Roman and Islamic Spain alike. Thus for Ramon Martí, Butzer's Roman macrosystems never existed ("Oriente y occidente en las tradiciones hidráulicas medievales", in *El agua en zonas áridas*, I, 434), while for Patrice Cressier, "Archéologie des structures hydrauliques en al-Andalus", *ibid.*, pp. li-xcii, on p. lxxiii, there are no documentable macrosystems in al-Andalus. Cressier's conclusion is tendentious, because he, like Guichard and Bazzana, has a stake in demonstrating the tribal nature of all irrigation systems in al-Andalus.

¹⁵ On the etymology of Faitanar and Rascanya, see Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 227-28. *Zarb* (pl. *zurûb*) yields both the canal name Algiròs and the technical term for drainage ditch, *assarb* (in Valencian; *azarbe* in Castilian).

¹⁶ The argument is laid out in *Irrigation and Society*, chapter 11, and defended in *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1979, pp. 68-73; and in "Las técnicas hidráulicas antes y después de la conquista", in *En torno al 750 aniversario: Antecedentes y consecuencias de la conquista de Valencia*, Valencia, I, 53-71.

¹⁷ P. Guichard, *Al-Andalus: Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*, Barcelona, 1976, p. 305; and Bazzana and Guichard, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-25.

¹⁸ Alfeitami: either "a thread of water" (*khayt al-mā*) (Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, p. 367, n. 54) or "the two threads [of water]" (*al-khaytān*) (Carmen Barceló, *Toponimia árabe del País Valencià. Alquerías i castells*, Valencia, 1983).

¹⁹ E.g., an Arabic document from Torres (Valencia) dated 1223 and sewn into a 16th-century court case; see Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia*, p. 227 and note 45.

²⁰ On the Arabic etymologies for terms denoting irrigation turns, see Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, pp. 221 (*tanda*, *ador*), 222 (*almatzem*, *dula*), 223 (*sistar*). On *dula*, see also Manuel Espinar Moreno, Thomas F. Glick and Juan Martínez Ruiz, "El término árabe *dawla* 'turno de riego', en una alquería de las tahas de Berja y Dalías: Ambroz (Almería)", in *El agua en zonas áridas*, I, 121-41, a study based on the Libros de Habices.

²¹ Thomas F. Glick, "Medieval Irrigation Clocks", *Technology and Culture*, 10, 1969, pp. 424-28.

²² Butzer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-96.

²³ Maria Antonia Carbonero Gamundi, "Terrasses per al cultiu irrigat i distribució social de l'aigua a Banyalbufar (Mallorca)", *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 4, 1983, pp. 32-68; Jacqueline Pirenne, *La maîtrise de l'eau en Arabie du Sud antique*, Paris, 1977, pp. 21-34.

²⁴ Carbonero, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁵ See the multi-authored volume *Les aigües cercades* (note 10 above); and Miquel Barceló *et al.*, "Arqueología: La Font Antiga de Crevillent: Ensayo de descripción arqueológica", *Areas, Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Murcia), 9, 1988, pp. 217-31.

²⁶ Maryelle Bertrand and Patrice Cressier, "Irrigation et aménagement du terroir dans la vallée de l'Andarax (Almería): Les réseaux anciens de Ragol", *Mélanges de la Casa de Valázquez*, 21, 1985, pp. 122-23. On *cimbras* supplying the fountains of Almería from the Andarax river, see Manuel Gómez Cruz, "Las ordenanzas de riego de Almería año 1755", in *El agua en zonas áridas*, II, 1101-26. The *cimbra* feeding the Fuente Redonda had a vaulted ceiling, recognised in the 18th century as of "Arabic construction" (*de fábrica árabe*); *ibid.*, p. 1106.

²⁷ Butzer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-99.

- ²⁸ Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, p. 178.
- ²⁹ Lucie Bolens, "L'eau et l'irrigation d'après les traités d'agronomie andalous au moyen-âge (XIème-XIIème siècles)", *Options Méditerranéennes*, 16, December 1972, pp. 71-72.
- ³⁰ But see the classic studies of Julio Caro Baroja, "Sobre la historia de la noria de tiro", *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 1, 1955, pp. 15-79; and Jorge Dias and Fernando Galhano, *Aparelhos de elevar a água de rega*, 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1986.
- ³¹ See Francisco García Martín and Thomas F. Glick, "Norias of La Mancha: A Historical Reconnaissance in Villacañas, Spain" (in press).
- ³² Robert Pocklington, "Toponimia y sistemas de agua en Sharq al-Andalus", in *Agua y poblamiento musulmán*, ed. Mikel de Epalza, Benissa, 1988, p. 106.
- ³³ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 74-76. On the agricultural expansion of the *tā'ifa* period, see *ibid.*, pp. 76-78. Note that in La Mancha, an area of very dense noria concentration in modern times, the Romans had irrigated by gravity flow from perennial and intermittent streams. The Arabs replaced the system entirely with another based on norias and wells; see Almudena Orejas Saco del Valle and F. Javier Sánchez Palencia, "Obras hidráulicas romanas y explotación del territorio en la provincia de Toledo", in *El agua en zonas áridas*, I, 59.
- ³⁴ André Bazzana, Salvador Climent and Yves Montmessin, *El yacimiento medieval de "Les Jovades"-Oliva (Valencia)*, Gandia, 1987.
- ³⁵ Thomas F. Glick, "Noria Pots in Spain", *Technology and Culture*, 18, 1977, pp. 644-50.
- ³⁶ The horizontal mill may have diffused simultaneously to Western Europe and the Islamic world from the same unknown hearth, "presumably north and east of the Roman Empire", Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford, 1962, p. 81.
- ³⁷ Interestingly, none of the Játiva mills were paper mills, always presumed to have been vertical, because the famous paper industry of Islamic Játiva was not mechanised; see Robert I. Burns, *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia*, Princeton, 1985, p. 163.
- ³⁸ Carmen Barceló, "Toponymie tribale ou familiale et organisation de l'espace dans l'aire valencienne à l'époque musulmane", *Revue de l'Occident Méditerranéen et Musulman*, 40, 1985, pp. 32-36.
- ³⁹ Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wustenfeld, II, 381.
- ⁴⁰ Miquel Barceló, "Els molins de Mayurqa", *Les illes orientals d'al-Andalus*, Palma de Mallorca, 1987, pp. 253-62.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Some of these Rafal names, distorted to Real in Castilian, have been presumed to be residences of aristocrats, from *rahl*, rural house, "maison hors d'une ville" (R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1927, I, 516); Miguel Asín Palacios, *Contribución a la toponimia árabe de España*, Madrid, 1944, pp. 128-29.
- ⁴² Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, pp. 232-33.
- ⁴³ These roles are evident in the physical lay-outs of canal/mill systems. See Barceló, "La arqueología extensiva y el estudio de la creación del espacio rural", in *Arqueología medieval* (note 6, above), pp. 234-38.

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AGRICULTURE IN MUSLIM SPAIN

EXPIRACIÓN GARCÍA SÁNCHEZ

Introduction

The importance of agriculture in human life has been obvious since earliest times. One of the many to stress this importance is the agronomer al-Tighnārī from Granada (5th/11th-6th/12th century), who writes that "agriculture constitutes the basis of subsistence for men and animals", so permitting "the preservation of life and the sustaining of the spirit".

The arrival of the Arabs marked the beginning of a profound development in Peninsular agriculture, which, in the last years of Visigothic rule, had regressed and decayed from the high level achieved during the Roman period. The new arrivals encountered a land whose fertility was described and celebrated by the Arab chroniclers and geographers, and they not only quickly perfected techniques inherited from the Hispano-Romans and Visigoths, but added their own specialised expertise in the fields of applied botany, agronomy, pharmacology and medicine—an expertise which, once it had been integrated and applied in practice, produced the great agricultural richness with which al-Andalus was blessed.

This expertise was acquired from different sources and transmitted in various ways. The first and most important source was the Eastern Graeco-Byzantine tradition, the second source was the Latin tradition and the last was local knowledge, possibly a Latin-Mozarabic substratum, which was perfectly assimilated. To this collection of diverse knowledge must be added, at a later date, the learning collected and transmitted in the *Nabataean Agriculture*, the first great Arabic work of agriculture, which was considered at that time to represent the Mesopotamian tradition.

I. The Andalusī school of agronomy

It was in the 4th/10th century that Andalusī scientists, having assimilated the knowledge of the Abbasid East, began to make original contributions to science, and this incipient tendency on the part of pre-eminent figures to make themselves independent of Eastern culture and science, together with a confluence of other elements and circumstances, led to the beginnings of a so-called "Andalusī school of agronomy", which achieved its highest point in the following 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

One event which particularly favoured the development of pharmacology and botany, and hence of agronomy, was the acquisition of a copy of the

Materia Medica of Dioscorides,¹ sent as a gift from the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus to the ruler of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. However, the really decisive step towards the birth of an Andalusī school of agronomy was the composition, by 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, of the *Calendar of Córdoba*,² a work dedicated to the ruler al-Ḥakam II and containing agricultural data—inserted, usually, at the end of the description of each of the months of the year—in the areas of arboriculture, horticulture and gardening. There are also indications that 'Arīb wrote a treatise on agriculture, now lost, which was the source of the agronomical references in the *Calendar*. If this theory were confirmed, it would make his book the first Andalusī treatise on agriculture.³

To another great contemporary figure, Abū 'l-Qāsim Khalaf b 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī, is attributed the authorship of a new treatise on agriculture, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-filāḥa*. This man, the "Abulcasis" of the medieval Latin texts, was the well-known court physician who served both al-Ḥakam II and al-Manṣūr, the general who succeeded him as ruler of al-Andalus. Although no Arabic source mentions the work, it is not surprising, given the inter-relation of the different disciplines we know today as the natural sciences, that al-Zahrāwī should, like other Andalusī physical scientists, have been attracted by agronomical studies; and, in that he was unquestionably the teacher, if indirectly, of later authors, he is considered by some⁴ as the initiator of the Andalusī school of agronomy.

Another 4th/10th century text on agronomy was recently published as an anonymous work,⁵ although the evidence seems to point to the authorship of a certain Ibn al-Jawād, about whom nothing is known. This work is divided into ten chapters and limits itself to the three agronomical fields of arboriculture, horticulture and gardening, the most interesting part, undoubtedly, being the fifth chapter, which deals with instructions for the cultivation of the most important ornamental plants known in al-Andalus at the time, and so supplements the information given in the *Calendar of Córdoba*.

Another important element in the later and most spectacular development of Andalusī agronomy is the appearance of botanical or experimental gardens, in which attempts were made to grow (from seeds, roots or cuttings) new plants brought from the most remote parts of the Near East, or to improve varieties of plants already known in the Peninsula. It happened frequently that agronomers collected plants in their travels to use later in their experiments.

The first known botanical garden was al-Ruṣāfa,⁶ a kind of country estate devoted to recreation, built near Córdoba on the orders of the first Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I. The Arabic sources give a splendid account of the construction and agricultural activity there, laying special emphasis on the introduction of new plants which were later to spread throughout al-Andalus.⁷

The same kind of agricultural activity must have taken place at Madīnat al-Zahrā', the palatine city of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, although information from Arabic sources is here very scarce—by and large, the study of agricultural and botanical information in contemporary works permits only a vague notion of the activity in question.⁸

Following the disintegration of the central Caliphal government and the formation of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms, the petty kings hastened to imitate the customs of the dethroned caliphs, and experimental gardens accordingly sprang up in each individual court. Examples of such gardens were al-Ṣumādīhiyya in Almería, the garden of the mill, or of the king, in Toledo and the garden also called the garden of the king, or of Sultan al-Mu'tamid, in Seville, each of these three gardens being directed by a theoretical agronomer. The contemporary Almerian historian and geographer Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-'Udhri (d.477/1085) thus describes al-Ṣumādīhiyya: "In the outskirts of Almería, al-Mu'tasim constructed a garden (*bustān*) of artistic appearance with beautiful palaces. In this garden, in addition to the usual plants, exotic fruits are grown, like the various kinds of banana, and sugarcane."⁹

This tradition was to continue throughout the history of al-Andalus, with, for example, the garden of al-Buḥayra in Seville during the Almohad period, or the garden of the Jannat al-'Arif (Generalife) in Granada during the Naṣrid period.¹⁰

II. *The high point (5th/11th-7th/13th centuries)*

The high point of this school of agronomy, giving rise to what has come to be called "the Andalusī agricultural revolution", occurred at a very specific historical moment: that of the decentralisation of the Peninsula following the fall of the Caliphate and the establishment of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms, together with the new politico-economic balance this entailed. Very disparate efforts, knowledge and interests were to unite to bring about this development in agriculture: in the first place there were the rulers, who, as said above, sought the importation of new plants to acclimatise in their botanical gardens; there were their advisers, who were well aware of the importance of agriculture for the prosperity of the country; there were the jurists who created the interpretative legal framework for the needs of an expanding sector; and, finally, there were the agronomers, generally people of encyclopaedic knowledge who, to a greater or lesser degree, poured both theory and actual practical experience into their writings.

This agricultural expansion was clearly influenced by socio-cultural factors, as contacts between two separate civilisations brought forth new fashions and tastes. Eastern society was luxurious and refined compared to Peninsular society, and this led to a desire, in the latter, to surpass or at least to equal the East. On the level of material culture, and more specifically on that of

food, this necessitated a range of agricultural products not previously found in al-Andalus, and there was a consequent attempt to import and acclimatise them. These and other factors led to the creation of an Andalusī agriculture wisely and rationally exploited, and reflecting a clear Mediterranean influence.

The 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries were, as noted above, the period of the most important agricultural treatises: those of Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Abū 'l-Khayr, Ibn Ḥajjāj, al-Tighnārī and Ibn al-'Awwām. However, the Arabic sources, and specifically the biographies, give little information on these authors, and this, together with the dispersed and summary nature of Andalusī manuscripts on agriculture, has made a study of them somewhat difficult.¹¹

Of these Andalusī agronomers, the first, chronologically, is Ibn Wāfid (398/1008-466/1074). The abundance of biographical notices dedicated to this "Abenguefith", as medieval pharmacologists called him, is in contrast to the sparseness of information for the rest, although there are, it must be said, very serious doubts about the authorship of the "Compendium on Agriculture" (*Majmū' fi 'l-filāḥa*) which has been attributed to him. Whoever the actual author, however, this work was widely known and regarded, as is evident from its translation into two of the Peninsular romance languages, Catalan¹² and Castilian, and from its later influence on the great Renaissance work of agronomy, the *Agricultura General* of Gabriel Alonso de Herrera.

Another agronomer born in Toledo was Ibn Baṣṣāl, who must have succeeded Ibn Wāfid as head of the botanical garden in the grounds of King al-Ma'mūn of Toledo. His treatise, which was also translated into medieval Spanish,¹³ stands apart from the other Andalusī works, first because his knowledge appears to be based exclusively on his own personal experience, with no other source at any rate mentioned, and second because he does not, as the other agronomers do, include matters extraneous to the practice of agriculture. When the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom of Toledo fell into Christian hands in 477/1085, Ibn Baṣṣāl, along with the other intellectuals of the city, moved to Seville. Here he offered his services to the king al-Mu'tamid, who, influenced by his prestige, gave him the directorship of the so-called "Garden of the Sultan" (*Ḥā'iṭ al-Sulṭān*), where he continued with his agronomical task of acclimatising new plants.

Here in Seville there formed, around the figure of Ibn Baṣṣāl, the descendant of the primitive agronomical school which had arisen in the Córdoba of the Caliphate around the physician al-Zahrāwī, and had later moved temporarily to Toledo. Ibn Baṣṣāl managed to bring together a series of individuals with connected if not identical scientific interests, who considered him an eminent man (*māhir*)—in other words, a master—for his knowledge of agronomy.

One of this circle was Abū 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī¹⁴ (a native of Seville, as his *nisba* indicates), of whom little is known; we have only indirect notices from other authors who used his book, these particularly mentioning his master-disciple relationship with Ibn Baṣṣāl. As with the works of so many of his

contemporaries, his *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, which reflects the practical-theoretical dualism of his method, has come down to us incomplete.

One of the Andalusī authors most representative of the theoretical focus is Ibn Ḥajjāj, who may have been a member of the noble Sevillian family of the Banū Ḥajjāj, although we have few biographical facts concerning him. In contrast to the work of his contemporary, Ibn Baṣṣāl—with whom he must have been in contact, although no specific reference to this exists in the sources—his treatise, composed in 466/1073-4 and entitled *Al-Muqni' fi 'l-filāḥa* ("The Handbook of Agriculture"),¹⁵ constitutes a veritable mosaic of quotations from ancient authors, with comparisons made, in some cases, with his own experience. Some scholars have detected, in this work, the persistence of the Latin agronomical tradition, in the form of direct influence from the *De re rustica* of the Hispano-Roman author Columela of the first century A.D. This is an extremely attractive thesis, but also a distinctly controversial one.¹⁶

The last 5th/11th century author chronologically (he actually wrote his book in the 6th/12th) was al-Tighnārī, who was born to a noble family, the Banū Murra, in a small village near Granada. According to the historian, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Tighnārī was a clever literary man and an excellent poet who lived during the reign of the Zīrid prince 'Abd Allāh b. Bulughghīn, although, possibly because of a disagreement with this ruler, he left Granada for the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom of Almería, where, in the gardens of the royal residence, al-Ṣumādīhiyya, he undertook various types of agricultural experiment. Later, after travelling to various parts of North Africa and the East, he returned to al-Andalus, alternating his residence between Granada and Seville and forming part of Ibn Baṣṣāl's circle of agronomers and botanists in the latter.

Al-Tighnārī dedicated his treatise *Kitāb zahrat al-bustān wa-nuzhat al-adhḥān* ("Splendour of the garden and recreation of the minds") to the Almoravid governor of Granada, Abū 'l-Tāhir Tamīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. Even though something less than half the original work has come down to us, it clearly emerges as one of the most ordered and systematic of the Andalusī agronomical treatises, in which theory joins with actual practical experimentation, and it also reveals the breadth and depth of its author's knowledge on various subjects, including medicine, botany and linguistics.¹⁷

The treatise of Ibn al-'Awwām was, for a long time, the only reference work on Hispano-Muslim agronomy, yet, paradoxically, the personality of the author is almost entirely unknown; he is mentioned by only two authors, the historian Ibn Khaldūn and the Eastern geographer al-Qalqashandī, and they seem to know very little about him.

It seems clear, from the internal evidence of his work, that the author lived in Seville and, more specifically, in the Aljarafe district, which is mentioned as the place where he carried out his agricultural work: "I planted rice in Aljarafe" or "I have never seen fig trees planted among vines in the mountains

of Aljarafe" are just two among many references. The impression is also given that he was a local aristocratic landowner, living in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, although the exact dates are not known.¹⁸

The *Kitāb al-filāḥa* is a large collection of excerpts from Andalusī and Eastern texts, and this is in itself a source of the work's interest and value, since, quite apart from being a compendium of previous theories of agronomy, it can help us reconstruct the original texts of certain authors, especially Hispano-Muslim authors, whose work has come down to us only in condensed or fragmented form. In this work, one of the few which have been completely preserved, Ibn al-ʿAwwām gathers all the knowledge of his period in the fields of agriculture and animal husbandry; he brings together all the previous traditions of geponics, comparing them and recreating them in the course of his summary; and he establishes an accepted tradition, a process of thought, which, as he himself affirms, is accompanied by experimentation: "I establish no principle in my work that I have not first proved by experiment on repeated occasions."¹⁹

III. *The final period (8th/14th century)*

With this century we encounter the last known work of Andalusī agriculture: the *urjūza*, or didactic poem, composed by the Almerian Ibn Luyūn (died 749/1349). The composition totals 1365 lines, and, in the words of its editor and translator J. Eguaras Ibáñez,²⁰ "it is far from the poetic elegances of the work of Virgil, even if some have gone so far as to call it the Andalusī *Georgics*"; it simply contains agricultural material—taken basically from the works of Ibn Baṣṣāl and al-Tighnārī—and there is no personal poetic element. Only when he speaks of the layout of the gardens, and the dwellings and country houses linked to them, does the author exhibit a degree of inspiration; for the rest it is a work without lyricism or rhetorical adornment. Eguaras also acknowledges its importance as being one of the few agricultural works (along with that of Ibn al-ʿAwwām) to have been preserved in its complete form; this is, indeed, something almost unknown in Andalusī agromonomical literature.

Other Andalusī works on agronomy, apart from those mentioned above, are known to exist, but only through indirect references collected from later treatises. Such is the case with Ibn ʿArrāḍ and with an anonymous Andalusī manuscript from the 6th/12th century.²¹

IV. *Themes and content of Andalusī agricultural treatises.*

The Andalusī treatises—especially those which have been more completely preserved—generally follow the structure adopted by classical and Eastern works. The first chapters are devoted to soils, water and fertilisers, and these are followed by material on the raising of plants and the rearing of animals,

and on veterinary science. It is not unusual for them to include calendars of agricultural tasks, accompanied at times by others of an astronomical and meteorological character, mixed with references to magic, local traditions and accounts taken directly from the statements of rural dwellers. Finally, they tend to record practical principles of domestic economy, methods of controlling disease and sickness in plants, and also indications of the factors, both physical and moral, which should be taken into account when selecting workers and people in charge of agricultural exploitation.

The treatises reflect, generally speaking, both a theoretical and a practical outlook, with a clear balance achieved between a rigorously pursued bookish culture on the one hand and personal experimentation on the other; they exhibit a harmonious and integrated concept of agriculture, considered as a balanced development of nature. Analysis of the treatises provides us with a picture of the agricultural geography of al-Andalus, and of its plant landscapes—although not a highly detailed one, since there are few specific mentions of place names and even fewer instances of both place and crop being noted.

The treatise of Ibn al-ʿAwwām, for instance, brings us nearer to a geography of al-Andalus, at least with regard to its interior arable land and the valley of the Guadalquivir river, transformed by intensive agricultural activity, with its cereals and vegetables grown on unirrigated land by dry farming, and its olive groves, vineyards, fruit-trees and horticultural products, these two last mixed in gardens of varying structure within a landscape filled with trees. In the same way, the *Zahrat al-bustān* of al-Tighnārī shows us the fertile plain or vega (*fahṣ*) of Granada, bounded on its north-east and north-west edges by high plateaus, which are cold climate districts set to the cultivation of extremely varied species of wheat and other cereals; and, on the coastal strip from Almería to Málaga, new cultivations involving agricultural techniques which, in the case of sugar cane and some citrus crops, recall those of the present day.

Nevertheless, if the treatises provide indications helping us to evaluate the diversity of Andalusī agriculture, especially up to the 7th/13th century, it should be emphasised that the majority of the works are in a summarised and incomplete form.

Cultivated species appear grouped according to the following categories:

- cereals and leguminous plants;
- vegetables and greens;
- woody-stemmed plants and fruit trees;
- industrial plants;
- aromatic plants;
- ornamental and flowering plants.

These categories will be considered separately in the following sections.

IV.1 *Cereals and leguminous plants*

Of the most widely grown grains, wheat and barley, a number of varieties are mentioned, according to the colour of the kernel, the planting cycle and the quality of the bread made from them. As for the leguminous plants—broad beans, chick peas, french beans, peas, lentils and lupins—these occupy a paramount position in Andalusi agriculture, since, in addition to their use in fixing nitrogen in the soil and thus aiding the system of crop rotation, they also played an important role in the nutrition of the Andalusi people.

IV.2 *Vegetables and greens*

The products of kitchen gardens were extremely varied, contrasting strongly with the invariable poverty of kitchen gardens in the Christian zone. Andalusis could consume fresh vegetables and greens practically all the year round, since those of summer (squash, eggplants, kidney beans, water melons, cucumbers, melons and garlic) rotated with those of winter (turnips, cabbages, carrots, leeks, Swiss chard, spinach and artichokes)—a situation which naturally favoured a nutritionally rich diet.

IV.3 *Woody stemmed plants and fruit trees*

Olive groves and vineyards seem to have covered a large part of al-Andalus, very much as they do in today's agricultural landscape; and, given the high degree of attention devoted to them in agronomical treatises, the importance of these two crops for the economy of the period is very clear. Among the fruit-trees, pomegranate and fig, Mediterranean trees *par excellence*, are also objects of special attention, and one might reasonably say that they cultivated the same kinds, and even a few more kinds, than is the case today. As for citrus fruits, a number of trees introduced by the Arabs are mentioned: the grapefruit (the earliest arrival in the Mediterranean west), the lemon, the bitter orange and the lime. The date palm, previously cultivated only as an ornamental plant, also makes its appearance in the Peninsula with the new settlers. Some of these trees were utilised not so much for their fruit as for their shade, for the scent of their flowers, for their wood (used for carving), for their medical properties, as condiments added to food, for industrial use (as food for silkworms, for instance), or simply for decorative purposes.

IV.4 *Industrial plants*

This group included a series of plants used for textiles and for the production of oil, sugar and dyes. The most important textile plants appear to have been cotton, flax and hemp, while dyeing plants mentioned include safflower, saffron, wild madder and sumach. Some plants had a number of different industrial applications, a case in point being hemp, which was used not only for weaving cloth but to make writing paper and various kinds of rope.

Another plant the Arabs introduced into al-Andalus, whence it spread to the rest of Europe, was the sugar cane, whose cultivation is already mentioned, along with that of rice, in the *Calendar of Córdoba* in the 4th/10th century, although some recent studies refuse to accept that it was introduced so early. In fact, while its area of cultivation might well have been very limited in that early period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it could have been acclimatised in one of the botanical gardens in al-Andalus.

IV.5 *Aromatic plants*

The account of spices used as condiments and flavourings for food is very extensive, some of these, like saffron, giving rise to an active commerce. The Andalusis used saffron both as a perfume and as an ingredient in cooking, and they also used pennyroyal, caraway, marjoram bee-balm, fennel, cumin, coriander, caper, dill, mint and sesame. Liquorice, aniseed and wormwood were used to make sweetmeats and aromatic drinks.

IV.6 *Ornamental and flowering plants*

Andalusí treatises on agronomy provide much valuable data in this area, permitting us to reconstruct the species cultivated, and also the distribution, function, symbolism and many other aspects of the Hispano-Muslim garden, which was to have such an enormous influence on Spain and the rest of Europe during the Renaissance.

Fruit trees were highly valued, as they gave not only fruit, but also flowers, scent, colour and shade, but Andalusí gardens also contained willows, elms, cypresses, pines, oaks, palms, planes, myrtles, jasmine, and so on. Trees producing citrus fruit, such as bitter orange, cedrat and lemon, were very common. Among flowering plants, we find references to roses, carnations, violets, wallflowers, chrysanthemums, iris and waterlilies.

The agronomical treatises also give us some idea of the general characteristics and layout of gardens—they recommend, for instance, that cedrat trees should be protected against cold weather, and they provide the gardener with details of spacing between trees and the selection of the appropriate species for each particular part of the garden.

In the light of these treatises, the Andalusí garden appears as a mixture of garden and orchard, containing both aromatic and flowering plants. Shade-giving trees were found near walls and thorny plants placed at boundaries.

We may conclude, from this short review of the agricultural botany of al-Andalus, that the application of new techniques enabled a great variety of previously unknown species to be acclimatised, while others, which had once been cultivated but had now, for various reasons, dropped out of use or been left in a vestigial state, were replanted. To the species already known to pre-Andalusí Iberian agriculture, there were progressively added other, Eastern species documented by the Andalusí agronomers.

V. *Agricultural techniques*²²V.1 *Irrigation*

The extensive development and use of irrigated land produced by Andalusī knowledge and practice is, of course, extremely well known; indeed, the terminology connected with it has left its imprint on the Castilian language, and on a great many place names scattered throughout the Iberian region. The Hispano-Arabic people were experts in channelling and distributing the waters of their rivers by means of dams with a sluice or floodgate (Spanish *azudes*, from Arabic *asdād*), irrigation ditches (Spanish *acequias*, from Arabic *sāqiya*), water wheels (Spanish *noria*, from Arabic *nā'ūra*), water-mills (Spanish *acenas*, from Arabic *sāniya*) and other irrigation procedures, and at adapting and perfecting both the systems of the Western past and, more especially, the concepts and devices of the Eastern world.

Examination of the Andalusī treatises immediately reveals the primary role given to water, which, as noted above, is treated along with two other aspects—soils and fertilisers—at the very beginning of the works. On this subject—and, more specifically, in connection with the establishment of wells and the discovery of underground water—one may say that al-Tighnārī is one of the most original authors. He follows very closely the techniques described in the *Nabataean Agriculture*, though not the theosophical part which is developed alongside them throughout the latter work. In al-Tighnārī's treatise, the magical elements appear reformed and united with the rational, and he also includes accounts of personal experiences, sometimes contrasted with techniques learned in his journeys through Syria and Tunisia.

V.2 *Agricultural instruments*

This is an area where the Roman tradition is more deeply felt, although that is not to say that Eastern elements are absent. Instruments are generally simple, and usually made of iron, but also very diverse. A recent study²³ making a systematic and painstaking account of all the instruments mentioned in all the Andalusī works (both those edited and those still in manuscript) reveals an enormous variety of instruments, eighty in all, of which sixty are properly speaking tools, while the rest are accessories. Some of them, recorded only in the Andalusī texts, have etymologies indicating a Mozarabic origin, certain of these being quite advanced. Most noteworthy are those used to level the ground, like the *murjiqa*²⁴, derived from Spanish *murciélag* meaning "bat", which is mentioned by al-Tighnārī and subsequently taken up by Ibn Luyūn; this may be the same instrument that Ibn al-'Awwām (following Abū 'l-Khayr) uses in levelling waters and calls *marhīfal*. Another instrument, used to scratch the earth around the roots of trees, is the *shanjūl*, possibly derived from *sanchuelo*, a term of romance origin, documented by Abū 'l-Khayr to designate a utensil which is "a kind of human hand with three cutting clubs".²⁵ Along with these and others of undoubted Spanish origin (the most numerous) may be mentioned one of

Eastern origin, the astrolabe, which, curiously, is recommended by Ibn al-'Awwām for the purposes of levelling land.

V.3 *Grafting*

One of the most interesting aspects of agricultural technique is the desire to classify, rationalise and systematise—a desire obvious from the study of soils, water and fertilisers, but seen above all in connection with plants. Ibn Baṣṣāl, in Chapter VIII of his treatise, sets out an original and detailed system of botanical classification, in which he mentions the different trees growing in the seven climes (*aqālim*) into which the earth is divided and classifies them as aqueous, oleaginous, milky or gummy. This system was subsequently perfected by one of his disciples, the anonymous botanist of Seville, whose work *Umdat al-ṭabīb fī ma'rīfat al-nabāt li kulli labīb* has been noted as clearly prefiguring the system of classification adopted centuries later by Cuvier. The taxonomic classification of plants into genus (*jins*), species (*naw'*) and variety (*ṣinf*) is already present in this work.

It is perhaps in the field of grafting that one can best appreciate the high level of botanical knowledge displayed by the Andalusī agronomers. They were familiar with many forms of grafting—shield budding, scion grafting, budding, wedge grafting and tubing covered splice grafting, and also with the most efficient combinations of stocks and scions, some of them involving such surprising pairings as squash seed on squill onion or date tree on parsnip.

Conclusion

Hispano-Arabic agronomy from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries was, beyond all doubt, the most important and significant in the Islamic world of the time, though that is not to say it was the only one in existence; and it must, furthermore, be given the credit for having left its imprint on the knowledge and practice of the Christian West.

One last feature to be noted in these Andalusī treatises is their "experimental" character, which is what most attracted the attention of later Christian authors like Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, and which contained the germ of the modern experimental spirit. It was this real and direct knowledge of the land which underlay all the steps taken for the purpose of obtaining good crops; and from it sprang all the technologies based on their knowledge of previous traditions of agriculture, which they received, always, in a critical spirit, and applied to the earth of al-Andalus on which they stood.

¹ On this, see J. Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978, pp 69-72.

² *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, published R. P. Dozy, ed. and trans. with notes by Charles Pellat, Leiden, 1961.

³ On this question, see A. C. López, "Vida y obra del famoso polígrafo cordobés del siglo X, 'Arib Ibn Sa'id", *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, I, 1990, especially pp. 338-340.

⁴ This is the idea expressed by J. Vernet and J. Samsó in their work, "Panorama de la ciencia andalusí en el siglo XI", *Actas de las Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica* (1978), Madrid, 1981, pp. 135-63.

⁵ A. C. López y López, *Kitāb fi tartīb awqāt al-girāsa wa-l-magrūsāt. Un tratado agrícola andalusí anónimo*, Granada, 1990.

⁶ On this garden, see J. Samsó, "Ibn Hišām al-Lajmī y el primer jardín botánico en al-Andalus", *RIEEL*, 21, 1981-2, pp. 135-41.

⁷ This description of the Rušāfa and the activities taking place there has been transmitted to us by the historian al-Maqqarī, basing himself on the testimony of Ibn Ḥayyān. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, I, 466-67.

⁸ See J. E. Hernández Bermejo, "Aproximación al estudio de las especies botánicas originariamente existentes en los jardines de Madinat al-Zahrā'", *Cuadernos de Madinat al-Zahrā'*, I, 1987, pp. 61-81.

⁹ Al-'Udhri, *Tarṣīf al-akhbār*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwānī, Madrid, 1965, p. 85.

¹⁰ On the subject of Andalusí botanical gardens, E. García Sánchez and A. C. López presented a paper now in press at the *International Symposium: "The Authentic Garden"*, celebrated in Leiden, May 8-11, 1990, to commemorate the fourth centenary of the founding of the botanical garden of the city of Leiden. The title of their paper was "The Botanical Gardens in Muslim Spain".

¹¹ There is at present a Project of Investigation underway at the *Escuela de Estudios Árabes*, which has as its object the global study of the agronomy of al-Andalus. This requires a preliminary historiographical and philological study of the Andalusí manuscript texts, which is now being undertaken.

¹² The text of the Castilian version was edited by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, a pioneer and promoter of the study of Andalusí agronomy, under the title "La traducción castellana del 'Tratado de Agricultura' de Ibn Wāfīd", *Al-Andalus*, 8, 1943, pp. 281-332. The medieval Catalan version upon which we are presently working is contained in a codex of miscellaneous manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, given the number 93 by A. Morel Fatio, *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais*, Paris, 1892, pp. 332-33. As for the Arabic original of Ibn Wāfīd's treatise, it is collected, also in an incomplete form, in two editions of agricultural texts of a miscellaneous character: Abū 'l-Khayr al-Andalusī, *Kitāb fi 'l-filāḥa*, ed. Sīdī Tuhāmī, Fez, 1358 A. H.; Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Ishbīlī, *Al-Muqni' fi 'l-filāḥa*, ed. S. Jarrār and Y. Abū Šāfiya, Amman, 1982 (the treatise of Ibn Wāfīd is on pages 6-84 and 2-86 respectively); the Spanish translation by J. M. Carabaza Bravo, *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajjāj al-Ishbīlī: al-Muqni' fi 'l-filāḥa*, doctoral dissertation, University of Granada, 1988, I, 178-281.

¹³ Ibn Baṣṣāl, *Kitāb al-qashd wa 'l-bayān*, ed. and trans. with notes by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa and M. Aziman, *Libro de Agricultura*, Tétouan, 1955; its medieval Castilian translation has been published by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, "La traducción castellana del 'Tratado de agricultura' de Ibn Baṣṣāl", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1948, pp. 347-430.

¹⁴ On this author see J. M. Carabaza, "Un agrónomo del siglo XI: Abu l-Jayr", *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, I, 1990, pp. 223-40.

¹⁵ The Arabic text of his treatise is in a Jordanian edition mentioned previously, pages 85-123, and translated into Spanish by J. M. Carabaza, *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad*, I, 283-329.

¹⁶ Professor Lucie Bolens provides a detailed argument for this thesis in her excellent work *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Age*, Geneva, 1981, especially p. 44 *et seq.*

¹⁷ On this author, whose treatise I have edited, see my articles as follows: "El tratado agrícola del granadino al-Tignari", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5-6, 1987-88, pp. 278-92; "Al-Tignari y su lugar de origen", *Al-Qanṭara*, 9/1, 1988, pp. 1-11.

¹⁸ On Ibn al-'Awwām, see the preliminary study by E. García Sánchez and J. E. Hernández Bermejo included in the facsimile edition published Madrid, 1988, I, 11-46.

¹⁹ Ibn al-'Awwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, ed., with a Spanish translation, J. A. Banqueri, Madrid, 1802, I, 10.

²⁰ Ibn Luyūn, *Tratado de agricultura*, ed., with a Spanish translation, J. Eguaras Ibáñez, Granada, 1975, p. 21.

²¹ There are quotations from the treatise of Ibn 'Arrād in Ibn Luyūn and his annotator. Of the second author, the anonymous Andalusí, there is material in codicil number XXX of the "Colección Gayangos" of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, folios 141v-143v.

²² It is impossible, given the purpose and size of this essay, to deal with all the different agricultural techniques developed by the Andalusi agronomers. For this reason I shall only note certain interesting aspects of some of them.

²³ See M. D. Guardiola, "Instrumental agrícola en los tratados andalusíes", *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, I, 1990, pp. 107-49.

²⁴ According to Simonet, this word corresponds to *murciegal* or *murciélag* because of the similarity between the animal and the instrument, which, like the bat, has the form of an isosceles triangle. See F. J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*. Madrid, 1888, pp. 390-391.

²⁵ This is the opinion of M. Asín, the editor and partial translator of the work. See M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán (siglos XI-XII)*, Madrid-Granada, 1943.

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THE USE OF PLANTS FOR DYEING AND CLOTHING
COTTON AND WOOL IN AL-ANDALUS: A THRIVING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR
(5TH/11TH-7TH/13TH CENTURIES)

LUCIE BOLENS

I. The roots of Mediterranean sensibility

I.1 Nature, passion of nature and poetry

Clothing and dyeing are, finally, a necessity for prince and private citizen alike; and the physical and cultural form these things take, in the context of the everyday welfare of a given society, will naturally reflect the place where they are undertaken. This element of place must be considered if we wish fully to understand the influence of al-Andalus and the binding force of its civilisation within the particular human framework of the distant past. The crucial role of clothing in relation to the tender passions of love is indeed in accordance with Islam, which, both as a religion and as a temporal power, forbade direct representation of the human body, so that personal adornment came to be all the more valued. Yet monotheistic religion could not eliminate the ancient mythological aspects; natural beauty was inseparable from a strange sense of nature, which made mythical heroes rise up from the very landscape, from the shimmering ocean air, or from the clear air over the blue hills, with their silvery olive trees, by the shores of the Meseta. Plant and light must be seen together, as harmonious aspects of the vanished culture that bequeathed such glories as the Alhambra or the Alcázar of Seville, and the courtyards crossed by ancient *saetas*,¹ or *ghaitas*, which are still preserved to this day in the Constantine region of Algeria.

"Colour," writes Michel Pastoureau, "is indissolubly linked to culture, and cannot be envisaged outside a particular time and place." This is because "it is neither a substance (as was sometimes thought in the Ancient World), nor a breaking up of light (as medieval scholars believed), but a sensation, the sensation of something coloured by a light illuminating it, which is received by the eye and communicated to the brain; and, like all sensations, it springs at once from biological mechanism and from cultural heritage."²

Important though they are, optics and mineralogy will remain in the background of my endeavour to celebrate al-Andalus in 1992. Rather, the link (more earthy and more poetic, in the rural, Virgilian sense of the term) with a still mythical cosmos, with the sun and the water, will lead us, as we study our sources, from furrow to colour, from soil to garment, from the "face of earth" (as the earth is called in Andalusī Arabic) to the cotton and sky-blue wool used for weaving and dyeing by the Andalusis. If Spain was

famed for its mercury—for the ore which, Ibn Sīnā said, was like cinnabar and was obtained through fire—and if the alembic remained in daily evidence for perfumes and cosmetic materials, I shall rather pursue the subject between heaven and earth, in the realm of the unyielding sun and the merciful moon, and in the music of the running water used for irrigating and steeping, so inextricably bound up with the ancient linens and blue dyes.

1.2 *A koine: knowledge in the service of humanity*

While agronomic and botanical records in Hispano-Arabic, Romance, Hebrew and Latin demonstrate the emergence and establishment of cotton, they also speak of fibres already known in the Ancient World: flax, hemp, esparto and palm fibre, in addition to wools and leathers. As for colours, they standardly include costly mineral dyes, but pay special attention to the development of vegetable dyes; sky-blue (*samāwī*) is more in evidence than lapis lazuli and azurite (*lāzaward*), while the indigo brought from such distance, and capable of dyeing a full marine purple, was to become famed through the whole Mediterranean world. Jews—with their special predilection for the Biblical *tekhelet*, or night horizon-blue—and Muslims and Christians (whether from Septem-Ceuta or Cyrene, from Córdoba, Granada, Seville, Andarax, Sousse, Cirta-Constantine or Fez) were, for all the maltreatments and discriminations in status, united by a single passion, one determined neither by religion nor by politics, but rather the gift of nature: a passion for light. “Here is vital strength at its median point,” writes Antoni Gaudí, “and indeed ‘Mediterranean’ means ‘centre of the earth’. The median light is found, at 45 degrees, on its shores, offering the best definition of bodies and forms; and it is here that artistic cultures have flourished, by very reason of this balanced light.” It is here that the blue of the Armenian stone joined with the *varmeau ou varmillon* of the old Provençals, and the pastel cosmetics of the Ancient World with the gilded vermilion which is the simple gift of the light.

1.3 *Technique and transmission: the assurance of continuity*

Before the advent of Andalusī Islam and its brilliant school of agronomists,³ the 7th-century writer Isidore of Seville, at the crossroads of two eras, had handed down a vast repository of ancient knowledge on plants and on vegetable and mineral dyes.⁴ In 1250, following the first Christian reconquest, the *Lapidary* found at the home of a Toledo Jew by the Infant Alfonso el Sabio⁵ was translated from Arabic into Castilian by his Jewish physician Ihuda Mosca el Ménor (*este judio su físico*, says the Prologue). This work, in which colours are said to receive their particular qualities from the heavenly bodies, was to be supervised by one of the king’s Christian clerks, Garcí Perez; with its unbroken Greco-Persian and Arabo-Jewish history, it is thoroughly representative of the way things were handed down through al-Andalus. Andalusī agronomists and physicians, whether Jews, Muslims or “others”, aspired to kinship with Aristotle, Galen, Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā, and,

indeed, with such very obscure alchemical dyers as the Alexandrian Bolos Democritos and with the early Syriac work of which Bachir Attié has revealed so much.⁶ This history of different viewpoints and cultural interlinking is also a history of techniques, and the transformation we call agriculture may be perceived in terms of alchemical knowledge linked with the distant Chaldean past: the *Book of Agriculture* by the 5th/11th century Sevillian Abū 'l-Khayr (in folio 64 of the Paris manuscript, placed after Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī b. Buṭlān) quotes an Eastern Babylonian-Baghdadi alchemy which places agriculture under the aegis of the transformation of sublunary bodies.

Techne and *sania* cannot be divided: a brilliant sherbet will be offered in a glass cup and the thick flesh of fruits is at once healing and pleasurable; nothing, finally, separates usefulness and beauty. Andalusī civilisation would not have enjoyed the artistic achievements it did without a sophisticated agriculture of which we are now more aware. Much was already known about soils in the light of combined Eastern and Western traditions, and this knowledge was further, and excitingly, advanced by the repeated experiments carried out on the Aljarafe around Seville,⁷ today a wide plain, but then described as a hilly site from which came the oil called *jabali*; here Ibn Wāfid of Toledo reproduced, on the model of Toledo, one of the first experimental gardens of the Western world.⁸ The high level of botany reflected in the "Andalusī school" became still higher with the subsequent introduction of new plants brought from the East, or else acclimatised in vegas irrigated from the higher plateaus or sierras—techniques and production of water for agrarian purposes being the essential foundation of Andalusī agriculture's rise in the 5th/11th century.⁹ A textile civilisation can be discerned through the gifts of garments made by the ruling hierarchy and through what archaeology is able to tell us about the various concerns of the home: bedding and cloths, hangings and linen robes soaked in woad, green or black *santa-barras* worn by Spanish sailors,¹⁰ indigo turbans, nets for women's hair (*raṭāfil*, or *alvanega de red*),¹¹ pearls and other gems studding the clothing.

It is from the 5th/11th century on that scholarly works begin to reflect a further development of plants used for textiles and colouring.

II. Plant fibres: a thriving agriculture

II.1 Eastern cultural precedents

In his *Letter on the Elixir* and the *Avicennae ad Hasen Regem Epistula de Re Recta*,¹² Ibn Sinā sets out the principle, and the outcome, of transcending the normal limits of nature. Following Jābir b. Ḥayyān¹³ and the *Nabataean Agriculture* practised in the same (number 4) climate as that of al-Andalus, Ibn Sinā places within the category of art (*ṣinā'a*) everything which modifies the way matter is arranged in order to make what is hidden appear, without any supplementation by extranatural or supernatural means; directed by

Saturn-Hermes, which, according to alchemical theory, presides over those fermentations responsible for blackening physical substances, the peasant also follows the phases of the moon and the progress of the sun through the zodiac; for anyone grafting one plant on to another must know of the affinities between the terrestrial and the astral. There is, therefore, no modification to the ancient heritage of Aristotle and Ptolemy; we are dealing, basically, with the metaphysical principle of divine primacy as the source of all energy. All Andalusis quoted Ibn Sinā as a major authority, and Ruska believes the *Letter on the Elixir* to have been itself Andalusī. The conclusion of this work describes the alembic¹⁴ and sums up the efficacy of the elixir of colours: "It colours [*ṣabagha*] by means of its colouring, immerses by means of its fatty matter and fixes with its lime. The fat [*duhn*] is the binding force between colouring, which is very subtle, lime, which is very thick, and water. The colouring is borne by mercury. If the fat which sets in the lime colours in the colouring, the two become immersed in this mercury, and if the lime is set, the two set with the mercury by virtue of the mixture."

While holding back from invention, Ibn Sinā innovates as the Andalusī agronomists—at once traditional and innovative¹⁵—were themselves to do. Agriculturalists took their inspiration from physicians, "geoponics" and physicians alike; apart from Ibn Sinā, who figures equally with Aristotle, knowledge was handed on by al-Dīnawarī al-Nabaṭī, al-Ghāfiqī and the *Nabataean Agriculture*. In its chapter devoted to the *Ars Magna*, the latter work, which is designed to provide instruction on ancient precedents in Mesopotamia, takes up the *Book of the Secrets of the Moon* supposedly written by Adam, and, on the basis of this venerable authority, attributes to humans the power to imitate nature by producing new plant and animal species.¹⁶ Water in agriculture was to play the role of mercury in alchemy, a fluid vehicle for other substances, the intermediary element in transmutations.¹⁷

II.2 Agrarian expansion and practices

Let us consider what specific underlying patterns can be discerned with respect to the rise of the rural economy following the Muslim conquest.

Scholarly treatments of textile plants include plants effectively used for the purposes of dyeing. Chapter 22 of Ibn al-ʿAwwām's *Book of Agriculture*, for instance, first considers, at some length, the various methods of cultivating cotton, moves on to flax and hemp, then deals with saffron, henna, madder, woad and the card thistle used for teaseling. Lucerne and poppy are included in the chapter on account of their new importance for the rearing of horses, and there are brief looks at rosemary for human consumption. Industrial cultivation of cotton, flax, saffron and woad moves parallel with the rise of the merchant bourgeoisie of the *ṭāʾifa* period (5th/11th century) and the Berber empires (5th/11th-7th/13th centuries) through these three-centuries of Hispano-Arab power.

Al-Wanṣharī's *Kitāb al-mī'yār* (literally: "Book of Standards")¹⁸, insofar as agricultural practices can be reconstructed from it, is not specific on industrial cultivation. *Munāṣafa* (share-cropping) and tenant cultivation gave rise to multiple contracts based on the traditional *sharika* ("share contract"); this appears once, with particular reference to hemp (according to the jurist Ibn Lubāba), with no public or notarial authority involved. All this confirms the overall impression of a considerable increase in free private property.¹⁹ If wool was the object of frequent legal wrangling on account of the many small flocks of sheep in the general economy, the irrigated squares planted with cotton, woad or madder, the fields of henna and the sloping beds of saffron were no doubt a source of continual quarrels, in peasant or semi-rural circles, over the problems of administering the water supply,²⁰ for legal cases mention such problems only in connection with fibres. Contracts involving *muzāra'a* (agricultural associations) and *musāqāt* (settlement with rent part-paid in produce) are characteristic of the overall agrarian system, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Andalusī from African practices.

The settler owning his own land paid the *zakāt*, the Islamic state tax paid by Muslims; because of the numerous and complex tiny associations involved in medium and small-scale cultivation for the investment and sharing of profits, this was due on the property of the official owner.²¹ The People of the Book (*Ahl al-Kitāb*) also paid the *kharāj*, a source of frequent complaint due to the need to wait for agents to come and assess the crop. Jointly-owned property seems to have been no less common than in the foodcrop sector, and recent investigation from juridical sources suggests aspects more in keeping with the commercial agricultural sector: fields are placed not directly around houses, but are rather arranged in squares where conditions are best for irrigation, at the foots of hills or on alluvial coastal lands.

III. Cotton (*quṭn*): a highly profitable sector

III.1 *The names and the thing*

While the fibres of flax and hemp come from the stem, and through steeping, cotton derives from a capsule enclosing a multitude of hairy seeds. The cotton plant is a hardy sub-tropical one linked with Indian and Arab civilisations, and when it spread to the Western Mediterranean, the name of the new fibre, for all the differences in the process of derivation, became linked with that of flax.

The word *quṭn* or *quṭun* (*al-quṭun*) (Spanish *algodón*) comes from Old Arabic *qaṭana*. Originally from Northern India (*Gossypium herbaceum* L.) and Southern India (*Gossypium arboreum* L.), it is semantically distinct from the Sanskrit *karpasa*, which has given Hebrew *carpas*, Greek *karpasos* ("fine gauze") and Latin *carbasus*. Strabon describes cotton as being wool from a tree.²² Although the plant had spread to the Mediterranean, India was to remain the large-scale exporter of the commodity through the High Middle

Ages, and Marco Polo was to witness the preparation of great bales destined for the West. From the Maghrib it was to spread deep into Africa, as far as Ghana and the Sudan—although the latter did in fact already possess a wild cotton from which brightly-coloured loincloths were made for local use. A crossing of this wild variety with the North African one produced *Gossypium obtusifolium* Roxb, which was highly suitable for spinning and weaving.²³

Cultivation in al-Andalus is first mentioned in the 4th/10th century, notably in the *Calendar of Córdoba*, although the *Kitāb fi tartīb awqāt al-ghirāsa wa 'l-maḡhrūsāt* says nothing of it.²⁴ Andalusī agronomists generally speak of it, and detailed treatments are provided by Abū 'l-Khayr of Seville (5th/11th century), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Baṣṣāl, who speaks of a "Sultan's garden" in his *Kitāb al-qaṣd wa 'l-bayān*, Abū 'l-Muṭarrif 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kabīr b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī b. Wāfid (389/999-467/1074) (the last two coming to Seville in the 5th/11th century, following the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085), Ibn al-'Awwām of Seville (6th/12th-7th/13th century), al-Ṭighnārī of Granada (author of a voluminous treatise written under the Almoravid king Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, which provides valuable information on Ibn Baṣṣāl),²⁵ the Sevillian Ibn Ḥajjāj, author of *Al-Muqni'*, and Ibn Luyūn of Granada (681/1282-750/1349).²⁶

Cotton is sown in February or March, at the same time as safflower, in irrigated or cool soils fertilised with sheep manure. The field must be ploughed up to ten times, according to the system of tillage and hoeing known as *qalīb*, for the point of breaking up the soil is not to open it (*filāḥa*), but to close the surface and so avoid capillarity and evaporation. The preparation of the cotton field (*hawḍ*), in flattened squares and in "dried out" ground, was undertaken by hand. It was important to level out any slope which might exist, so as to derive maximum benefit from the irrigation.

III.2 *The pattern of agricultural yields under intensive irrigated cultivation*

The crucial notion here—as with the rest of agriculture during this favourable economic period—is that of the *optimum mean yield*. Efforts are focused on those crops which are most profitable at the particular moment, foremost among which, in this case, are textile plants and plants used for dyeing. Underlying this situation is the rise of the merchant bourgeoisie, whose particular way of life, as I have described it in *La cuisine andalouse*, would have been unthinkable without the infrastructure such cultivation provided.

Whether crops were open field or horticultural, and whether properties were collective or private, exemption from paying the *kharāj* was always granted on the basis of historical background (for having supported the Almohads, for example)²⁷, or of tribal origins in connection with the period immediately following the conquest. The unit of cultivated land called the *faddān* referred to tribal or individual property, while the Sevillian *marja'*,

again a unit of land under cultivation, designated private lands around the city. Ibn Šāḥib al-Šalāh gives the figure of 800 *marjaʿ*s for Seville, i.e., 3,000 dinars, and Ibn al-ʿAwwām says that the *marjaʿ* represents the area of land worked by heavy tillage (*qalib*) on easy land (following Banqueri's translation *llano* for *sahla*).²⁸ The *ḡayʿa* (Spanish *aldea*) consisted of about 10 *faddāns*, and also possessed a *noria*, a mosque and a *madrassa*. The profitability of Maghrebo-Andalusī agriculture between the 5th/11th and 7th/13th centuries depended on the existence of a large workforce of slaves controlled according to a strict Taylorism. Several *ḡayʿas* made up a *qarya* (Spanish *alquería*), a large rural settlement plus surrounding district, with a hydraulic system; this was, in principle, a royal property granted on a life interest basis to important figures—Almohads and Andalusī jurists responsible for maintaining the law.²⁹

III.3 *Care in cultivation*

The flower bud appeared in August and the heads were picked in September, first thing in the morning and with great care, by peasant women who would also undertake the subsequent stages. In Iraq the heads would be picked in the month of *tammūz* (July), i.e., in hotter conditions earlier in the season. The next stage would be to separate the fine strands from the heads (in the shade), then lay them in the sun and finally press them into bales. We know, from the Andalusis themselves, that a similar process took place in Syria, with a difference of one month (indicating the nature of the respective climates) and that the field was prepared a year beforehand. On the ecological side, the *Nabataean Agriculture* informs us that the earth (*turāb*), or upper living layer, should be without residual saline traces. When the heads had been picked, the plant was pruned with a knife, in the same manner as a vine creeper, and would come up again the following year. The crop was, finally, a profitable one, and was dispatched into Spain and the Mediterranean Basin, yet the inverse movement of imported Indian cotton continued. Economic life was already complex.

III.4 *Knowledge and stimulation to production*

These two aspects of expansion had never become separated: slavery and profits combined to keep this society a distinctively ancient one, enjoying surplus and making good use of its best scholars.

On the Aljarafe, the Mount of Seville, Ibn al-ʿAwwām experimented with new or disputed kinds of cultivation,³⁰ having first established the scholarly antecedents for each species; in the case of cotton the transmitted tradition began not with the Ancients, but with medieval figures: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawārī, the *Nabataean Agriculture*, Abū 'l-Khayr, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Wāfid and authorities from Sicily, Egypt, the Persian Gulf and the Arab Peninsula; Dioscorides³¹ is most unusually absent. In contrast, the Andalusī school of agronomy tailored matters to its own requirements, for the sector was a new

one and innovation essential. This movement, focused on al-Andalus itself—where the countryside was, incidentally, highly variable, as can be seen if we compare the climates of Almería and Seville, or Campo de Níjar³² and the Algarve—is particularly evident within the commercialised sectors encouraged by the urban power of the kings and the *fuqahāʾ*.

III.5 *Spinning and weaving: the control of the souks*

Cotton was a precious commodity; "cotton," says Ibn al-ʿAwwām, "has been provided among us for some years."³³ Ibn al-Bayṭār of Málaga speaks in similar vein: the newly-picked cotton is called *qūr*, the *khishfūj* seed, which, according to Rāzī, has aphrodisiac qualities. Cotton clothing is said to be softer and warmer than linen clothing. According to al-Idrīsī (493/1100-560/1166), "rich people [*khāṣṣa*] wear cotton clothes and short cloaks", while wool is worn by the poorest people.³⁴ Treatises on *ḥisba* and regulations for the souks closely control spinning and weaving, and talk is no longer of agricultural but of technical matters: we hear of spinning with a "wheel", or *miftal*, which is perhaps a spinning wheel, for the Indian spinning wheel appeared between the 5th and the 9th century A.D.; in the regulations for Seville, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, standards correspond to those in force in Paris, namely two heddles, two threads, combs with 24 ligatures and 40 *bayts*, or widths of thread, per piece.³⁵ Deficiencies in the dimensions of the web are punishable, according to the number of *bayts* missing, where insufficient picking off of the carders has attracted rats.³⁶ Half a century later the Establishments of Saint-Louis were to make markets liable to regulation for the same reasons.

IV. *The ancient fibres: flax and hemp (kattān and shahdānaj)* (*Linum Usitatisimum* L. and *Cannabis sativa* L.)

IV.1 *Flax holds its own*

The fibre of flax and hemp is derived from steeping of the stems. Conditions for cultivation were the same, and linen held its ground in the markets. Growing well in a temperate climate, flax had already been introduced during Roman times, into Galicia, Lusitania and the marshy regions of the south, towards Ampurias, Tarragona and Játiva, and the tradition was continued under the Hispano-Arabs; its ancient status explains the presence of Bolos Democritos among the traditional authorities. According to the *Nabataean Agriculture* it was of Coptic origin. From the 5th/11th century onwards it no longer seems to be found in the best-placed sites at the foot of the sierras, contemporary documents rather referring to the Southern coastal regions, around Málaga, in the Plain of Granada and in the wonderful Andarax valley, catering for Almería³⁷, where coloured linen sails were manufactured.

Ibn al-ʿAwwām conducted successful experiments with thick sowing in non-watered ground, and with refertilisation using pigeon dung. In the fav-

ourable economic conditions prevailing, the introduction of cotton did not drive out Spanish flax, which remained highly esteemed, and even came to be more densely planted around Seville, on the Aljarafe. Linen was woven and dyed both for the home market and for export. The flax had to be sown when the moon was waxing, and the stems were immersed for steeping, weighed down with heavy stones to keep them below the water, then beaten on the water. The quality of the water was regarded as crucial for the relative whiteness of the finished product; if the water was flowing and warm, the fibre would be white; in polluted water it would be almost black; slight impregnation with sheep manure would make it reddish-brown. When steeping had been completed, the tow would come away of itself, and it was then laid out to dry, as with cotton. Steeping took 50 days in cold countries, 30 in warm parts of al-Andalus.³⁸

IV.2 *Hemp for use in the fields*

Brought originally from Persia, hemp, or *shahdānāj*, kept its ancient name of "royal seed". As with flax, the tow is derived from the stem, and it was grown in the same soils, being sown thinly to obtain the seed and thickly to obtain the fibre. The *Nabataean Agriculture* calls the Suse seed the "China seed".³⁹ The tow was coarser, but cultivation was also less delicate, with less watering needed; it was used for many things: sackcloth, thick-textured clothing, paper, ropes for rural use and for every kind of marine work. The labour of growing hemp, and also cotton, was performed by women. Almería, Saragossa, Bôcairente and Jôdar were well-known for their textiles, but are not mentioned for linen.

Whether applied to the woollen garments of the common people or the silks of the rich, plants for dyeing were easily available and could be used on an industrial scale. Their importance was to grow spectacularly within the general context of economic and cultural expansion.

V. *The reign of colour*

V.1 *Strange delights*

Byssus, a silky-haired marine substance, appears in the Bible under the name of *butz*; it is called *byssos* in Greek, *byssus* in Latin and *bisso guacara* in Italian, and also *lanna Pinna*. It is derived from a mollusc⁴⁰ which may itself be reddish-brown, black or green, but whose filaments are characteristically iridescent and golden. Apparently found at Sfax, Djerba and in Southern Iberia, it was worth its weight in gold (as was the cloth itself, which could replace the metal for the purposes of paying taxes). The finished material was called *abū qalamūn*⁴¹, meaning Brocade of Rūm, and only the Sultan had the right to a garment made from it (it took several years to obtain the necessary amount, and it might cost several thousand dinars). Also called "marine wool", byssus seems to have been abundant off the shores of Sfax,

and it was said that “the colour of this mollusc is that of the mollusc which gives pearls”.

They were gathered off Santarem, on the Atlantic, and they were golden-coloured and silky-soft to the touch, being in fact treated like silk. Material made from it had the property of changing its colour according to the time of day (in Perrault’s story, we may remember, the girl “Peau d’Ane” asked her father for a dress which was “the colour of the weather”, elusive and constantly shifting). It was pricelessly valuable, and its export forbidden. In 387/997, following his escapade at Saint James of Compostella, al-Manşūr presented his Christian allies with Tīrāz silks subject to royal monopoly, and the chronicle cites a vizier as making a gift of the same kind to the king of Seville, al-Mu’tamid for the festival of Nawrūz. In 392/1002, following a raid on Santarem, al-Manşūr bestowed twenty-one tunics (*kisā’s*) of sea wool, two amber cloaks, one of scarlet (*siqlātūn*), fifteen plumes, seven brocade carpets, two garments of Byzantine brocade and two skins (*farwas*) of fennec.

In May 961 (A.H. 350), according to the *Calendar of Córdoba*,⁴² the fiscal agents in the provinces requisitioned alkermes (*qirmiz*, Latin *grana*) for the royal monopoly, in August sky-blue (*ṣībāgh al-samāwī*, Latin *tinctura celesti*) and in September madder (*fuwwa*, Latin *rubia*), and there are market regulations to the same effect in Seville (in the 6th/12th century) and Málaga (in the 7th/13th century)—i.e., two or three centuries later. Agriculture continued to provide the basis for dyes on an industrial scale.

V.2 Blue: woad or indigo?

Still, today, sugar is whitened with “aniline”. In fact, aniline is indigo, and this word is found throughout 5th/11th-7th/13th century sources. It is essential to go to the texts themselves (avoiding translations, like those by Banqueri or Clément-Mullet of Ibn al-‘Awwām, by Leclercq of Ibn al-Bayṭār and by Meyerhof of Maimonides), and the following treatment is based on detailed lexicological verification. I will give here a very short summary of the relevant findings, focusing on the colour blue with particular reference to the roles of woad and indigo, and with brief information on other plants used in dyeing.

Lapis lazuli, or “azure of Acre” (*azurium ultra-marinum*), remains the term for bright blue; it is the *cyanos autophyes*, or natural blue, brought from Scythia (*lāzaward* in Arabic). The copper-based blues (*azurro della magna*, *azurro citramarinum*) were too well-known (according to Layard, the azure used by the Assyrians will have been of this kind) for references to the colour not to continue to be used—thus, for example, flax flowers are called, in poetry, “lapis lazuli”! As such, we must proceed with care. The pure blue of The Ancient Phoenicians and Hebrews was obtained from a mollusc called *hizon* or *hilazon* (Arabic: *ḥalazūn*) (murex or cuttle-fish) found on the shores of Tyre and Haifa.



Meanwhile the "indigo" brought from India and East Africa became all the rage: we hear of *anīl*, *nīl*, and, soon, qualifying terms in connection with *nīl* for various types of blue; however, the local plant used to produce the colour was woad, called, in the North-West, *guesde*. As such, the colour blue, and the particular plant, woad or indigo, need be considered in the light both of botanical considerations and of linguistic cross-referencing, the relevant terms, *nīl*, *anīl*, *lāzaward*, *wasma*, *khiṭr*, or *khaṭr*,⁴³ and *ʿizlim*, being sometimes used synonymously and sometimes distinctively.

Lāzaward is the stone, azurite or lapis lazuli, and is used in this sense in lapidaries. Ibn al-Bayṭār notes that *ʿizlim* is *Indigofera*, the plant which produces *nīl* or *nīlaj*, in other words indigo;⁴⁴ while some, like Maimonides, take indigo to be the male woad flower. In 6th/12th century Seville, to sell woad as indigo was punishable as fraud; it was a well-known and therefore, presumably, a common practice.

The terms *wasma* and *samāwī* allowed agronomists to bypass lexicological vagueness, the lapidary Castilian *azul* or *cardeno* being, initially, inadequate. Ibn al-ʿAwwām calls woad *al-bustānī*⁴⁵ or *al-samāwī*, which may have been used only with reference to *bustānī* (translated by Banqueri as "hortense").

As for *khiṭr*, Ibn al-Bayṭār regards it as a synonym of *wasma*, while Maimonides takes it to refer to the leaves of the indigo plant, or *nīlaj*: "*It is al-khaṭr, that is, the leaves of the indigo plant [nīlaj], and it is al-ʿizlim; it is what the people call al-nīl, which is used as a black dye*" (this is in accordance with Michel Pastoureaux's idea of blue as the dark colour).

The leaves of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*, cruciferous) and of the indigo plant (*Indigofera tinctoria*, leguminous) dye blue by virtue of their indigotin, and it is the actual content of the latter in the leaves which determines the darker or lighter shade—which explains the lexical and scientific discrepancies, and why indigo could be taken to be the male woad plant. The 6th/12th century manuscript of Ibn Buklārī⁴⁶ calls woad *wasma*, with the Castilian gloss translating *folium* because it is blue by virtue of its leaves.⁴⁶ *Hinnā ʿl-majnūn*, or "fool's henna", a mixture of woad and henna, dyed black. *Isatis tinctoria* L. is given considerable prominence in the *Ethnographic Museum of Istanbul*. The mordant was alum (*shabb*), and we learn that, with iron as mordant, the Medes achieved a consistent black; the Levant provided Anatolian alum. The weeping gum benzoin (*anjūdān*), was also used in colouring. This was thought to have been lost in Cyrenaica in Roman times, but had simply come to be known under another name (*silphium*).⁴⁷

Conclusion

The term blue, which is at present a subject of discussion among other historians of colour, embodies a degree of systematic meaning, but there are also traps involved. To consider words and things, and to separate the reality

from the image pursued by the Ancients, remains an absorbing venture for the scholar, especially if the picture is a coloured one. Soon the cochineal of Cádiz would be neither algermes nor the cochineal already known, but American cochineal, adding another page, another debate and another horizon, to the image of our present time.

It is clear that economic progress was maintained in the period of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms (so called after the regions of Ancient Persia) which followed the decentralisation of the Caliphate. In these kingdoms, ruled by Yemenis, Syrians, Persians, "Slavs" who were often in fact African or Nordic, and Berbers,⁴⁸ there was indeed a spectacular advance from the 4th/10th century on. Trading with the Abbasid Empire continued to take place, and it is also known that merchandise and fashions passed freely between the south and the north of the Peninsula.

As for the crucial question of the relationship between various sources of knowledge and practical application, I have already indicated the complex nature of Andalusī agronomic science. Despite a strong admixture of elements from the Graeco-Latin, Persian, Indian, Iberian (i.e., Carthaginian and Roman Baetican) heritages, it finally evolved a rich and complex tradition of its own which amounted to true creativity on the technical and scientific level. Generally speaking it was a case of "practical application being Roman and knowledge Eastern".⁴⁹ The politicisation of the subject has led certain of my young Catalan colleagues to regard as insulting any notion of a Roman contribution; yet—quite apart from the need to accept historical fact—it is clear from many examples that the Rome of the recent past, mighty, imperial and effective, held a considerable appeal for the Hispano-Arab imagination.⁵⁰

On the technical and scientific level, the most original feature was soil science,⁵¹ which was of a modernity so marked and so surprising that it is still little acknowledged or understood by specialist geo-historians, whatever their particular viewpoint; and, moreover, this pedology, combined with botanical knowledge derived from the East, was applied in countless areas in al-Andalus, both in subsistence agriculture and in commercial agriculture, the latter being exemplified by oil and by clothing as considered in this essay.

Eastern fashions arrived with Ziryāb in the 3rd/9th centuries, and were to revolutionise customs of dress and table manners alike—six centuries in advance of the North (including Russia) in the case of table manners, and long before the Crusades, from the late 11th century on, introduced the West to Eastern magnificence.

These cultural contacts had, finally, an overriding effect with respect to humanistic culture in Mediterranean societies, with the lapse of time noted above allowing people to grow accustomed to difference. In the Mediterranean region, particularly in Sicily and Andalus, the habit of communal feeling and living together disappeared less quickly than in the North, where the need for a single, distinctive consciousness closed Christian society

against Jews and Muslims alike, leading, subsequently, to the persecution of Christian "heresies".

In the South, there continued up to the so-called Renaissance a tolerant and unfanatical way of life finding its essential expression in the street and the public places—a kind of "patio civilisation"⁵²—and in a taste for leisure and conviviality. Ibn Khaldūn was right to fear for the liberty of peoples when such an unfanatical way of life prevailed. It seems, though—for neither progress nor regression is linear—that this humanist ideal is attempting to be reborn today, here and there, among the embers of the colonial empires.

¹ *Ghaïta* is *saeta* in Castilian, and denotes the distinctive ancient manner of singing, with the voice raised, in which notes were released like arrows shot from a bow. It was an eagerly awaited feature of evenings during the Andalusi period. The term *ghaïta* is still used, in this vocal sense, in 20th-century Algeria, and is no doubt an Andalusi archaism.

² Michel Pastoureau, "Vers une histoire de la couleur bleue", in *Sublime Indigo*, Fribourg, 1987, p. 20. See also the same author's *Figures et couleurs. Etude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévale*, Paris, 1986.

³ L. Bolens, *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Age*, Geneva, 1981, Vol I. For agriculture, see J. Vallvé, "La agricultura in al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 3, 1982, pp. 261-97; E. García Sánchez, J. M. Carabaza Bravo and Manuela Marín, in García Sánchez (ed.), *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus*, Granada, 1990. For details of ordinary daily life, see L. Bolens, *La cuisine andalouse, un art de vivre, XIe-XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1990, I, 17-50.

⁴ Isidore de Seville, in J. Oroz Reta, *Etimologías*, Madrid, 1982, Vol. II, books XVI, XVII and XIX.

⁵ Alfonso X el Sabio, *Lapidario*, ed. S. Rodríguez and M. Montalvo, Madrid, 1981.

⁶ B. Attié, "L'ordre chronologique probable des sources directes d'Ibn al-'Awwām", *Al-Qanṭara*, 3, 1982, pp. 299-332.

⁷ Bolens, *Agronomes andalous*, p. 33.

⁸ L. Bolens, "Les jardins d'al-Andalus", in Flaran 9, *Jardins et vergers en Europe occidentale VIIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Auch, 1987; and *L'Andalousie du quotidien au sacré, 11e-13e siècles*, Aldershot-Vermont, 1991, chapter 16.

⁹ See: T. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1979; A. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge (England), 1983; L. Bolens, "La révolution agricole du XIe siècle", *Studia Islamica*, 42, 1978, pp. 121-41.

¹⁰ R. P. A. Dozy, *Noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, p. 211.

¹¹ Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 189, under *rufil*; called *capillejo de muger* by Pedro de Alcalá (Elena Pezzi, *El vocabulario de Pedro de Alcalá*, Almería, 1989, under *alvanega*).

¹² Ibn Sinā, *Risālat al-iksir*, in G. Anawati, *Oriente e Occidente, scienze e filosofia*, Rome, 1973, pp. 285-346, and medieval Latin translation.

¹³ P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Paris, 1986, p. 121 *et seq.* On Nabataean agriculture, see T. Fahd, "Histoire de l'agriculture en Iraq", in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Geschichte der Islamischen Länder*, I, Leiden-Cologne, 1977, pp. 276-377.

¹⁴ L. Bolens, "Les parfums et la beauté en Andalousie médiévale, 11e-13e siècles", *Les Soins de Beauté*, 3e colloque international de Grasse, Nice, 1987, pp. 145-69.

¹⁵ Bolens, *Agronomes*, II, 88 *et seq.*, "Les jardins andalous", pp. 71-96, and *L'Andalousie du quotidien au sacré*, chapter 16.

¹⁶ Nabataean Agriculture, Fo. 236r, in Fahd, *op. cit.*, p. 266, 12 and p. 353, 4.

¹⁷ Bolens, *La cuisine andalouse*, under *couscous* (pp. 155-71) and *sorbets jāwārish* (pp. 239-64).

¹⁸ L. Bolens, "Al-Andalus: les structures foncières d'après les sources juridiques", in *Mélanges Duby*, 1991. For the original source, see al-Wansharīsi, *Kitāb al-mī'yar* (9th/15th century), Fez lithographed edition, Al-Zaouia el Hamel MS, T, VI, 132.

- ¹⁹ See Ibn 'Abdūn, *Traité de ḥisba*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1947, III, 9-10; Spanish translation by E. García Gómez and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*, Seville, 1981, No. 3, pp. 42-43.
- ²⁰ See T. Glick, *The Old World background of the Irrigation System of San Antonio*, Texas, 1972; and Bolens, "L'irrigation en Andalus: une société en mutation; analyse des sources juridiques", *I Colloquio de Historia y Medio Físico*, Almería, 1989, pp. 69-95.
- ²¹ Al-Wansharisī, *Kitāb al-mi'yar*, following 'Umar al-Ishbīlī, VIII, 92.
- ²² Strabon, *Geography*, XV, 1, 10-21.
- ²³ See A. G. Haudricourt and L. Hédin, *L'homme et les plantes cultivées*, Paris, 1943, p. 137; M. Lombard, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman, VII-XIII siècles*, Paris-Leiden, 1978, p. 76, note 3; A. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge (England), 1983, pp. 31-41. There are between 40 and 50 varieties of cotton.
- ²⁴ *Calendrier de Cordoue*, ed. C. Pellat, Leiden, Brill, 1961, p. 61; A. C. López y López, *Kitāb fi tartīb awqāt al-ḡirāsa wa 'l-maḡrūsāt. Un tratado agrícola andalusí anónimo*, Granada, 1990.
- ²⁵ On the 5th/11th century agronomists, see H. Pérès, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, Algiers, 1946, p. 10. On Ibn Baṣṣāl, see J. M. Millás-Vallicrosa and Muḥammad Azimān, *Ibn Baṣṣāl, Libro de agricultura* (text, translation and notes), Tétouan, 1955, Arabic text, p. 114.
- ²⁶ See García Sánchez, *Ciencias de la naturaleza*; Bolens, *Agronomes*, p. 44; Ibn Luyūn, *Kitāb ibdā' al-malāḥa wa inhā' al-raḡāḥa fi usūl ṣinā'at al-filāḥa*, MS 1352, Rabat; J. Eguaras Ibañez, *Tratado de agricultura*, Granada, 1975 (new ed. of cotton).
- ²⁷ See Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-qirtās fi akhbār mulūk*, Rabat, 1936, p. 111. For advantages conferred in the Almohad period (in the Almohad capitals of Marrakesh, Seville and Bougie), see Rhozali Ben Younes, *Recherche sur le mode de production au temps Almohades*, Thèse de 3e cycle, Paris, 1986, p. 112.
- ²⁸ Bolens, *Agronomie*, p. 82 et seq. and chapter on soils; Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt, *Al-Mann bi 'l-imāma*, ed. A. Tazī, Beirut, 1957, p. 466; Ibn al-'Awwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa, Libro de agricultura*, ed. J. Banqueri, Madrid, 1802, I, 531; Bolens, *Cuisine andalouse*, pp. 17-50.
- ²⁹ See Ibn Baṣṣāl, *Libro de agricultura*, pp. 114-15 (text) and 151-52 (trans.); Marrākushī, *Akhbār al-Maḡhrib*, Cairo, 1948, pp. 237, 376; Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-qirtās*, p. 146.
- ³⁰ Ibn al-'Awwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, II, 103 et seq.
- ³¹ R. T. Günther, *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, New York, 1959; Juan Vernet, "La ciencia en el Islam y Occidente", in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo, Settimane di Spoleto*, April, 1964, II, 537-72.
- ³² See D. Provansal and P. Molina, *Campo de Nijar: conijeros y areneros*, Almería, 1989. For the Maḡhrib, see Ben Younes, *op. cit.*, p. 125 et seq.
- ³³ *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, p. 105.
- ³⁴ See al-Idrisī, *Description of Africa, Spain and the Maḡhreb*, ed. R. Dozy and J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1968, pp. 3, 16; Ibn al-Bayṭār al-Mālaqī, *Kitāb al-jāmi' li mufradāt al-adwiyā wa 'l-aghḍhiyā*, Būlāq ed., 1291 A. H., IV, 24.
- ³⁵ See al-Saqāṭī, *Manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1931, bayt, 3-23; *ba'a* 7, 18; on unbleached fabric, *Kḥām*, 29; Spanish translation by P. Chalmeta, *Al-Andalus*, 32, 1967, pp. 1-38, 39-77; 33, 1968, pp. 78-120, 131-98.
- ³⁶ Al-Saqāṭī, in Chalmeta, *op. cit.*, n. 134, 138, 139, 145.
- ³⁷ Al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1938, p. 40, No. 29; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, n. 39.
- ³⁸ See Ibn al-'Awwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, Arabic text, p. 113; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, note 41, IV, 51; M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada, 1942, No. 1, p. 116: *el-abertal*; and 305, p. 56 lino, Latin *linu* and *Kattan*.
- ³⁹ See Ibn al-'Awwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, Arabic text, p. 118.
- ⁴⁰ See Lombard, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, n. 39, II, 386-87, No. 1423; J. Vallvé, "La industria en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 1, 1980, p. 229.
- ⁴¹ See H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, p. 217, n. 4 and p. 317; J. Vallvé, "La industria en al-Andalus", pp. 228-29.
- ⁴² *Calendrier de Cordoue*, pp. 90-91, 132-33, 144-45; al-Saqāṭī, trans. Chalmeta, n. 138; Ibn 'Abdūn, *Traité de ḥisba*, n. 174.
- ⁴³ See Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, s. v. *Wasma*, IV, 194; also Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-uqqār*, MS 33711, Istanbul, Aghya Sofia, fo. 83v-84ro, s. v. *Wasma*.

⁴⁴ See Ibn al-Baytār, *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ*, 1562; *nīl, nīlaj*, 2244, IV, 186-87; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, II, 28; V, 307.

⁴⁵ See Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Kitāb al-filāḥa*, II, 129; Clément-Mullet reads *samāwī* and translates as "pastel" (i.e., pastel blue associated with woad), while Ibn al-ʿAwwām follows Abū ʿl-Khayr in making pastel blue synonymous with sky-blue; Ibn al-Baytār, *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ*, II, 64 (*nīl* = indigo), IV, 186-87; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuqqār*, Fo. 74b-102a, and see also Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicale de Maïmonide*, Cairo, 1940, n. 126; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Jazāʾiri, *Kaṣḥf al-rumūz fī bayān al-aʾshāb* (*Révélation des Enigmes*), trans. L. Leclerc, Paris, 1874, n., 25, see also *terre verte* and *zirqūn*, blue bordering vermilion red.

⁴⁶ See Ibn Buklārīsh (late 6th/12th century), *Al-Mustaʿinī*, MS Leiden Univ. Library, Or 15, fo. 34r.

⁴⁷ Reply to J.-P. Bouquet, "Le silphium, nourriture des Dieux, plante miraculeuse aujourd'hui disparue", *Dossiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, 123, Jan. 1988, pp. 88-91.

⁴⁸ P. Guichard, *Les Musulmans de Valence et la Reconquête (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Damascus, 1990; D. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings, Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Princeton, 1985; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio almohade*, 1956, and *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, 1970.

⁴⁹ L. Bolens, "La conservation des grains en Andalousie médiévale d'après les traités d'agronomie hispano-arabes", in *La conservation des grains*, ed. F. Sigaut, Paris, 1986, Vol. II; and Bolens, *Agronomes andalous*, p. 281.

⁵⁰ L. Bolens, "L'agronomie et al-Andalus: Orient, occident, ou l'Andalousie?", *Al-Qanṭara*, 11/2, 1990, pp. 367-78.

⁵¹ Bolens, *Agronomes andalous*, pp. 58-123.

⁵² Bolens, *Cuisine andalouse*.

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THE HISPANO-ARAB GARDEN: NOTES TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY

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The Hispano-Arabic garden, unlike its Perso- and Indo-Islamic counterparts, suffers from a lack of pictorial documentation; reconstruction has to base itself on surviving or excavated examples as supplemented by contemporary description. The holocaust of Arabic manuscripts following the conquest of Granada ensured that surviving literary sources would be scanty, and the garden carpets of 18th-century Persia have no Spanish equivalent. Writers on the subject rely overmuch on the present appearance of gardens on Muslim sites, choosing to ignore that the garden is of its nature the most evanescent of art forms, one season alone sufficing to effect a change. In Spain the issue is further complicated by the coincidental discovery of America in the same year as the fall of Granada, an event which was decisively to alter the flora of Europe. No less serious was the italianisation of Spanish palaces and gardens under Renaissance influences in a process which erased the indigenous tradition in less than a century.

The Islamic garden is a variant of the Paradise garden, a concept variously conceived according to the cultural context, and the Hispano-Arab garden is a regional variation of the Islamic. The Hispano-Arab garden affords the only physical evidence as to the nature of the pre-Timurid Islamic garden. Basic components are a raised grid, irrigation under gravitational pressure, central collecting pool or system head (*taqsim*), and formal walkways incorporating channels by which irrigation is accomplished. The walks define the zone formally, leaving room for a less formal approach within the areas so defined. A quadripartite arrangement seems to have been standard, but not *de rigueur*. Verdure and water are disposed axially and geometrically, but this symmetry derives from the formal arrangement of palace architecture, where a defined relationship of correspondences (*jawābāt*) exists between the different parts; a less formal relationship doubtless obtained elsewhere.

The Samarrā' Bowl reproduced by Herzfeld,¹ although dating from around 2000 B. C., depicts the prototypal garden to which all subsequent planning conformed, that is to say, the quadripartite (*chahār-bāgh*) division of space. The persistence of the *mandala* plan is explicable in Jungian terms (*Man and His Symbols*), but in practical terms is only an elegant solution to the problem of how to irrigate a square or rectangular area, a device for the economic use of water. Symbolically read, the crossed axes could correspond to the four rivers of Paradise (Jayhān, Sayhān, Nīl, Furāt) specified in

Prophetical Tradition.² Alternatively they could be the four rivers of wine, sweet water, clarified honey and milk unvarying in taste referred to in the Quran (47:15), although the point of confluence makes this hypothesis seem less likely.

If we are to credit Marco Polo, such streams literally existed in the garden the Old Man of the Mountain laid out in Alamūt, following the eschatological descriptions in the Quran:

The Old Man (*shaykh*) was called in their language Aloadin ('Alā' al-Dīn). He had caused a certain valley, between two mountains, to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces, the most elegant that can be imagined, all covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments and sing most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahommet gave of his Paradise, to wit, that it should be a beautiful garden running with conduits of wine and milk and honey and water, and full of lovely women for the delectation of all its inmates.³

One commentator believes that this garden may now have to be discarded from our stock of Oriental images because in the late 1950s a British expedition to the spot could find no trace of the enchanted setting where the Assassins were seduced into absolute obedience.⁴ But it is obvious from the account of the expedition that the excavators did not look in the right place, in "a valley between two mountains", where *qanāts* would have tapped the water that collects at the foot of any rock and led it to a walled enclosure.⁵

This attempt to literalise the ingredients of the Quranic Paradise is important because the Quranic texts, whether literally or metaphorically read, depict a *sensual* Paradise, a garden (*janna*) of moisture and shade. Although a servile imitation of the Quranic account, the Alamūt formula was being followed, albeit less slavishly, more or less everywhere.⁶ Thus the basic Islamic garden plan arises from a convergence of two notions of how Paradise should look, the Persian and the Arabian: fusion followed by diffusion (through conquest). In Spain, such gardens would become places where people could enjoy the sensations a prodigious nature afforded them: "contemplation, the sounds of water and the nightingale's song, the scents of flowers, the cool feel of flowers against the skin, all in an atmosphere of Quranic paradise."⁷ The invention of the fourfold plot was decisive, for it meant that water became the organisational principle of the Islamic garden.

The courtyard house, which compresses and formalises the garden concept, was not introduced into Spain by the Arabs but was standard Iberian procedure which the Arabs found congenial. Formal gardens functioned within palaces not only as courtyard space but intervening between palatial

elements conceived of as units within an overall scheme less tectonic than horticultural. Such palaces existed *intra* as well as *extra muros* but were confined to the suburbs. The presence of gardens inside the Alhambra, which was densely urbanised, is not in doubt, for we have the contemporary evidence of the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagiero, who, after visiting the Alhambra, writes in a letter dated the end of May, 1526, that in addition "to these sumptuous palaces [i.e., Comares and the Court of the Lions] those infidel kings had many other places of recreation, in towers, palaces, orchards and private gardens, alike inside as outside the walls of the Alhambra."⁸ If small, such places approximated to villas, and, if large, formed palatine cities, after the manner of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Examples are Madinat al-Zahrā' and the Alhambra, whilst the Alamirfa (Umayyad) and the Generalife (Naṣrid) represent the smaller, villa-type, recreative (i.e., protocol-free) palace. Generally, rulers dwelt in a fortified Alcázar (*al-qaṣr*) with a system of interlocking courtyards, a life-style less congested than that of the city outside but not substantially different. Private cemeteries and dynastic mausolea were attached to palaces. The royal pantheon, always figuratively referred to as *al-Rawḍa*, was so in actuality as well as in metaphor, because ancillary garden space accommodated the less important burials. Navagiero's reference to gardens inside the Alhambra does not, however, help us to locate them, and any attempt to identify them with existing sites is fraught with problems.

Although Hispano-Arabic texts bristle with references to gardens, descriptions are rare. There is, however, an invaluable account dating from the 5th/11th century that describes a garden of the period in Córdoba, in which the key word *ḥayr* appears. A *ḥayr* is a hunting park, but it is also a pleasure garden. Careful collation of passages in which this word occurs leaves little doubt that *ḥayr*, a walled enclosure, is the Arabic equivalent of the Greek *paradeisos*, because *paradeisos* is from the Old Persian *pairīdæza*, a compound noun formed from *pairi* ("around") and *daeza* ("wall"). The term is familiar from the names of those palace *cum* caravanserai establishments in the Syrian desert like Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī. *Ḥayr* is a corruption of *ḥā'ir* (pl. *ḥawā'ir*), meaning "tank", which by metonymy comes to signify the plantation watered from it. The word is used by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713/1313-776/1375) in his description of the Alhambra:

The city, which is the seat of the ruler, towers over Granada's inhabited area on the south. It overlooks the city [of Granada] with its gleaming [lit. "white"] battlements, lofty towers, redoubtable bastions and exquisite palaces which blind [both] sight and mind. Watercourses [*jadāwil*] pouring down the hillside from its abundant waters and overflowing cisterns [*ḥawā'ir*] produce a noise that can be heard afar off.⁹

A *ḥayr* is a *paradeisos*, that is an enclosed garden, or *hortus conclusus*. Thus *ḥayr al-ḥayawānāt* is a zoological garden, walled to keep in the animals.

Arab kings delighted in assembling rare species, both animal and vegetable, in their palaces, so *ḥayr* can also mean botanical garden. A *ḥayr* was an essential adjunct to an Umayyad palace, at least in the desert, where produce could not be had from a market. Bastioned walls enclosed agricultural and horticultural land supportive to the palace and fed by either *qanāts* or aqueducts. The park at Malmaison in Josephine's time, with its menagerie, hot-houses and exotic plantations, would count as a *ḥayr*, as might also the Petit Trianon for a time, under Louis XV. Although stocked with rare plants and animals for the express delectation of the ruler, essentially a *ḥayr* is functional: its purpose is to provide food for the royal table.

Referring to a literary interment that took place in 426/1035, al-Faḥ b. Khāqān describes a garden belonging to Córdoba's Golden Age, the 4th/10th-early 5th/11th century. The poet who was fortunate enough posthumously to enjoy its amenities, Ibn Shuhayd (382/992-426/1035), was no stranger to them in life, for he and the owner had oft disported themselves there, if we are to believe Ibn Khāqān. The scene of these dissipations was a park known as Ḥayr al-Zajjālī after its proprietor, the vizier Abū Marwān al-Zajjālī. Ibn Khāqān refers in his description to "files of trees symmetrically arranged", an arrangement clearly arboricultural, and singles out a courtyard (*ṣaḥn*), a watercourse (*jadwal*) serpentine in outline, and a central collecting basin (*jābiya*), all in addition to a pavilion exquisitely executed in gold and azure. *Ṣaḥn* indicates an open space or paved area, and the basin would have been fed by a serpentine stream traversing this courtyard.

A similar arrangement seems to have been obtained in al-Mu'taṣim's palace (the *Ṣumādihiyya*) in Almería in the 5th/11th century, where serpentine channels linked various basins one to another. This prince (443/1051-484/1091), who was a poet, in one of his compositions compares the water in his garden to a snake twisting as it slithers away.¹⁰ In the Alcazaba at Málaga there is a piece of Visigothic masonry reworked in Arab times as a waterspout with a serpentine channel; the Arabs were evidently fascinated by water which described a serpentine motion. It is this same term, *jadwal* (pl. *jadāwil*), that Ibn Sirāj,¹¹ writing to Faḥ b. Khāqān about the channels, or runnels, of al-Zahrā', uses to distinguish an artificial watercourse from a natural stream (*nahr*), and Ibn al-Khaṭīb uses the term for the artificial channels that carry off the surplus water from the Alhambra in the passage already quoted. The pavilion in Ḥayr al-Zajjālī probably resembled one of around the same date in the Alcazaba of Málaga, where a wooden roof is supported on cantilevered arches similar to those in the vicinity of the *miḥrāb* (prayer-niche) in the Mosque of Córdoba.

The essential parts of Ibn Khāqān's description read as follows:

This *ḥayr* is one of the most wonderful, beauteous and complete of places. Its courtyard of pure white marble is traversed by a stream wriggling like a snake. In it is a tank (or reservoir) into which all waters tumble. The roof [of its pavilion] is

adorned in gold and blue, likewise the sides and walls. The garden had files of trees symmetrically aligned, and its flowers smiled from their [open] buds, and [so dense was the foliage] the sun couldn't glimpse the ground, and the breeze, blowing over it night and day, was impregnated with perfume. I myself have passed nights and days there, and it was as if they were composed of lovers' glances or cut from the pages of youth.

The passage concludes on a personal note:

Abū 'Āmir b. Shuhayd enjoyed there spells of well-being and rest, morning and evening. Fate gave him whatever he desired, and he combined [the pleasures of] sobriety and intoxication. He and the owner of the garden buried alongside him were companions in infantile pursuits and allies in inebriation. They persisted in this course, behaving thus in their pride and vanity until death overtook them and Fate decreed their limits. Thus they became neighbours in death as they had been in life, and the shade of these shady spots drew away from them ...¹²

Apart from indicating that the garden was viewed as a place suitable for voluptuousness, a character it has always retained, the passage conveys almost a French sense of *volupté*, a combination of love and death. The two friends emparadised here obviously sought to recapture in a favourable milieu something of the joys of youth, although Ibn Khāqān leaves us to imagine the bowers where they gratified their senses before their passions subsided into dust. These corporeal delights (*jismiyyāt*) anticipate the spiritual ones (*ruhāniyyāt*) of Paradise. But, at the same time, Ibn Khāqān's censorious language evokes another garden, that of rebellion and lost innocence.

From the description it is clear that al-Zajjālī's pleasure grove was a paradise garden, or duplicate heaven, a divine framework of reference which does not necessarily preclude profane use. Files of trees symmetrically arranged in regular plots go back to ancient Persia. Although the paradise garden is a Near Eastern notion, the key word in the evolution of the idea as it travelled west is the Greek *paradeisos*, the word the Septuagint uses for the Garden of Eden and which recurs in the Quran (18:107 and 23:11).¹³ The Hebrew uses *gann* (Ar. *janna*), which is simply "garden", but as the garden whence our First Parents were excluded had a wall and a guarded gate to prevent their return, the Greek translation was felicitous.

In a *paradeisos* the wall had a twofold purpose: to keep the game in and the common herd out. This indicates that the main objects of a paradise were (a) sport, (b) privacy. (More coy but less elusive game could also be pursued in such a setting, where intimate bowers disposed the mind to dalliance, for by this time the concept had been modified to include a profane as well as sacred desire.) There is, however, a contradiction here, for the game would soon ruin any ornamental scheme, so that "paradise" was not slow to acquire other connotations. This could account for the semantic shift whereby game preserve became pleasure garden. After the revelation of Islam, theological factors may have contributed to the shift, pleasure (*ni'ma*) being the central experience of Paradise. *Na'im* (delight, bliss), from the same root, used

definitely, is a synonym for Paradise. This way the garden became a mirror image of Paradise, and its role is allegorical but without the aid of statuary to point the allegory, as in European gardens.

Xenophon (d. after 353 B.C.E.) is credited with introducing the paradise garden to the West, but a Damascene toponym, Ḥayr Sarjūn, records the site of a palace belonging to the Assyrian king Sargon II, whose father overran the whole of West Asia in the 8th century B.C.E. This would seem to show that such gardens not only antedate Cyrus the Younger (d. 401 B.C.E) but had reached the Levant more than three centuries before Xenophon met the Persian king. As Ḥayr Sarjūn lay within the city walls, it cannot have been a hunting park but only a pleasure grove.¹⁴ Certainly the garden idea came from the East; it was in the hot climate of Asia that the idea of grouping productive trees with flowers for fragrance or appearance irrigated from wells or canals first occurred. It was only after his conquest of Mithridates in 63 B.C.E. that Lucullus, no less famous as an epicure than as a general, laid out the first park in Rome, the Horti Luculliani, where Messalina later disported herself, round about his palace. The connection between gardens and sybaritism was by now well established; but the important point is that in either case, Greece or Rome, the first gardeners were generals who had seen service in the East. Lucullus also takes the credit for the introduction of the cherry (from Northern Anatolia).

Referring to the Umayyad caliph Hishām I (72/691-125/743), the Greek historian Theophanes (ca. 752-817) says: "And he began to found palaces in open country and town, and to create sown fields and *paradeisoi*, and to make water channels."¹⁵ This shows *ḥayr* to be the same thing as *paradeisos*. As it moved out of the Levant, the concept merged with the Latin *hortus* and acquired functional apanages. A similar semantic shift was undergone by *ḥayr*, which, by the time it reaches Spain with the Arabs, denotes a walled enclosure for horticulture rather than a game preserve. From Xenophon, through the Alexandrian translators of the Septuagint and crossing the linguistic boundaries into Arabic as *firdaws*, the word retains its primary meaning of enclosure. Arabic, however, uses *firdaws* mainly for eschatological description whilst retaining *ḥayr* for its mundane equivalent. All this would seem to make the Greeks or Romans the vehicle of the idea's transmission, with the Arab diaspora the decisive factor in its ultimate diffusion.

Abū Marwān al-Zajjālī had bequeathed his garden to the city for use as a public amenity. Pérès¹⁶ hazards the guess that this is probably the first instance of such a bequest in history and concludes that public parks were an invention of the Arabs, but he had evidently forgotten Julius Caesar:

Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards.
On this side Tiber, he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever: common pleasures
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves.

In these five lines Shakespeare somehow manages to communicate the essence of a *waqf* (religious endowment) and does so much better than his source (North's Plutarch). Al-Zajjālī's bequest could only have taken the form admissible under Islamic Law, a *waqf*, the nature of which precludes restriction on its use, so Pérès was mistaken in supposing that only the elegant society of the capital would have had the *entrée*; the garden ceased to be privileged space the moment its owner's testament came into effect.¹⁷

In spite of Ibn Shuhayd's burial there beside his statesman friend, recalling Horace's next to Maecenas on the Esquiline, the Ḥayr al-Zajjālī was not a funerary enclosure (*rawḍa*); it is an *hortus*, or combination of flower garden and orchard after the Roman fashion, no different in fact from the Horti Maecenatiani or the Horti Sallustiani in Rome. The ornamental garden is a legacy of the Renaissance; prior to that date gardens were functional and recreational at the same time. Whether in Rome or Spain these *horti* formed, along with countless courtyards, the lungs through which a city breathed: in Ancient Rome *horti* represented one eighth of the total urban area; in modern London the parks represent one twenty-ninth! Although only Julius Caesar's testamentary bequest was public property, the Roman public had the right of entry into all the royal gardens. These included the Horti Luculliani referred to, which had been made over to Claudius as a gift by their proprietor (the Valerii) to avert the emperor's wrath over their abuse by Messalina and her paramours.

Another and greater poet, Ibn Zaydūn (394/1003-463/1070), describes the pools of al-Zahrā' as so deep as to appear blue and surrounded with umbrageous margins:

There may [be found] blue waters whose margins are kept moist by shade, [by the side of which] I entered into a compact with Time respecting a compliant youth.¹⁸

Whilst from another poem we know that the pools were lilyponds:

By night, waterlilies exhaled a perfume which diffused itself, drowning until morning opened their eyes.¹⁹

An earlier verse from the same poem alludes to the droplets shed by fountains:

And the gardens smiled with silver water as if you had torn necklaces from your throat.²⁰

A pool conforming to Ibn Zaydūn's description was discovered by Félix Hernández Giménez in 1944; it separates a large *salle d'apparat* (*majlis*) from a pavilion sited opposite and reflects the architecture of both. The city, 120 hectares in extent, is disposed on graduated terraces descending the hillside, with the palatine quarters (*al-qasr*) on the uppermost. A similar arrangement is also found in Mughal India (e.g., the *Shālāmār Bāgh*, Lahore) and

may reflect the hierarchically organised heavens of Muslim eschatology (Quran, 3:163). Seven terraces are found in Persia as well as in India. Eight corresponds to the eight heavens; seven symbolises the planets and twelve the signs of the zodiac (as in the *Nishāt Bāgh* in Kashmir). All spatial arrangements assume charged significance, for they seek to follow the divine scheme of the Creator. The pavilion in Madinat al-Zahrā' marks the spot where the two axes intersect in a huge quadripartite garden, the outline of whose beds is clearly visible. Of the four arms one is taken up by the hall and reflection pool.²¹ The north side of the pavilion is reflected in the pool whilst three smaller pools to the east, west and south, effect the same for the remaining sides. These pools supply runnels (Ibn Khāqān's *jadāwil*) in the kerbing of the beds on all four sides. Apertures, closed off by means of bungs, allowed the beds to be periodically flooded. All four tanks are sufficiently deep to justify Ibn Zaydūn's reference to azure depths.

Córdoba's loss of political hegemony following the *fitna* (422/1031 saw the final collapse of the Cordoban Caliphate) led to a diffusion of talent and the simultaneous emergence all over the Peninsula of multiple cultural foci as the new city states vied one with another for the attention of the learned or fashionable. The cases of Almería and Málaga have already been cited, but in the Aljafería of Saragossa (seat of the Banū Hūd, 431/1039-540/1146), now rescued from the ignominy of having served as the city gaol since 1772, a courtyard garden has come to light. Pools at opposite ends of a court obviously intended to reflect the delicate tracery of the porticoed sides are linked by a straight watercourse without any transverse.

Heir to Córdoba as cultural capital of Spain was Seville, and parts of the famed al-Mubārak Palace of the poet king al-Mu'tamid (431/1040-487/1095) have recently come to light in the Alcázares Reales. An impressive Almoravid (6th/12th century) garden has been superimposed on an earlier one of 5th/11th century date, all but obliterating it. The primitive arrangement included three sunken flower beds on one side and three more corresponding on the opposite side. If, as seems probable, the central one on either side were not a bed but a tank, the original arrangement would differ little from that at Saragossa. The beds are however much deeper than at al-Zahrā', where the subsoil rock is high; the sides are stuccoed and painted in imitation of arches. In the garden which was superimposed on this one the arches are real, blind and made of brickwork. Crossed axes incorporate channels lined with tiles radiating from a central pool. The flowerbeds are deep; formerly dwarf orange trees grew in each corner, four to a bed.

Deeper still were the beds in another Almoravid garden growing only orange trees, one side of which was excavated in the Alcázares and then reburied. This garden had the luck to be recorded by the local historian Rodrigo Caro in the 17th century before it was thrown down by the local tremors of the Lisbon earthquake (felt even in Scotland!) in 1755. Caro de-

scribes the crossed axes as so tall as to form a viaduct, or rather an aqueduct, supported on arches, so that to get from one part of the garden to another all one had to do was walk underneath them.²² Water descended to the level of the beds through clay pipes embedded in the brickwork. The unusually deep beds were intended for the planting of orange trees.

Another Almoravid garden, discovered in 1924 in a palace (the *Castillejo*) in the Vega of Murcia, furnishes a link between these earlier gardens and those of the Granadine epoch. This palace, precariously perched atop a pinnacle of rock rising dramatically out of the level land of the Vega, must have presented its builders with formidable hydraulic problems. Torres Balbás attributes it to a local chieftain, Ibn Sa'd b. Mardaniṣh (d. 572/1172), who resisted the Almohads.²³ The plan as excavated is identical to that of the Court of the Lions two centuries later: a rectangular court bisected both longitudinally and transversally, with the main axis emphasised by terminal pavilions. Pavilions would seem to have replaced the tanks of the Saragossan example. In Granada, and probably at Murcia too, the tank contracted into a fountain sheltered by a pavilion.

This relieves us of the need to describe the over-familiar Court of the Lions, whose sole innovation consists of a fountain at the convergence of the axes where in Seville there had been a depressed basin. Orange trees formerly in the corners recall the case of Seville and point to a tradition in this regard. The trees were seen in 1502 by a Flemish traveller, Antoine de Lalaing, and in view of the date must have belonged to the original planting.²⁴ Lalaing refers to six, but these are likely to have been survivors out of an original total of eight. This last was the number settled on by Torres Balbás when he replanted the trees in the course of his restoration around 1928. They were removed when the governing body, the Patronato, decided to replant the garden with flowers. This proved unsatisfactory, and four (!) orange trees have been put back.

The so-called court is really a palace, and but one of a number of discrete residential entities within the walls of a palatine city representing successive building phases that waxed and waned as the state alternately prospered or languished. The Palace of the Lions is a *villa urbana* as distinct from a *villa rustica*, which type is represented by the Generalife on the opposite side of the gorge.²⁵ In Spain one can never get very far away from Ancient Rome. Muslim Spain made use of both the *domus urbana* and the *villa rustica*, but long before Palladio the Arabs had hit upon an idea which otherwise had to await the Renaissance for its introduction in Europe: the *villa urbana*. Arab historians never refer to the Alhambra as a *qaṣr* (palace) or *qal'a* (citadel) but only as *madīnat al-Ḥamrā'* (as opposed to *madīnat Ḡharnāṭa*, the bourgeois city).²⁶ This means that everything inside the Alhambra is urban by definition: the Court of Comares is a *domus urbana*, and the Court of the Lions a *villa urbana*, built alongside the main palace for feasting, soirées

and parties, with gardens for recreation attached. The Generalife is a *villa rustica* but with the plan of a *domus urbana* and with immense estates—ten to twelve times the size of the Alhambra. Though fortified, the Generalife is extramural; intramural villas existed, but only in the *arbāḍ* (suburbs), never within the *madīna*. Where urbanisation was thin, as in the Potters' Quarter (Rabaḍ al-Fakhkhārīn), such estates could be extensive. This was the case with the Manjāra al-Kubrā and the Manjāra al-Ṣuḡhrā (respectively the Greater and Lesser Orchards), the dwelling house of the former of which survives in part (Cuarto Real de San Domingo). These were suburban villas. Following villa precedent, the Court of the Lions has the kind of garden one might expect to find in a regular villa. The sense of enclosure in the Generalife was originally every bit as tight as in the Court of the Lions, with *miradors* to release the eye, two in the Generalife, one in the Court of the Lions. In the Generalife, one *mirador* frames the urban landscape to the west whilst another traps a view of the Alhambra to the south. This last was a combined garden/landscape. The garden it overlooked was the one where the Venetian ambassador saw rabbits frolicking amongst the myrtle bushes.²⁷ The Court of the Lions shares the same arrangement but reverses the direction; it looks over a lower terrace toward the Albaicín. The reciprocal entrapment of the Generalife was the work of another *mirador*, in the palace known as the ex-Convento de San Francisco. Today, overgrowth prevents this *mirador* from fulfilling its function; but, originally, it returned the compliment from the opposite side of the gorge. Both of these were terraced gardens. In reality, the Generalife had three *miradors*; the third was an internal one, for regarding the garden in the Patio de la Acequía. The Lions quadrangle had the same number, two to regard the courtyard and one to regard the garden. This was a water garden and would have reflected the *mirador* of Lindaraja as well perhaps as the Tower of Abū Ḥajjāj. Since Charles V, none of this has been visible, and it is impossible for today's visitor to grasp the visual ensemble intended by the Arabs.

The Generalife was one of three fortified *munyas* (villas) that had the job of protecting the approaches to the Alhambra from the rear, the others being the Alixares (demolished to make room for a cemetery in the 19th century) and the House of the Bride (Dār al-'Arūsa) on the Cerro de Santa Elena. Under its present camouflage of Romantic garden it is not a little difficult today to visualise the Generalife as the fortress it once was, fortified from before and behind, yet the fortifications are still there and visible provided one take the trouble to look for them, even if no longer so conspicuous as Ibn al-Khaṭīb found them in the 8th/14th century. "There surround", says the great historian, "the walls of the [Alhambra] city extensive orchards [*basātīn*], which are the private property of the sultan, and trees with intertwining branches such that from behind the hedges white battlements gleam like stars amidst the verdure."²⁸ Nor, for that matter, so conspicuous as Bermúdez de

Pedraza was still to find them 270 years later: "The gardens [of the Generalife] are planted on the slopes of the hill of the Sun, which they call *Santa Elena*, and are so fortified with great walls of mortar that this alone would attest to the greatness of the founders."²⁹ "Mortar" here refers to the construction of boundary walls in concrete, which renders them invulnerable to siege engine or cannon. Naşrid cities were seldom taken by assault; practically all had to be starved into submission.

All three palaces mentioned are examples of the *villa rustica*, that is an *hortus*, and stood embowered amidst orchards, as did the Generalife till the last century. These are real villas, extra-mural arcadias fusing rural idyll and economic income in a tradition going back to Pliny and Hadrian *via Iberia*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes these rural paradises in rapturous terms:

Farms [*qurā*] and gardens [*jannāt*] were in such number that Granada resembled a mother surrounded by children, with luxuriant herbiage adorning her sides as if she had donned a necklace covering the upper part of her breasts, whilst winds embalmed her with zephyrs. Villas [*munan*] and royal properties [*mustakhliṣāt*] encompassed the city like bracelets. Nuptial thrones [i. e., buds] were set up for the brides of the gardens [i.e., the flowers]. The sultan of the spring [i.e., the rose] took his seat to review the rebels [the other flowers]. The nightingale of the trees preached a sermon, whereupon [all] listeners fell attentive. [Acres of] vines waved like billows, and the [whole] neighbourhood overflowed with their juice. Like the sky of the world beautified with innumerable stars so lay [the plain] with towers of intricate construction and equipped with staircases. The winds exhaled perfumes, bringing Paradise to mind for whoso hopes for what God has in store for him by way of requital. ... The reminders of Granada's muezzins vied with one another at daybreak [to wake people] with melodies like [those of] turtle doves. With its glorious kings, Granada exercised a jurisdiction proceeding from authority and government in a place filled with charms free of [any] blemish, [indeed] surpassing all metonymy and metaphor, where there were ancient and venerable mosques, canals ensuring continuous irrigation and numerous bridges, together with taxes levied on the valuable goods [for sale] in the markets, and the faces of flowers and graceful people [dressed in] garments as to surpass those worn by the horizons, filling the hearts of believers with compassion.³⁰

Ibn al-Khaṭīb paints a picture of snug farms, prosperous villages and a contented, devout folk, but he also stresses the importance of the villa economy in a way that cannot but remind us of economic conditions in the late Roman Empire:

There is no space not taken up with gardens [*jannāt*], vineyards [*kurūm*] and orchards [*basātīn*]. But as for the land where the plain extends on the north there are to be found villas of such magnitude and prohibitive cost that none but a member of the royal family could afford to own them, for some yield crops worth half a thousand dinars notwithstanding the low prices vegetables fetch in this city. Of these, nearly thirty are the private property of the sultan. Round about them and right up to their boundaries there is valuable real estate which is never idle and each unit of which never fails to produce around 25 dinars for the exchequer. There too the sultan has properties in good order from which the state's coffers

regularly benefit, all dotted about with gleaming houses, tall towers, broad threshing-floors and comparable enclosures for pigeons and domestic animals. Within the city boundaries and the circuit of its walls the number of the private properties of the sultan does not exceed twenty. Therein are employed vast numbers of labourers and nimble stallions reserved for his personal use or for ploughing. Many of these [properties] are provided with strongholds, mills and mosques. And this happy state of affairs, which is due to the excellence of the husbandry and the prime nature of the terrain, pervades the remaining villages and towns belonging to subjects [of the crown], amongst which figure large towns and populous villages adjoining the boundaries of the royal domains, not a few of which are extensive in size and endowed with all the benefits of civilisation. In this [economy] some thousands are involved and these exhibit great variety of type, whilst others there are which have one or two proprietors and upward. The number of such places exceeds 300, some fifty whereof have Friday pulpits, [mosques] wherein pale hands are extended and eloquent voices raised. The walls of this city and its environs enclose more than 130 mills driven by water.³¹

We have rendered *qarya* (Sp. *alquería*) as farm or village according to context. Both are admissible, a *qarya* being by definition any place neither a *madina* (settlement) or *ḥiṣn* (stronghold); Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself stresses how the population can vary from several people to several thousand, that is to say, all the way from smallholding to small town. Münzer, referring to one particular plain, says: "This plain also is filled with hamlets—which we call villas—and Saracens occupied in tilling the soil."³² *Munya* is villa, but *burj* we have translated as tower, although in Valencian Arabic it means villa. *Burj* indicates a fortified villa. Münzer, writing in 1494, confirms this interpretation: "... orchards, I repeat, full of houses and towers, occupied during the summer. ..." ³³ *Munya*, translated by Dozy (*Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*) as (*h*)*ortus*, is, literally, an object of desire: hence a place whither one goes to recreate, i.e., a pleasance or rural retreat. An *hortus* would happily accommodate both functions. Horticulture being a branch of agriculture, the art of landscape architecture is but a refinement of the science of agriculture. "Villa" suffered semantic distortion at the hands of the Renaissance: *villa* is primarily an economic term indicating a self-sufficient rural enterprise; in Latin the word means a farm.³⁴ Italy and Spain were dotted about with innumerable such economic units. Villas such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb keeps referring to comprised herbiage and pasturage, viniculture or horticulture, with a decorative zone separating the house from its ancillary economy, as may still be seen in Vélez Benaudalla (Valley of the Banū 'Abd Allāh), midway between Granada and Motril, where a garden of this period survives.³⁵ Villas could be rural, urban or suburban, depending on location; architecturally, the first and last probably differed little if at all, unlike their Roman counterparts, for the Roman suburban villa put its country cousin to shame.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's raptures are echoed by early Christian writers. Describing the site of the House of the Bride in the 17th century, Bermúdez de Pedraza comments:

This hill of Santa Elena was so famous in the time of the Moors that when they took this city, says Ibn Ṭāriq, it seemed a paradise, and, even though it is now stripped of its lustre, it retains traces of its beauty and in Moorish times so dense was it with houses and fruit trees that it resembled a Flemish canvas.³⁶

The location of the House of the Bride testifies to the formidable hydraulic skills of the Arab agronomers, as to raise water to such a height it was necessary to tap the Darro and then hollow out the centre of the hill so that water could be raised by a system of interlocking paternosters. Endless chains working buckets, or perhaps water skins, brought the water up halfway, where it decanted into a cistern whence it was carried to the surface by a second chain.³⁷ Where once a hill stood smothered in smiling orchards, today an exhausted soil can barely produce the nourishment to sustain a clump of stunted olive trees. The Alcázar Genil on the outskirts of Granada was another such *hortus*, with a huge pool measuring 121 x 28 metres for the irrigation of a very large area, now all built over in the last ten years, including even the pool in which the architecture of the little palace was reflected. The pool was used for aquatic spectacles, a form of entertainment popular with Moorish kings.

Rules for the management of such estates are given by Ibn Luyūn (681/1282-750/1349), the Andalusī Varro, in his poem on agriculture.³⁸ This is a metric treatise dealing with such practical matters as what the Romans called *cognitio fundi*, the natural situation of the villa, its soil and climate; *instrumenta*, the tools, fertilisers, etc.; *res quibus arva coluntur*, the different operations that require doing and the crops that form the object of such operations; and, lastly, *tempora*, the seasons at which these operations are to be performed. Of the 157 sections into which the poem is divided no fewer than 70 deal with horticulture. From Ibn Luyūn various quondam features of the Generalife, like the cistern, and others still extant, like the Water Stairway (Escalera de Agua), can be identified, making up a productive villa, as far removed in function as in appearance from the Romantic garden that occupies the site today. As a villa, its courtyard is organised along quadripartite lines but with the emphasis on perspective. (Cf. Ibn Luyūn, sect. 157, "And let its length exceed its breadth so that the gaze may roam freely", something that could not happen with a normal courtyard where space was constricted by the urban location.) Of its planting, Navagiero refers only to myrtle and (dwarf) orange trees, the same as in the Court of Comares.³⁹

In Almería, which formed part of the sultanate of Granada, the term for a villa was *burj*; in Córdoba it was *munya*; but in Granada *manjāra* ("orchard") was common. The word survives in local toponyms, e.g., Almanjayara on the outskirts of the city, an area where till recently there were huge orchards. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in the second of our extensive quotations from his *oeuvre*, distinguishes between garden, vineyard and orchard; visibly, they could be distinguished, but a *munya* embraced all three. Royal properties boasted

poetic or hyperbolic appellations, like the name of some constellation. In North Africa a *villa urbana* is *riyāḍ* (gardens), pointing thereby to its distinguishing characteristic. In Granada the term *carmen* (*karma*: vine; *karm* vineyard) is still used for a modest *villa urbana*, the grapevine being the only productive plant whose culture was economically feasible under such restricted conditions.

The numerous royal demesnes in and around the capital to which Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers were all *horti*, as were the country houses noblemen had on their estates outside the city, to which they retreated during the summer. Typical was the royal estate of the Generalife; its extensive lands afforded pasturage for the royal herds, both ovine and bovine. Properly understood, the relationship between the Alhambra and the Generalife is that between a manor house and the home farm. The Alhambra was, as already observed, a city, and the urban setting accounts for the Court of Comares in the shape of a *domus urbana*. The so-called Court is really an independent palace and as the seat of government rejoices in a *majlis* (reception hall) located in the tower that gives the palace its name. This is a courtyard house with central pool. In urban architecture, pools are axial, placid and ample, not just to reflect the two porticoed sides but to cool the surrounding apartments during the summer. A town house differs from a villa in having no garden, only a paved surface relieved by shrubbery and with a pool occupying the centre of the court. Domestic courtyards are described by Navagiero as adorned with "fountains, myrtles and trees, and in some there are large and beautiful fountains."⁴⁰

Most pools were rectangular, although a lobulated one in the Court of Machuca in the Alhambra recalls comparable features in Persia; but Spanish pools never attained to the Baroque exuberance of curvilinear pools in Persia or India. The pebble mosaic surrounding many pools today is unlikely to be original; excavated examples are framed in terracotta tiles with ceramic inserts to form a pattern. The garden survived vestigially in courtyards as marginal strips of greenery with climbing plants, particularly jasmine, although myrtle hedges may have flanked the pool where space allowed. Both in the Courtyard of Comares and the Generalife Navagiero⁴¹ remarked the presence of orange trees as well as myrtle bushes, and Münzer, who visited the Alhambra on October 23, 1494, saw "indescribable palaces, floored with the whitest marble, most beautiful gardens adorned with lemons and myrtles, [equipped] with pools and marble benches off to the sides,"⁴² which latter feature ties in with Roman precedent. The decorative marble borders of these beds can still be seen in the Alhambra Museum (now redesignated Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán and awaiting transfer to purpose-built accommodation in the Generalife). Fountains, often with conch-shaped bowls set in flat basins at one or both ends of the pool, lent animation to the courtyard. Sometimes, as in the Palace of Yūsuf III (built 810/1407-820/1417),

called after the Count of Tendilla, governor of the Alhambra after the conquest, the overflow is ingeniously led around the margin of the tank by runnels, Madinat al-Zahrā'-fashion, to feed the pool from the opposite end, so that both placidity and movement were present. In the Alhambra, water knows three states: horizontal (static), vertical (kinetic) and transitional, where the fountain overflow produces hemicyclical ripples as it discharges into the pool. Jets were flag-shaped, unlike today, and bowls were perforated so they could not overflow, the Arabs relishing the dry sound of water against stone. This policy is not followed in restoration: water against water and overflowing the sides like a curtain appeals to our sensibility more, just as the jets in the Patio de la Acequía (Court of the Watercourse) in the Generalife, although an innovation of the last century, are admitted by all to be an improvement. Navagiero refers with awe to an immense fountain in one of the lower courtyards of the Generalife, with a jet ten cubits high and shedding its droplets far and wide so that any who paused to contemplate it were refreshed.⁴³ Zoomorphic fountains offer another parallel with Persia: apart from the lions in the court of that name two others, now in the Partal, stood in the Māristān (hospital) formerly in the Albaicín. Horses' heads, probably of bronze, discharge into a pool in a miniature of a Hispano-Arab garden.⁴⁴ The miniatures in this manuscript are tentatively dated to the 8th/14th century, the period of the two examples quoted. Normally, fountains were of marble and resisted erosion, but an anomalous one of serpentine in the Alhambra museum is of importance as showing that the Alhambra was never for a moment static but in a constant state of flux and hence impossible to fix, let alone restore, at any one moment in history, unless we unwisely settled on 897/1492.

897/1492 is not just the year of final catastrophe but the date of a botanical revolution without parallel in European history before the 19th century. Columbus's chance discovery of America led to the introduction of exotica on an unprecedented scale, but botanical lists record the pre-Columban flora of the Iberian Peninsula. John Harvey⁴⁵ supplies classified lists derived from the works of Ibn Baṣṣāl (c. 473/1080) and Ibn al-'Awwām (c. 586/1190), whereas Sta. Eguarras organises the material alphabetically under the Arabic name. These two studies, both published in 1975, were preceded by García Gómez's magisterial "Sobre agricultura árabe-andaluza."⁴⁶ Ibn Luyūn's work is based on an earlier manual of husbandry, *Kitāb al-qaṣd wa 'l-bayān* ("The Book of Thrift and Clarity") by Ibn Baṣṣāl, itself an abridgement of an earlier work by the same author. Ibn Baṣṣāl, though from Toledo, was a contemporary of al-Mu'tamid of Seville, for whom he designed a garden; it is not known whether this be the garden of which remains were discovered in the Alcázares Reales. Botany was a field in which Spanish Muslims excelled; the greatest of all Oriental botanists was Ibn al-Bayṭār (593/1197-646/1248) of Málaga, who botanised in the area of Seville. He was preceded

by a Sevillian, Abū 'l-'Abbās b. al-Rūmiyya (558/1163-636/1239), whose mother was evidently Christian. There was also the latter's colleague, 'Abd Allāh b. Šāliḥ. Ibn 'Awwām, already mentioned, was a farmer from the same region. Such lists were drawn up with horticultural or pharmaceutical intent; an exception was al-Ḥimyarī's list of floral metaphors in Arabic poetry, *Al-Badī' fī waṣf al-rabī'* ("Novelties in Description of the Spring"), which is a compilation of the floral metaphors most frequently encountered in Hispano-Arabic poetry.⁴⁷

The reason for the demise of the Hispano-Arab garden is a hypothesis poised midway between demography and aesthetics. If the thesis advanced here be correct, that the art of garden design is but an extension of the science of agriculture, on which it remains dependent, then the expulsion of the Moriscos would have killed off the tradition of Islamic gardening in Spain even had the conquest of Granada not coincided with changes in fashion prompted by the Renaissance. The Renaissance viewed gardens as supplementary to architecture, whereas Muslims have tended to view the palace as subordinate to the garden. No synthesis was possible between opposites so diametrical, besides which patronising Islamic art in any form would have rendered a person suspect in the eyes of the Inquisition. The manuals of husbandry were all in Arabic at a time when the mere possession of a page of Arabic script was enough to incur a charge of apostasy. Estates were expropriated, and the villa system that had rendered Spain prosperous gave way to vast latifundias and overall mismanagement: within two centuries, deforestation and soil erosion produced an arid landscape where once a squirrel could have travelled from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees without ever having to dismount. Yet the Arabs left an indelible impression on the horticulture of Europe: besides the ubiquitous jasmine, which riots all over Spain in the spring, they introduced the pomegranate, the artichoke and the cultivation of the date palm.

Like Islamic architecture, Hispano-Arab garden design defies categorisation in Western terms: not only does it stand outside European chronology, when for eight centuries Spain belonged to an alien civilisation; conceptually, it does not belong either, for it is neither classical nor romantic. The Anglo-Chinois garden, eschewing the French linear style, eschewed likewise rational symmetry of thought. Islamic art was never under the spell of the fertile antitheses that inform European aesthetics, which may explain why gardens "resurrected" on Islamic sites so rarely satisfy: neither the classical parterres in the Alcázares Reales at Seville nor the Romantic garden hung on the terraces of the Generalife in the 19th century nor the trimmed box-edging Torres Balbás introduced in the Alhambra and the Generalife in any way represent, or even approximate to, what was there before.

¹ *Die Ausgrabungen der Samarra*, Hamburg, 1948, Vol. V, plate 16.

² Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-janna*, 6,807.

³ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, trans. Henry Yule, London, 1903, I, 139-40.

⁴ A. C. Kimmens, *Tales of Hashish*, New York, 1977, pp. 25-26.

⁵ P. R. E. Willey, *The Castles of the Assassins*, London, 1963, pp. 204-26.

⁶ In the *Zafarnāmeḥ*, Shāraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī cites a case almost as slavish: "Along the way [to Kish, i. e., Shahr-i Sabz] is a mountain approximately seven parasangs from Samarqand, and at the pass flows a river. When the mighty emperor [Timur] reached that mountain, since his realm-adorning mind never missed an opportunity to build something in any place that was worthy of a structure, he ordered a garden laid out there in such a way that the sweet waters of the river would flow through the garden in remembrance of the divine words 'beneath which rivers flow'." (*apud* Wheelan Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1989, p. 88). This garden, known as the Takht-i Qarāchār, may have been a paradisaical mount, following Quranic antecedent. A pyramidal shape can be inferred both from the hierarchical arrangement of the eight concentric heavens of Muslim eschatology and from the reiterated phrase always used in the Quran in conjunction with the word *jannāt*, *tajrī min taḥtiḥā* 'l-anḥār ("with rivers flowing underneath them"), which would seem to indicate gardens cooled by subterranean streams. Without consulting Yazdī's text, we have taken the liberty of emending Professor Thackston's transliteration. "Qaracha" is obviously Qarāchār, a cousin of Chenghiz Khan and grandfather of Timur, in whose honour it is clear from the text that the garden was created.

⁷ Francisco Prieto-Moreno, in Luis Seco de Lucena and Francisco Prieto-Moreno, *La Alhambra. El Generalife*, Madrid, 1980, p. 72.

⁸ Navagiero, 5th letter, *apud* Francisco Javier Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1872, p. 255. Navagiero's letters were published along with his collected works in Padua in 1718 with the title *Andreae Naugerii patricii Veneti, oratoris et poetae clarissimi opera omnia*.

⁹ *Al-Lamḥa 'l-badriyya fi 'l-dawla 'l-Naṣriyya*, Cairo, 1347/1927, p. 14.

¹⁰ *Apud* Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān fi maḥāsini al-a'yān*, ed. Muḥammad al-'Innābī, Tunis, 1966, p. 55.

¹¹ Ibn Khāqān, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹³ The Quranic *firdaws* is a loan-word. Those who derive it from Greek, *via* the Arabic plural, *farādis*, are almost certainly mistaken, as the word could easily have entered Arabic directly from Old Persian. See Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda, 1938, pp. 223-24. In the Quran the word appears first (18:7) genitively (*Jannāt al-Firdaws*), then (23:11) absolutely (*al-Firdaws*). It is sometimes unclear whether Quranic terms referring to Paradise be synonymous or indicate different levels of glory. On this, commentators and traditionists are at variance, some making *al-Firdaws* out to be the topmost level whilst others reserve this honour for the Garden of Eden (*Jannāt 'Adn*, the phrase (*Gann Eden*) used in Genesis (2:15)), consigning *al-Firdaws* to the second level. See Ṭabarī's *tafsir* on 17:107.

¹⁴ See Ḡhassān Sbāno, *Ta'rikh Dimashq al-qadim*, Damascus, 1984, p. 232.

¹⁵ *Apud* K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, New York, 1979, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 537. Creswell also quotes two instances of the use of the word *ḥayr*, in Samarra' and Baghdad, with the clear meaning of game preserve; although the Baghdad example may have been a zoological, not a hunting, park.

¹⁶ *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 128-29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁸ *Dīwān*, Cairo, 1375/1956, *qaṣida* in *ḥā'*, v. 15, p. 206.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *qaṣida* in *qāf*, v. 7, p. 172.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 171.

²¹ This garden and another similar alongside were excavated by the late Félix Hernández Giménez. Although D. Félix did not live to publish his plan and report of the excavations, a plan by Basilio Pavón Maldonado appeared in *Al-Andalus*, 43, 1968, p. 21 ("Influjo occidentales en el arte del califato de Córdoba", pp. 205-20).

²² Caro's description is quoted in an earlier study by the present writer, "The Islamic Garden in Spain", in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. R. Ettinghausen and E. MacDougall, Washington (DC),

1976, pp. 87-105, in which the writer expanded an earlier paper on the subject, "The Hispano-Arab Garden: its Philosophy and Function", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 31, 1968, pp. 237-48, which was a translation from the Spanish, "Notas sobre la jardinería árabe en la España musulmana", *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, 14-15, 1965-66, pp. 75-87.

²³ "Patios de Crucero", *Al-Andalus*, 23, 1958, pp. 171-92. See particularly p. 177.

²⁴ See *Collections des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, ed. M. Gachard, Brussels, 1876, I, 206.

²⁵ The derivation usually given for "Generalife", from *jannat al-'arīf*, is clearly impossible, because though *t* relaxes to *d* it cannot produce *r*, whereas *nūn* in final position yields *a*, *n* or *r*. The name comes from the plural, *jinān al-'arīf*, "the gardens of the overseer (or architect)". This is the form given by Alonso de Castillo, and is almost certainly a colloquial usage, since Ibn al-Khaṭīb uses the singular. It would make sense for the Spanish to come from a colloquial rather than classical usage.

²⁶ See, for example, *Al-Lamḥa*, p. 14, and *Kitāb nubdhāt al-'aṣr fī akhbār mulūk Banī Naṣr aw taslīm Ḡharnāṭa wa nuzūḥ al-Andalusīyyīn ilā 'l-Maghrib*, an anonymous chronicle of the fall of Granada edited by Alfredo Bustani and translated by Carlos Quirós under the title *Fragmento de la época sobre noticias de los Reyes Nazaritas o capitulación de Granada y emigración de los andaluces a Marruecos*, Larache (Morocco), 1940, Ar. text, pp. 3, 41, 42.

²⁷ "In it [the Patio de la Acequia] there is a gallery, outside which there grow myrtles so tall as to reach, or almost reach, level with the balconies, so uniformly trimmed and so dense as to appear not treetops but a level, green meadow. These myrtles are planted the whole length of the gallery, some six to eight paces off, and in the vacant space so left innumerable rabbits are visible through the undergrowth, gleaming and presenting a beautiful picture." *Apud* Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40. Navagiero is referring to a screen of arches introduced by the Christians; before the arches were inserted the scene he describes would have been visible only from the *mirador*.

²⁸ *Al-Lamḥa*, loc. cit.

²⁹ From the *Historia eclesiástica, principios y progresos de la ciudad y religión católica de Granada* of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, published Granada, 1638. *Apud* Simonet, *op. cit.* p. 269.

³⁰ *Mī'yār al-ikhṭibār fī dhikr al-ma'āhid wa 'l-diyār apud Muṣḥahadāt Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus*, a collection of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's epistles ed. Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādi, Alexandria, 1958, pp. 90-91. Dr. 'Abbādi's text is defective: for *quṣāt* read '*uṣāt* (rebels). "And like the sky of the world": the simile is from the Quran (67:5); white towers peeping out of the verdure bring to mind the famous Quranic metaphor. "... as to surpass": this refers to the colour of the sky at dawn and sunset; Granada is famed for the beauty of its sunsets. Ibn al-Khaṭīb is not exaggerating; the Spanish Muslims wore very colourful garments.

³¹ *Al-Lamḥa*, pp. 14-15. "Unit": the *marjī* '*amālī* is a unit of agrarian measurement equivalent to eight cubits square, applied to cultivable land for fiscal purposes. By "city boundaries" Ibn al-Khaṭīb means the walls of the urban perimeter, not those of the *madīna*. The reference to pulpits is indicative of size; a mosque where a preacher (*khaṭīb*) is installed only exists where there is a sizeable population. The other liturgical reference is to *du'ā* (petitionary prayer), which follows the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer), when the worshipper raises his hands in token of supplication and repeats the response (Amen) after each petition made by the prayer-leader or preacher.

³² Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal. Reino de Granada*, Granada, 1987, p. 47. This is the second of two reprints of the Madrid edition of 1951 which both appeared in the same year, with different pagination. The hamlets to which he refers would be *qarzas* or *munyas*.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁴ Farm or estate; the meaning overlaps with *fundus*. To complicate matters further, all the farms in Latium were called *horti*, not *fundi*, yet they cannot all have been fruit gardens. Since the farms in the vicinity of Rome were known as *horti*, this implies that the *horti* within the city may have been no less utilitarian, at least in part.

³⁵ A ruined *qarya* garden in the Alpujarras has been studied by Patrice Cressier. See "Un jardin d'agrément 'chrétien' dans une campagne de tradition morisque: le *cortijo* de Guarros (Almería, Espagne)", *Flaran* 9, Jardins et vergers en Europe occidentale (VIIIe- XVIIIe siècles), 1987, pp. 231-37.

³⁶ *Apud* Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

³⁷ Torres Balbás ("Dār al-'Arūsā y las ruinas de palacios y albercas granadinos situados por encima del Generalife", *Al-Andalus*, 13, 1949, pp. 185-97) does not address the question of hydraulics, although his plan shows the trough in which a waterwheel worked and which evidently formed part of the system. Situated on the north side of the palace, this wheel must have been intended to irrigate the palace gardens.

³⁸ *Ibn Luyūn: tratado de agricultura*, ed. and trans. Joaquina Eguarras Ibáñez, Granada, 1965, pp. 171-72. Spanish trans. p. 254.

³⁹ Andrea Navagiero, 5th letter, *apud* Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁴² *Viaje*, p. 39.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁴⁴ A.R. Nykl, *Historia de los amores de Bayād y Riyād*, New York, 1941, p. 21.

⁴⁵ "Gardening and Plant Lists of Moorish Spain", *Garden History*, 3, 1975, pp. 10-22.

⁴⁶ *Al-Andalus*, 10, 1945, pp. 127-46.

⁴⁷ Ed. Henri Pérès, Rabat, 1940. John Harvey succeeded in convincing the present writer that al-Himyarī's work has less value as a source than he formerly attributed to it. (See n. 21, *supra*.) I take the liberty of quoting Mr. Harvey's very interesting comments. "I rather wonder about accepting a list of floral metaphors in poetry as being a guide to the botany of gardens. Even in the straightforward realm of English prose, it is the 'literary' sources that are misleading and suspect, so far as the correct identification of species grown is concerned. Arabic, without vowels and with easily misunderstood diacritical points, gives rise to more ambiguities than the Roman alphabet, as well. I am far from under-rating the importance of poetry, but have found that poets do tend to run along certain tracks of well-trodden similes in regard to nature generally, birds, flowers, etc. I regard Ibn Baṣṣāl as an almost archival source, based on direct observation; Ibn al-'Awwām was more literary, so less likely to be precise." (personal communication dated March 24, 1987).

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THE TRANSLATING ACTIVITY IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

CHARLES BURNETT

I

In considering the translating activity in respect of Islamic Spain I shall mainly be looking at Islamic Spain from beyond its borders. Adventurers and scholars were attracted to al-Andalus because of the splendour of Islamic culture and the superiority of Arabic learning. The spoil of the Christian reconquest was not only silks and damask, but also valuable manuscripts. Refugees from Muslim-dominated areas and the intelligentsia who remained in cities reconquered by the Christians were able to impart to those who had been educated in Latin schools the scientific knowledge of a superior culture and to act as interpreters of Arabic texts. Important, too, were the Jewish communities in al-Andalus which absorbed much of Arabic scientific culture and remained largely undisturbed after the Christian reconquest.¹

Translation, of course, had been taking place at all levels of society within Islamic Spain. The community was multilingual. The official language of the government and of higher education was the literary Arabic of the Quran. Occasionally the colloquial Arabic would be written down—for example, in the poetic form known as the *zajal*. However, the majority of the populace spoke a Romance language. This is apparent in another poetic form which originated in Spain—the *muwashshah*—in which the refrain (*ḵharja*) is sometimes in a Romance dialect.² This refrain is usually sung by a girl: it is significant that the vernacular should be regarded as appropriate to wives and daughters. Another vernacular was the dialect (or rather, dialects) of the Berbers who had come across the Straits of Gibraltar in large numbers with their Arabic leaders. Berber words occur in surprising places, such as in the names of one set of the sixteen figures used in the form of divination called “geomancy”, and in the earliest European names for the “Arabic” numerals.³ Beside Arabic, Latin continued in use as the language of the Church.⁴ Many educated Christians, however, adopted the literary language of the Muslims, and incurred disfavour for doing so from the more fanatical of their brethren. Finally the Jewish population still used Hebrew alongside Arabic. Having no special regard for the Arabic of the Quran, they wrote Arabic as they spoke it (while using the Hebrew script), so giving further evidence of the dialect of Arabic used in al-Andalus. The Christian, Jewish and Islamic societies were largely self-governing and had their own laws and judges. However, on many occasions there must have been a need for interpreters. At least one judge for the Christian community in Córdoba also served as their interpreter.⁵

This multilingual society was inherited by the Christian rulers of Spain. One can see this by the number of legal documents in which both Arabic and Latin occur, the Arabic often being a translation or summary of the Latin text for the benefit of an Arabic-speaking plaintiff or defendant.⁶ Interpreters would have been present at the proceedings. Sometimes they translated the Latin into the Romance vernacular which would have been understood by both parties. For example, at the end of a Latin act issued by the archbishop of Toledo in 1178, there is a note in Arabic indicating that "Jalid ben Solaiman ben Gasan ben Servando" and "Domingo Salwat" had heard the archdeacon repeat in "Roman" the text of the act.⁷ The Muslim community (Mudejars) would continue to use Arabic script even when the Romance language became their mother tongue, so producing the literature known as *aljamía*.

Under Islamic domination several Latin texts were translated into Arabic, including a book on agriculture by Columella, a history by Orosius, a "Roman book" on astrology, and (apparently) Isidore's *Etymologies*.⁸ Christians were responsible for making some of these translations, and a large number of works were translated into Arabic specifically for the 'Arabicised' element of the Christian community (though not exclusively, for Muslim scholars also refer to these texts). At least three versions of the Psalms were made, including a verse translation completed by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī in 276/889, which was specifically meant to replace the inelegant prose version in circulation at the time. A church calendar was translated and combined with a distinctly Arabic division of the year based on the rising of twenty-eight constellations known as the "lunar mansions", resulting in the *Calendar of Córdoba* (357/967).⁹ Arabicised Christians (called Mozarabs by other Christians) continued to use Arabic under Christian domination and even into the 14th century. This is evident from the number of Latin manuscripts, mainly of Christian content, with Arabic translations or glosses in them. The well-known Arabic-Latin/Latin-Arabic Leiden glossary was most likely written to enable a community whose first literary language was Arabic to understand the Latin rite of the Roman church.¹⁰

Occasionally Arabic glosses appear in scientific and philosophical works; for example, in a copy of the medical encyclopaedia of Oribasius which was in the cathedral library of Chartres in the Middle Ages,¹¹ and an 11th-century manuscript of Boethius's *On Arithmetic* in the monastery of Ripoll in Catalonia.¹² This is significant, for Boethius's work was the most advanced text on arithmetic before the advent of Arabic learning, and Ripoll was the earliest centre outside al-Andalus to show the influence of this learning.¹³ The Mozarab (as he must have been) who wrote Arabic equivalents to Boethius's definitions of the five species of inequality in that Ripoll manuscript was familiar with the technical terms of Arabic mathematics. It was men such as these who would have been conduits through which Arabic cul-

ture reached the rest of Europe. The transmission of this culture and the information that it imparted concerning Islamic Spain will be the focus of our attention in this article.

II

Before the days of mass education and universal literacy the ability to read and the possession of magical powers often merged in the popular imagination. If the books were not directly concerned with the truths of religion, then the gift of understanding them was thought to be due to the inspiration of demons. Scholars who dealt with Islamic science were regarded with particular suspicion. Gerbert d'Aurillac, one of the first Latin scholars to enquire about Arabic science, according to a story current in the early 13th century, "was the best necromancer in France, whom the demons of the air readily obeyed in all that he required of them by day and night, because of the great sacrifices he offered them."¹⁴ These demons taught him how to use an astrolabe.

But to a certain extent the scholars themselves fitted this popular image. In our first encounters with the transmission of Arabic science we find the exact sciences inextricably mixed up with astrology and magic and their transmission hedged with language redolent of a mystery religion. The same scholar would see nothing incongruous in solving a quadratic equation one moment and predicting from the stars whether a man might be killed by falling masonry the next: he might even make a talisman to prevent such a contingency. Thus Adelard of Bath, the early 12th-century English Arabist, translated the raw materials of mathematics—Euclid's *Elements* and al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables—and also provided versions of an introduction to astrology, a set of astrological aphorisms and a work on making talismans which includes prayers to mice, bidding them to leave a property, and a method for driving scorpions out of his city of Bath.¹⁵

When we turn to the situation in al-Andalus we find scholars associated with both the exact sciences and magic. One of these was Adelard's main authority for the astrolabe, Maslama al-Majrīṭī (ca. 400/1000). It was his revision of the tables of al-Khwārizmī for the meridian of Córdoba that Adelard had translated, and his text on the astrolabe on whose Latin translation Adelard based his own work *On how to use the Astrolabe*. Yet, from an early date, a comprehensive text on magic (*Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*) and another on alchemy (*Ruṭbat al-ḥakīm*) were ascribed to Maslama. Moreover Maslama introduced to al-Andalus the *Letters of the Brethren of Purity* which are heavily imbued with neo-Platonic and Hermetic religio-philosophical ideas, and imply a kind of intellectual brotherhood.¹⁶

The earliest translations from Arabic are in the fields of divination and astrology and those parts of mathematics which prepare the student for these

subjects, such as geometry and astronomy. Western visitors to Muslim towns may have come across crude versions of these techniques. Michael Scot refers to skilled women in the streets and alleys of Tunis who invite newly arrived merchants to ask about their situation, their families and the outcome of their business dealings.¹⁷ Adelard of Bath and his "nephew" had spent a few days with an old sorceress (*anus praestigiosa*) learning how to perform incantations.¹⁸ Others may have been shown or offered an astrolabe. If the "Carolingian" astrolabe described by Destombes is genuine, the artefact may have paved the way for the Latin texts describing its construction and use.¹⁹

Divinatory techniques could have been picked up from Arabs by example rather than through texts. For instance, one could learn how to cast lines of dots randomly on the ground and join them together in pairs in order to form the figures used in "the science of the sand", which became known by the literary Latin term "geomancy".²⁰ Or one could learn how to turn the letters of the names of each of two protagonists in a battle or a contest into numbers, to determine which of them would win.²¹ Or one could learn how to find out hidden things or predict the future by observing various marks on the shoulder-blade of a sheep which had been slaughtered and boiled until the flesh had fallen from the bone.²² Most of these techniques could be learnt with the aid of a good memory or, at most, a sheet of parchment giving the names and meanings of the sixteen geomantic figures, a list of the number-letter equivalents, or a plan of the shoulder-blade with the significations of each of its areas written in.

At some stage, however, more detailed explanations were written down. Our earliest Latin text containing information from Arabic sources happens to be of this kind. It was written in the late 10th century, and is known variously as *Liber Alchandreï*, *Mathematica Alhandrei summi astrologi*, and *Mathematica Alexandri summi astrologi*—all these names implying some connection with Alexander the Great of Macedon.²³ A large part of this text consists of "interrogations" posed by the client and "judgements" given by the astrologer on matters of every-day concern, such as marriage, business dealings, the sex of one's unborn child and the outcome of an illness. The judgement is found by applying to the celestial "places" a number derived from the names of the client and of his mother. This form of judgement is distinctly Arabic, and survives to this day in North Africa.²⁴ The Arabic origin of the text is made explicit by references to "Saraceni" and "the Arabic language". The text includes the earliest Latin form of twenty-eight lunar mansions whose appearance in the *Calendar of Córdoba* has already been mentioned. In fact, the two texts may be contemporary. The *Liber Alchandreï* recalls the polyglot atmosphere of the capital of al-Andalus, for it includes, alongside Arabic names for the zodiac signs and the planets, Hebrew names for the same terms and for the letters in which the names of the client and his mother must be written, and a letter of Petosiris to Nechepso which

was probably translated from Greek in the late Classical period and part of the surviving Latin culture in Spain.

The earliest manuscript of the *Liber Alchandreï* closes with several circular diagrams which show the names of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, their constellations and the number-letter equivalents used in making astrological judgements.²⁵ The numbers here are written in Roman numerals, but in an Italian manuscript of medical works similar circular diagrams are filled with the forms of Arabic numerals which are found on the counters of the abacus associated with Gerbert d'Aurillac.²⁶ Richard Lemay has pointed out that Arabic numerals (which technically should be called "Indian" numerals, and were so called by the Arabs) were used in very restricted contexts in the Islamic world in the Middle Ages. One of these contexts was precisely the form of divination in which numbers were substituted for letters.²⁷ The Western equivalents of the "Indian" numerals are the *ghubār* ("dust") numerals which appear to have originated in Spain since the forms of 5, 6, and 8 are derivable from Visigothic script. Ibn Khaldūn in the 8th/14th century states that the "*ghubār* letters" are used for the *zā'iraja*, or magical circle made up of all kinds of letters and numbers.²⁸ There is, on the other hand, no evidence that Arabic merchants or administrators in Spain made use of *ghubār* numerals.²⁹ It is possible that Gerbert, or one of his followers, got the idea of marking the abacus counters with Arabic numerals from a magical or divinatory context in which numbers were used as ciphers, as they are in the Latin medical manuscript.

The earliest Latin texts on the abacus do not depend on Arabic texts, but the names of the nine different counters which represented the nine digits appear to be Arabic and Berber words for the numerals in distorted forms which suggest an oral transmission.³⁰ This Gerbertian abacus was popular throughout Western Europe during the 11th and early 12th century. It was a teaching tool, enabling students to see how numbers functioned. It was impractical as a calculating instrument for real-life transactions, and was probably never used as such. It was the means, however, by which many European scholars first became aware of Arabic *ghubār* numerals and some of their Arabic names, and, at least for the Abbot of Malmesbury, the instrument itself had been "snatched from the Saracens".³¹

Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century the abacus began to be replaced by a method of calculation with Arabic numerals not marked on counters but written directly on a board thinly covered with sand, or on parchment. This was the algorism, in which the same Arabic *ghubār* numerals were used, and which had been taken, along with the method of calculation, from a single text by al-Khwārizmī—his *On Indian Calculation*.³² Arabic numerals did not cease to have a magical aura; in fact they continued for some centuries to be regarded as a secret code and edicts proscribing their use were promulgated in several cities.³³

The introduction of the algorism is symptomatic of the change in the process of transmission of Arabic science in the 6th/12th century. The transmission acquires a firm literary basis. This is hinted at in the injunction of Ibn 'Abdūn, the jurist writing in Seville in the early years of the century, who forbids the selling of books to Jews and Christians, because they translate them and pass them off as their own compositions.³⁴

III

One of the earliest of these translators was Hugo of Santalla working in the 12th century in Aragon. He dedicated all the works that have dedications to Michael, bishop of Tarazona from the time of its reconquest (513/1119) until 1151. A near Arabic neighbour of bishop Michael was the last of the Banū Hūd dynasty of Saragossa, Sayf al-Dawla. After the fall of Saragossa to the Christians in 512/1118 the Banū Hūd took up residence in Rueda de Jalón, some 55 kilometres from Tarazona. Sayf al-Dawla himself established quite friendly relations with the king of Aragon, Alfonso VII, whose coronation as Emperor he attended. In 534/1140 or 535/1141 he was obliged to relinquish Rueda de Jalón in exchange for some lands near Toledo.³⁵ What is interesting is that he had a library from which bishop Michael was able to choose some works for Hugo to translate.³⁶

The Banū Hūd had a reputation for their patronage of learning. Both the botanist Ibn Biklarīsh and the philosopher Ibn Bājja (Avenpace) were in Saragossa. Two members of the dynasty themselves achieved reputations for their remarkable mathematical talents: Aḥmad al-Muqtadir bi-llāh (who ruled from 438/1046 to 474/1081) and his son Yūsuf al-Mu'taman b. Hūd (474/1081-478/1085).³⁷ The latter composed a truly comprehensive book on geometry known as "The Perfection" (*Al-Istikmāl*), which drew on a large number of sources, including Euclid's *Elements* and *Data*, the *Spherics* of Theodosius and Menelaus, the *Conics* of Apollonius, Archimedes' *On the Sphere and Cylinder*, Eutocius's commentary on this work, Thābit b. Qurra's treatise on amicable numbers and Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics*. Probably during the reign of Aḥmad al-Muqtadir bi-llāh, whose renown extended to astronomy and philosophy, a pupil of Maslama al-Majrīṭī called al-Kirmānī (died 457/1065) introduced the *Letters of the Brethren of Purity* into Saragossa.³⁸ Perhaps he too brought Maslama's revision of the tables of al-Khwārizmī from Córdoba to Saragossa, for the lunar visibility tables that survive in Latin only have been recomputed for a latitude which is that of Saragossa.³⁹

Some idea of which texts remained in the library of the Banū Hūd when they moved to Rueda de Jalón can be gauged from the evidence of Hugo's translations. In only one preface does he mention this library (*armarium Rotense*), but that is precisely his preface to a commentary on the tables of

al-Khwārizmī which must have been known in Saragossa (it was also translated by Abraham b. Ezra, a Jewish scholar from neighbouring Tudela).⁴⁰ Hugo goes on to write that the manuscript was found "among the more secret depths of the library" (*inter secretiora bibliotece penetralia*). This suggests a part of the library specially designated for the non-Muslim sciences and magic. One hundred years later the French bibliophile, Richard of Fournival, "kept his 'secret texts' (*tractatus secreti*) on astrology, alchemy, and magic in a separate room to which, he claims, only he had access".⁴¹ Hugo certainly wishes to foster the impression that he is passing on secret knowledge which must not be divulged to other than worthy individuals.

Like his predecessor in Southern Italy, the translator Constantine of Africa, Hugo subsumes his Arabic author's preface into his own preface, so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the words of his source from his own words, where the Arabic origin is unavailable for comparison.⁴² But it is apparent that he is in agreement with the tone of his Arabic authors. In the preface to a large book on horoscopic astrology Hugo, following his source, lists some 125 astrological books, whose gist is preserved in two comprehensive volumes. These, we read, "were placed in the hands of a certain wise and most dependable man (for no access to them was allowed to any unworthy or foolish person); thus neither the translation of these books nor their teaching is further granted either to us or to anyone of this generation except to one who is endowed with complete honesty and philosophical understanding".⁴³ These are the books whose secret the Arabic author unlocks and Hugo, in turn, reveals to the Latin world.

In his preface to Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium* (astrological aphorisms), Hugo exhorts Michael "not to commit the secrets of such wisdom (*tante sapientie archana*) into the hands of any unworthy individual, or to allow anyone to share in the secrets who rejoices in the number of his books rather than delights in their teaching".⁴⁴ Again, in another preface, he says he has tried to find amongst the Arabs the four species of divination mentioned (and, incidentally, condemned) by Isidore of Seville: divination respectively by earth, water, air and fire. In encountering the Arabic "science of the sand" he thought he had discovered Isidore's geomancy ("earth-divination"), and he promises to find and to translate texts on the the other "mancies".⁴⁵ But secrets could also be found in the shoulder-blades of sheep for (as we read in Hugo's preface to one of his two translations of an Arabic text on scapulimancy—a preface which incorporates Arabic material) "the rain brings down the secret (*archanum*) of God's teaching and an interior power into the very plants and herbs of the earth, like the manna of God's own grace and wisdom, and this secret is transferred to the shoulder-blades of the sheep eating this grass".⁴⁶

Hugo's interest in secrets and "mancies" suggests more than idle curiosity; he seems to believe (or at least acquiesce to beliefs stated in his sources)

in the secret society of an intellectual élite. This belief is most fully stated in the preface to the text on geomancy where we read:

God the Creator of things, who founded everything as a new creation without an exemplar, deciding in his mind about the future state of things before their actual coming-into-being, distributes to each man as He wishes what he thinks it right to bestow upon the rational creature from the treasury of His whole being. Hence all created beings, whether rational or irrational or inanimate, show the same obedience to Him, and, although in their lives they have descended to the rank of mortal beings, they venerate Him as a result of unity alone. Holding all things in the form of images before they come into being, He pours a kind of intuitive and intellectual notion of them into the secret place [*arcanum*] of men's hearts. Eventually such a state of creation comes into being that God is able to associate by a kind of bond the foremost and most venerable teachers ... so that all discord having been put aside, the rational or "positive justice" can join them together through an equable bond.⁴⁷

The high-flown language is difficult to follow, but we have here a picture of a special bond between men who have been privileged to receive God's gift of intuitive knowledge. This bond which produces a state of peace in human society is parallel to the bonds which govern and preserve the universe. It is to this latter topic that Hugo's most interesting translation is devoted. This is the *Secret of Creation* of Pseudo-Apollonius, which purports to be Hermes Trismegistus's account of God's creation of the world, and of the origins of minerals, plants, animals and men. Throughout the work there is an emphasis on the idea of an underlying unity in nature and of bonds connecting every level of creation. For all things derive from one substance and one seed. This philosophy is epitomised in the document known as the Emerald Tablet which became the credo of the alchemists and of which the earliest known Latin version is within Hugo's translation of *The Secret of Creation*.⁴⁸

Hugo's text is closest to an Arabic manuscript copied in 485/1092, another Arabic copy of which is still in Spain.⁴⁹ We have no independent Arabic testimony that the *Secret of Creation* was in the library of the Banū Hūd, but it is worth noting that the text comes from the same milieu and shares some of the same Hermetic and neo-Platonic sources as the *Letters of the Brethren of Purity* which were in Saragossa.⁵⁰ In turn, we have no translation of the *Letters* attributed to Hugo. However, there are anonymous Latin translations of at least two of these letters,⁵¹ and further evidence may eventually be found of their influence on Latin scholars in the North of Spain.

IV

Not far from Tarazona was Tudela on the river Ebro. This town had important Jewish and Muslim communities and was the home of the Jewish scholars Abraham b. Ezra (1086-1164) and Judah Halevi (d. 1141).⁵² The translators Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton are said to have been

working in the region of the Ebro in 1141,⁵³ and could well have been in Tudela; Robert was later canon of the church there. Hermann knew several of the same sources as Hugo, and perhaps also had access to the library of the Banū Hūd. For he knows the works of Theodosius and Archimedes, and made versions of Euclid's *Elements* and al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables, all of which were apparently in the Banū Hūd's possession. In his major original work, the cosmogony called *On the Essences* (*De essentiis*), Hermann cites the Emerald Tablet from the *Secret of Creation* (he is the only Latin scholar besides Hugo who appears to know the latter work), and refers to several other Hermetic works.⁵⁴ However, in the preface to *On the Essences*, which is addressed to Robert, he makes a significant contrast between the "secrets" (*secreta*) and the "public schools". Robert and he have been labouring together night and day on the "intimate treasures of the Arabs" (*intimi Arabum thesauri*) in the "inner sanctuaries of Minerva" (*adyta Minerve*), and Hermann is now considering whether it is appropriate to make the fruits of their research public. He is afraid of committing the crime of Numenius, who divulged the Eleusinian mysteries and consequently saw the Eleusinian goddesses in a dream dressed as prostitutes available for use to all and sundry. In Hermann's case the Goddess Minerva reassures him—also in a dream—that *her* attributes are not diminished by being made freely available and should be given out liberally.⁵⁵

Whether Hermann's decision to make public the secrets of Arabic science represents a change of policy from that of Hugo depends on how much trust we place in the literary style adopted in these translators' prefaces. It is a fact that Hugo's translations had a very limited diffusion. Hermann and Robert, on the other hand, advertised their work to the highest European authorities of the time. Robert promises to Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who was responsible for promoting the Cluniac reform of the Christian church in Spain, "a celestial gift which embraces within itself the whole of science"—i.e., a work on astronomy, whereas Hermann sent one of his translations (that of Ptolemy's *Planisphere*) to Thierry of Chartres, the foremost educator in France of the second quarter of the 12th century. In the preface to this translation Hermann sketches a history of astronomy, refers to the basic textbooks on the subject, and advertises three of his own works, and one of Robert's.⁵⁶ Thierry was engaged in compiling an annotated "library" of texts on the seven liberal arts, and included two translations from Arabic, which may be in Robert and Hermann's versions.⁵⁷

A decade or two after Robert and Hermann's project to translate and send to France texts on geometry and astronomy, an even more comprehensive programme of translations was planned and undertaken, this time in Toledo. The motive force for this programme seems to have been an archdeacon resident in Toledo called Dominicus Gundissalinus. Perhaps in reaction to the idea of a secret intellectual élite, Dominicus considers that it is no longer

possible to be a sage (*sapiens*); one can only aspire to be proficient in certain sciences, or at least to know something about a few of them.⁵⁸ To facilitate this he describes each of the sciences in turn in his *On the Sciences*, drawing largely on the translation of al-Fārābī's *Classification of the Sciences* made by Gerard of Cremona.

It is reasonably certain now that Gerard of Cremona worked closely with Dominic. He is probably to be identified with a "Girardus" described as a deacon in a document of the Cathedral of Toledo of 11 March 1162, and as "Girardus called master" (*Girardus dictus magister*) in two later documents of the Cathedral (March 1174 and March 1176). All three documents are also signed by Dominic.⁵⁹ Al-Fārābī's *Classification of the Sciences* provided a template for Gerard on which to pattern the programme of his own translations, several of which were used in turn by Dominic when he adapted al-Fārābī's text into a comprehensive account of philosophy and its parts—*On the Division of Philosophy*—patterned on schemata developed by Thierry of Chartres and his pupils.⁶⁰ With Dominic and Gerard of Cremona we see not only a high public profile given to translations from Arabic, but also an expansion of the range of texts into medicine and philosophy. Gerard translated several of Aristotle's works and some commentaries on Aristotle by Arabic authors or Greek commentators whose work had been translated into Arabic.⁶¹ On the other hand, Dominic and his associates Avendauth and Johannes Hispanus translated the works of Arab and Jewish scholars who had summarised and reinterpreted Aristotle's philosophy in the light of neo-Platonic trends—i.e., Ibn Sinā, Ibn Gabirol and al-Ghazālī.⁶²

The advertisements of Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia were clearly effective. John of Salisbury regarded the Arabs as being more advanced than the Latins in geometry and astronomy.⁶³ Toledo was the natural place where this Arabic learning could be found. Gerard of Cremona had been attracted to Toledo because of his desire for Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the 2nd-century A.D. textbook on astronomy. Another scholar, Daniel of Morley, tells a more detailed story about how he came to Toledo. He had at first left England to seek learning in Paris, but, disappointed by what he found there and hearing that "the learning of the Arabs" (*doctrina Arabum*), which consisted almost entirely of the scientific works he was interested in, was in vogue in Toledo, he hurried there, and was not disappointed. He recounts a lecture given by Gerard, on astrology.⁶⁴

V

Gerard of Cremona died in 1187. At his death his pupils (*socii*) drew up a list of his many translations from Arabic, since he had been too humble to put his name to many of them.⁶⁵ These *socii* could have included Dominic and Johannes Hispanus, for the former was still alive in 1181 (and there is no evidence that he died soon after this), and the latter lived until 1215.

The 7th/13th century witnessed a continuation of the translating activity. Two conspicuous elements about this activity should be noted: first, the transmission of the results of the last flowering of philosophy in Islamic Spain; and second, the rise of "official translation", i.e., translation as part of public policy, either to aggrandise the newly emerging Spanish nation, or to convert the Muslim.

To turn to the first of these: Under the Almohads there occurred an Indian summer for philosophy in Islamic Spain. This took the form of a burst of "fundamentalist" Aristotelianism unparalleled elsewhere in the Arabic world.⁶⁶ The central figure is Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), the court physician of the Almohad leader in Córdoba and the composer of the philosophical novel *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*—the story of an orphan on a desert island who discovers the truths of philosophy and religion entirely by a process of deduction. Ibn Ṭufayl had introduced to the Almohad ruler the philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 594/1198), and inspired al-Bīṭrūjī (Alpetragius) to write his book on astronomy. This book, *On the Movements of the Heavens* (written ca. 600/1200), was a revolutionary attempt to replace Ptolemy's astronomical system with a model which was compatible with Aristotelian physics. Averroes in his turn undertook the most ambitious project ever conceived for interpreting Aristotle: three levels of commentaries for the whole of Aristotle's works, to which a commentary on Plato's *Republic* was added. These consisted of: a) summaries of the texts; b) paraphrases; and c) line by line exegeses.⁶⁷

Andalusī Aristotelianism appears to have had little influence on subsequent Arabic scholarship. Its influence on Latin and Hebrew philosophy and science was, on the other hand, immense. It was in this intellectual climate at Córdoba that the philosophy of Maimonides (d. 600/1204) was formed. And within a few years of their composition the works of both al-Bīṭrūjī and Ibn Rushd were being translated into Latin and Hebrew. The first translations were made in Spain. Michael Scot translated *On the Movements of the Heavens* in Toledo in 1217, five years after the defeat of the Almohads in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. To Michael Scot are also attributed the earliest translations of Averroes, which he probably began in Spain, and continued when he moved to Italy in the 1220s.⁶⁸

The radical nature of this new Aristotelianism and its origin in Spain is indicated by the extreme reaction that it provoked in Paris—in particular, the prohibition promulgated in the University of Paris in 1215 against Aristotle's works on metaphysics and natural science, the *summae* of these works (i.e., presumably, the works of Avicenna and Averroes) and the writings of "Mauritius Hispanus", amongst others.⁶⁹ The most plausible explanation of the identity of the latter is that he is Mauritius, archdeacon of Toledo, who sponsored translations of other texts of the Almohads, as we shall see.⁷⁰

The continuation of interest in Aristotelianism in Christian Spain in the 13th century has not yet been explored by scholars, but is evident from the following facts: Alvaro of Toledo (floruit 1267 until after 1286) copied out Michael Scot's translation of al-Bīṭrūjī's *On the Movements of the Heavens* and wrote a commentary on Averroes' *On the Substance of the Globe*. He dedicated the latter to the Archbishop of Toledo, Gonzalo García Gudiel, who himself had collected several manuscripts of the works of Aristotle, Avicenna and Averroes by 1273.⁷¹ The archbishop commissioned a translation of those books on natural science in Avicenna's *Shifā'* which had not been translated by Dominicus Gundissalinus.⁷²

With García Gudiel we come to the very end of the 13th century. If we retrace our steps we can follow the course of "official translations" through the century. The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212) and the subsequent capture of Seville and Córdoba, leaving as the only Islamic kingdom in Spain the vassal state of Granada, gave the Christian bishops and kings a great feeling of confidence. We see at least one archbishop and two kings who produce texts in their own names to further the Hispanicisation and Christianisation of the Iberian Peninsula.⁷³

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo from 1210 to 1247, wrote the *Historia Gothica* and the *Historia Arabum*, both of which rely heavily on Arabic sources.⁷⁴ A canon in his cathedral called Mark was asked by his archdeacon, Mauritius (mentioned above), to translate the Quran and the Profession of Faith of the founder of the Almohad movement.⁷⁵ James the Conqueror, king of Catalonia (d. 1276) was more a warrior than a cultural hero, and added Valencia, Murcia and the Balearic Islands to the kingdom of Catalonia. But he also wrote a unique biography, in Catalan—the *Llibre dels feyts*—and set up a school for training missionaries.⁷⁶

The most remarkable instance, however, is of course that of Alfonso X, "el Sabio", king of León and Castile from 1252 until 1284.⁷⁷ His nationalism is evidence in his great law-codes and histories (of Spain and of the world), which build on the earlier histories of Rodrigo Jiménez and even on the Islamic literature translated by Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton. Above all, it is evidenced by the fact that he chose to use Castilian as the literary language of his court. He was not so interested in Aristotle, but sponsored the translation of texts on magic, the science of the stars, entertaining stories, and games (including chess, draughts and backgammon). Not only was the language of these translations Spanish, but also he made it seem that the authors themselves were Spanish, calling for example the author of the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, "Picatrix Hispanus".⁷⁸ Of course, in a way, they were. The author of *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, though not Maslama al-Majrīṭī himself, lived in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century. One or two of the texts on the science of the stars appear to have been written by the translators themselves. The

absence of any Muslim involvement in the translations is notable. Most of Alfonso's translators were Jews, and those who were not Jews were Christians who sometimes translated the Castilian text into Latin.

VI

What could Europeans learn of Islamic Spain from these translations? It must be said, first of all, that works on philosophy and the exact sciences are not likely to give much information about the society in which they were written. However, an informative introduction to the Islamic religion itself could be gained from reading the texts that Peter the Venerable commissioned in the 1140s from Hermann of Carinthia, Robert of Ketton and Peter of Toledo. These were all translations of Arabic texts on Islam, and included the Quran, a life of Muḥammad, a history of the world from the Islamic point of view from the Creation to the time of the Prophet, an account of the early caliphs, and a debate between a Muslim and a Christian.⁷⁹

For all the extremely negative attitude towards Islam shown by Robert of Ketton in his prefaces, the translations themselves are quite faithful to their originals. Peter the Venerable had attached to his team of translators a Muslim called Muḥammad, presumably to help in matters of doctrine. The translator of the debate between the Muslim and the Christian (the *Apology* of al-Kindī), even left in a sentence in which the caliph al-Ma'mūn, the judge of the debate, comes down in favour of the Muslim.⁸⁰ He considered Christianity to be a religion for enjoying life in the world to come, whereas Islam enabled one to enjoy both this world *and* the next. Unfortunately an early editor of the Latin text erased this approbation of Islam which, consequently, is not found in later manuscripts. Nevertheless the "Toledan collection", as the works commissioned by Peter the Venerable are called, remained a valuable dossier for Westerners wishing to understand Islam. In the 17th century Robert of Ketton's translation of the Quran was still being used by Christian missionaries, and the *Apology* of al-Kindī has become popular in modern times at the interface of Islam and Christianity in North Africa.⁸¹

Other sources for gaining knowledge of Spanish Islamic society are the works of astrology and divination. Richard Lemay has pointed out that in some manuscripts of John of Seville's translation (529/1135) of Abū Ma'shar's *Greater Introduction to Astrology* (235/849) there are annotations explaining some of the terms used, including: "Note that Abū Ma'shar calls 'aldea' the habitations (*villulae*) in which the more noble of the Arabs dwell, i.e., the places of tents, since noble Arabs always dwell in tents and not in cities"; the same annotator interprets "cities and halls" (*civitates et aulas*) as *alcasares* (the Spanish word from *al-qasr*, "castle").⁸²

Associated with astronomical tables in two manuscripts of the 6th/12th century is a bilingual Arabic-Latin fortune-telling table which indicates the

activity someone should be engaging in depending on the sign of the zodiac in which each of the planets is situated.⁸³ The activities are all pleasant and presumably recall the recreations of a leisured inhabitant of al-Andalus: e.g., hearing or playing musical instruments (including the *rabāb*, the shawm, the horn, various kinds of drum, and singing), riding through beautiful places, resting in the shade, buying or building a house or guest-quarters, decorating a reception room, buying slippers, smelling roses or irises, entering a bath, wearing multi-coloured clothing or silks or brocade or a long-sleeved gown, hunting ducks or hares and hunting with a falcon, playing with a girl, drinking by a river (either grape-wine—*khamr*, or date-wine—*nabīdh*), and finally eating all kinds of delicious food. These include lamb, chicken, a young dove, partridges, thrushes, dates, a pie made of borage, a cake (*ḥalwā*), aubergines, artichokes, dill, *tafāyā* (interpreted in Latin as “meat with coriander”) and mushrooms.⁸⁴

Other astrological works refer to the best time to learn to play the “lyre” (presumably the *‘ūd*), the drum (*ṭanbūr*) and trumpets,⁸⁵ and give advice on digging irrigation ditches, which includes descriptions of the *shadūf* (translated as “stork” in Latin), the *sāniya* or “water scoop”, and the *nā‘ūra* or water-wheel:

In digging beds for irrigation channels, let the Moon be in a good position ... [If all this is done] hindrance from digging the channel is avoided and the abundance and the salubrity of the water is assured ... In making certain machines which are accustomed to be used by certain peoples for drawing up water, and which, because of their appearance, they call in the vernacular [*vulgari nomine*] “storks”, let the Ascendent and the Cardines be firm ... For the manufacture of wheels which the Arabs call *azeniae* or *annorae* the aforesaid method for wells should be followed. Both machines are useful for drawing forth water for irrigating fields.⁸⁶

More immediately relevant to Islamic Spain are the texts on divination by sheep’s shoulder-blades.⁸⁷ These seem to have been elaborated on Spanish soil. For in both Arabic and Latin texts there are references to Córdoba, Saragossa and other capitals of the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms of al-Andalus. In one Arabic text the two main divisions of the Arabs in Spain—the family of Fihir and the family of Marwān—are mentioned. In both an Arabic and a Latin text the tribal divisions of the Berbers—the Butr and Barānis—are also named. The texts give intimate details of family life, indicating whether the husband will dominate his wife or *vice versa*, how many servants there are in the house and whether they are black, Arabs or Christians, and have straight or curly hair.

Latin-reading Europeans, however, did not read these texts in order to find out more about Islamic Spain. They were interested in the texts for practical purposes or for making progress in mathematics or philosophy. The Arabs were not mere conduits of Ancient Greek learning. Admittedly, translators were searching out Ancient Greek works and occasionally complained

when they could only find an Arabic translation of a Greek work.⁸⁸ Gerard of Cremona, Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia were all aiming for the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, Constantine of Africa wanted to introduce to the Latins Galen and Hippocrates. But it was acknowledged that scholars writing in Arabic had developed, added to, or made more accessible, the texts of Antiquity. Understanding the *Almagest* may have been the aim of every aspiring astronomer, but most scholars in the Middle Ages, including Dante, found it easier to use the shorter *Elements of Astronomy* of al-Farghānī.⁸⁹ Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* was regarded as the fountainhead of teaching on astrology; yet the works of Abū Ma'shar and al-Qabīṣī were much more frequently copied and cited.⁹⁰ Avicenna's *Sufficiency* (*Shifā'*), as its title implied, provided a full curriculum in philosophy and, partly because it gave clear-cut answers rather than left questions hanging in the air, it was easier to manage than the several books of Aristotle's philosophy and was consequently popular. Averroes, on the other hand, with his three tiers of commentary to each of Aristotle's works, provided a thorough-going method for a detailed study of Aristotle and a model for Latin commentaries from the mid-7th/13th century onwards.⁹¹ A mark of his success is the fact that a far greater number of his commentaries survive in Latin than in the original Arabic.⁹²

The Arabs of the Middle Ages seem to have had a special flair for mathematics, and the Latin translations in this field provide only a dim reflection of the true splendour of the achievements of men like al-Mu'taman b. Hūd or Omar Khayyam.⁹³ The translations did, however, introduce into the West calculation with Arabic numerals, algebra, trigonometry and advanced geometry. In medicine, above all, Arabic works held sway in the Middle Ages. One need only mention the names which became familiar in the Latin forms of Avicenna (this time as author of the *Canon of Medicine*), Rhazes, Mesue, Isaac, and Abulcasim.⁹⁴

Most of these texts had originally been translated in Spain.⁹⁵ Many of them had been written by Muslims (or, to a lesser extent, Christians or Jews) resident in Spain. We have already mentioned Maslama al-Majrīṭī, al-Bīṭrūjī, Averroes, and Ibn Bājja, the last of whose views were known through the commentaries of Averroes. But there were others, such as 'Arīb b. Sa'd, who contributed to the composition of the *Calendar of Córdoba*, Abraham bar Hiyya (d. c. 531/1136), the author of a book on trigonometry translated by Plato of Tivoli under the title *Liber embadorum* ("Book of areas"),⁹⁶ the 5th/11th-century mathematician and astronomer Ibn Mu'adh of Jaén whose works on atmospheric refraction (*De crepusculis*) and *Tables of Jaén* were translated by Gerard of Cremona,⁹⁷ and Ibn al-Zarqālluh whose astronomical tables composed for Toledo in ca. 462/1070 became the standard tables in use in Latin translation in the West between the late 12th and early 14th centuries.⁹⁸ But Arabic texts also arrived in al-Andalus from the furthest parts of

the Islamic world, and this, in itself, testifies to the brilliance of the academic society in Islamic Spain. Adelard of Bath had regarded Arabic learning as synonymous with rational thought.⁹⁹ What Hugo of Santalla said of his own subject would have been echoed by many of his fellow Latins concerning other subjects:

It befits us to imitate the Arabs especially, for they are as it were our teachers and precursors in this art.¹⁰⁰

¹ For general accounts of the translation process see M.-T. d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable, Oxford, 1982, pp. 421-62; C. Burnett, "Some Comments on the Translating of Works from Arabic into Latin in the Mid-Twelfth Century", in *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann, Berlin, 1985, pp. 161-71, and "Literal Translation and Intelligent Adaptation amongst the Arabic-Latin Translators of the First Half of the Twelfth Century", in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo Europeo*, ed. B.-M. Scarcia Amoretti, Rome, 1987, pp. 9-28; N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, London, 1975; D. C. Lindberg, "The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West", in *idem* (ed.), *Science in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 1978; M. R. Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, Philadelphia, 1987; and J. Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978. Catalogues or lists of translations are included in F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, Berkeley, 1955 and L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, revised and augmented ed., London, 1963.

² S. M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, Oxford, 1974.

³ For Berber involvement in geomancy see F. Klein-Franke, "The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. 'Alī Zunbul: A study of the Arabic Corpus Hermeticum", *Ambix*, 20, 1973, pp. 26-36; "Arabic" numerals are discussed below.

⁴ Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, Liverpool, 1982, pp. 151-63.

⁵ P. S. Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*, Leiden, 1977, p. 57. The judge is Aṣḥab b. Nabil (362/971). Another judge—Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī—was a translator from Latin into Arabic (see below).

⁶ Examples of documents in which Arabic and Latin occur can be found in F. J. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, Madrid, 1985, plates 6, 7, 9, 11 and 13.

⁷ M.-T. d'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes: d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin", in *Traductions et traducteurs au moyen âge*, ed. G. Contamine, *Colloque internationale du CNRS*, Paris, 1989, p. 197.

⁸ Van Koningsveld, *Latin-Arabic Glossary*; J. Samsó, "The Early development of Astrology in al-Andalus", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 3, 1979, pp. 228-43.

⁹ C. Pellat (ed.), *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, Leiden, 1961.

¹⁰ Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*, Leiden, 1977.

¹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10233 (s. viii).

¹² Ripoll MS 168, fol. 42r; the notes are to the text of Boethius, *De arithmetica*, I. 32.

¹³ J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona, 1931, discussing the texts on the astrolabe in Ripoll MS 225.

¹⁴ Michael Scot, *Liber introductorius*, quoted in L. Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, 1965, pp. 93-94.

¹⁵ For the life and works of Adelard of Bath, see C. Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts XIV, 1987. Adelard spent some time in Southern Italy, Sicily and, possibly, the Middle East, but probably passed most of his life in the region of the Severn valley in England.

¹⁶ Vernet, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 154, and J. Thomann, "The Name Picatrix: Transcription or Translation?", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53, 1990, pp. 289-96.

¹⁷ C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Mass.), 1927, p. 290, n. 114, and Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p. 285.

¹⁸ M. Müller (ed.), Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 31.2, Münster, 1934, p. 53, lines 27-30.

¹⁹ Marcel Destombes, "Un astrolabe carolingien et l'origine de nos chiffres arabes", *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 58-59, 1962, pp. 3-45. The genuineness of this astrolabe has been discussed at a recent conference in Paris.

²⁰ T. Charmasson, *Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'occident médiéval*, Geneva-Paris, 1980.

²¹ C. Burnett, "The Eadwine Psalter and the Western Tradition of the Onomancy in Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secret of Secrets*", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 55, year 1988, pp. 143-67.

²² C. Burnett, "Arabic Divination and Celtic Lore: Some Aspects of the Theory and Practice of Scapulimancy in Western Europe", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 6, 1983, pp. 31-42.

²³ Millás Vallicrosa, Assaig, pp. 67-40; A. Van de Vyver, "Les plus anciennes traductions latines médiévales (Xe-XIe siècles) de traités d'astronomie et d'astrologie", *Osiris*, 1, 1936, pp. 666-84. This work should be viewed as part of the large body of apocryphal literature couched in the form of correspondence between Aristotle and his royal pupil Alexander the Great; see C. Burnett, "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works on Astrological Magic Attributed to Aristotle", in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jill Kraye, W. F. Ryan and C. B. Schmitt, London, 1986, pp. 84-96.

²⁴ L. Vecchia Vaglieri and G. Celentano, "Trois Epîtres d'al-Kindî", *Instituto Orientale de Napoli. Annali*, 34, 1974, p. 525.

²⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17868, fol. 16v. The diagrams are reproduced in E. Wickersheimer, "Figures médico-astrologiques des IXe, Xe et XIe siècles", *Janus*, 19, 1914, p. 175.

²⁶ Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina, MS 1.f.18, N.171, fol. 3r, reproduced in M. Pasca (ed.), *La scuola medica Salernitana*, 1988, p. 53.

²⁷ R. Lemay, "Arabic Numerals", in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer, I, New York, 1982, p. 384: "the number of Arabic ... manuscripts that use the Hindu numerals for divination and for magic far exceeds those that deal seriously with mathematics proper".

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

²⁹ A. Labarta and C. Barceló, *Números y cifras en los documentos arábigo-hispanos*, Córdoba, 1988.

³⁰ W. Bergmann, *Innovationen im Quadrivium des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1985.

³¹ William, Abbot of Malmesbury, described Gerbert as "the first to snatch the abacus from the Saracens and give it rules for use"; N. Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera Mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, p. 387.

³² A. Allard (ed.), Moḥammed ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, *Le Calcul indien*, Paris-Namur, 1991.

³³ A. Murray, *Science and Society in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1978.

³⁴ E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*, Madrid, 1948, p. 173.

³⁵ E. Lévi-Provençal, revision of R. Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans*, Leiden, 1932, III, 154, n. 1.

³⁶ Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-81.

³⁷ J. P. Hogendijk, "Discovery of an 11th-Century Geometrical Compilation: the *Istikmāl* of Yūsuf al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd, King of Saragossa", *Historia Mathematica*, 13, 1986, pp. 43-53.

³⁸ Vernet, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁹ I owe this information to Dr Jan Hogendijk.

⁴⁰ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 73; B. R. Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī*, New Haven-London, 1967.

⁴¹ D. Pingree, "The Diffusion of Arabic Magical Texts in Western Europe", in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo Europeo*, ed. B.-M. Scarcia Amoretti, Rome, 1987, p. 80.

⁴² On Constantine's practice see D. Jacquart, "Le sens donné par Constantin l'Africain au *Pantegni*: les prologues latin et arabe", in *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī*, ed. C. Burnett and D. Jacquart (in press).

⁴³ C. Burnett and D. Pingree (eds.), Hugo of Santalla, *Liber Aristotilis* (in preparation), Prologue, sentences 42-43.

⁴⁴ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ Preface to his *Art of Geomancy*, edited in Haskins, *ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁶ Burnett, "Arabic Divination and Celtic Lore", p. 35.

⁴⁷ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴⁸ C. Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia", in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke, Cambridge (England), 1988, pp. 398-400.

⁴⁹ U. Weisser (ed.), Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana, *Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung und die Darstellung der Natur*, Aleppo, 1979, pp. 10-12 and 30.

⁵⁰ For example, both cite the Hermetic book *Kitāb al-iṣṭamāṭīs* and both have a detailed account of the development of the embryo according to the influence of the planets.

⁵¹ I.e., the letter on logic (*Posterior Analytics*), Beirut edition, I, 429-52, Latin version in A. Nagy, *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Ishāq al-Kindī*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 2.5, Münster, 1897, pp. 41-64; and the letter on geography, Beirut edition, I, 158-82, Latin version ed. P. Gautier Dalché, "Epistola fratrum sinceorum in cosmographia: une traduction latine inédite de la quatrième risāla des Iḥwān al-Ṣafā", *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 18, 1988, pp. 137-67. The letter on talismans (Beirut edition, IV, 283-462) includes material which is also found in Latin texts; see Burnett, "Arabic, Greek and Latin works on Astrological Magic Attributed to Aristotle", p. 89, n. 6.

⁵² See "Ibn Ezra" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 8, 1971, pp. 1163-70.

⁵³ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ C. Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia and the *Kitāb al-iṣṭamāṭīs*: further evidence for the transmission of Hermetic magic", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44, 1981, p. 167.

⁵⁵ C. Burnett, *Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis: a Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, Leiden, 1982, pp. 70-73.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8-9.

⁵⁷ Thierry's collection of texts on the seven liberal arts, entitled *Heptateuchon*, is discussed in E. Jeuneau, "Note sur l'Ecole de Chartres", *Studii Medievali*, 3rd series, 5, 1964, pp. 821-65. The recent editors of the version of Euclid's *Elements* in the *Heptateuchon* have proposed that it is by Robert (see H. L. L. Busard and M. Folkerts (eds.), *The Latin Translation of Euclid's Elements known as Version II* (in press)), whereas the tables of al-Khwārizmī could be Hermann's revision of Adelard's version; see H. Suter, with A. Bjørnbo and R. Besthorn, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī in der Bearbeitung des Maslama ibn Aḥmed al-Majrīṭī und der lateinischen Uebersetzung des Athelard von Bath*, Copenhagen, 1914, p. xiii.

⁵⁸ L. Baur (ed.), Dominicus Gundissalinus, *De Divisione Philosophiae*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 4.2-3, Münster, 1903, p. 3 and J. Jolivet, "The Arabic Inheritance", in Dronke, *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, pp. 135-36.

⁵⁹ Hernández, *op. cit.*, Nos. 134, 165 and 174.

⁶⁰ The translations of Gerard used by Dominicus include al-Kindī's *On the Five Essences*, Ishāq Isrā'īlī's *Book of Definitions*, Euclid's *Elements*, Anaritius's commentary on the latter, and Avicenna's *Canon*. Dominicus is also aware of the mathematical text "mahamelech" (*k. al-mu'āmalāt*) and Menelaus' *On Spherical Figures*, both translated by Gerard. P. M. J. E. Tuumers' suggestion ("Some Notes on the geometry Chapter of Dominicus Gundissalinus", *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 34, 1984, pp. 19-24) that Dominicus used the Arabic original of Anaritius's commentary is less plausible. The relationship of *On the Division of Philosophy* to the Chartrian schemata is shown by K. M. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, Toronto, 1988, pp. 14-20.

⁶¹ See C. C. Gillispie, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York, 1970-80, Supplement I, pp. 173-92 (article by R. Lemay on "Gerard of Cremona").

⁶² Jolivet, *op. cit.*

⁶³ *Metalogicon*, IV.6, ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford, 1929, p. 171.

⁶⁴ G. Maurach (ed.), Daniel von Morley, *Philosophia*, in *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 14, 1979, pp. 212 and 244-45.

⁶⁵ The list has been printed several times and is most conveniently reproduced in E. Grant (ed.), *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1974, pp. 35-38.

⁶⁶ A. I. Sabra, "The Andalusian Revolt against Ptolemaic Astronomy: Averroes and al-Bīṭrūjī", in *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences*, ed. E. Mendelsohn, Cambridge (England), 1984, pp. 133-53.

⁶⁷ P. W. Rosemann, "Averroes: A Catalogue of Editions and Scholarly Writings from 1821 Onwards", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, 30, 1988, pp. 153-221.

⁶⁸ Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, pp. 22-31, and R. Gauthier, "Notes sur les débuts (1215-1240) du premier Averroïsme", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 66, 1982, pp. 321-74.

⁶⁹ H. Denifle (ed.), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, Paris, 1899, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁰ M.-T. d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 16, 1947, pp. 129-30.

⁷¹ M. Alonso Alonso, "Bibliotecas medievales de los Arzobispos de Toledo", *Razón y Fé*, year 41, 1941, pp. 295-309.

⁷² S. Van Riet (ed.), *Avicenna Latinus: Liber Tertius Naturalium, de Generatione et Corruptione*, Louvain-Leiden, 1987.

⁷³ It is debatable to what extent these men can be called the "authors" of the works published under their names. However, what is important is that they wanted it to be known that these texts were their own.

⁷⁴ J. F. Valverde (ed.), Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae [=Historia Gothica]*, Corpus Christianorum continuatione mediaevalis, 72, Turnhout, 1987, p. xi.

⁷⁵ M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart", *Al-Andalus*, 16, 1951, pp. 99-140, 259-307; 17, 1952, pp. 1-56.

⁷⁶ M. de Riquer, *Història de la literatura Catalana*, I, Barcelona, 1964, pp. 394-429, and R. I. Burns, *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, Philadelphia, 1990.

⁷⁷ R. I. Burns, *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror*, Princeton, 1985, and *Emperor of Culture*; and M. Comes, R. Puig and J. Samsó (eds.), *De astronomia Alphonsi regis*, Barcelona, 1987.

⁷⁸ Thomann, "The name Picatrix".

⁷⁹ D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge".

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁸¹ For further information on the *Apology* see P. S. Van Koningsveld, "La Apología de al-Kindī en la España del siglo xii. Huellas toledanas de un 'animal disputax'", in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes*, 3, 1990, pp. 107-29.

⁸² R. Lemay, *Abū Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century*, Beirut, 1962, p. 14.

⁸³ P. Kunitzsch, "Eine bilingue arabisch-lateinische Lostafel", *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 6, 1976, and C. Burnett, "A Note on Two Astrological Fortune-Telling Tables", *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 18, 1988, pp. 257-62.

⁸⁴ The activities are described in single words or short phrases consisting of a *maṣdar* construction in Arabic and an infinitive construction in Latin: "to eat a cake", "to hear a drum", "marriage", etc. Similar culinary ingredients can be found in the 7th/13th-century Andalusī cookery-book published by A. Huici Miranda, *La cocina hispano-magrebī en la época almorávide según un manuscrito anónimo*, Madrid, 1965.

⁸⁵ C. Burnett, "Teoria e pratica musicali arabe in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale in età normanna e sveva", *Nuove Effemeridi* (Palermo), 11, 1990, p. 86.

⁸⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 430, fol. 75vb.

⁸⁷ Burnett, "Arabic Divination and Celtic Lore".

⁸⁸ This was the case with Eugene of Palermo (6th/12th century) who was obliged to use the Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Optics*; see d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators". The Greek version has yet to be found.

⁸⁹ The version of al-Farghānī used by Dante is edited by R. Campani, Città di Castello, 1910.

⁹⁰ This is the case, for example, in the large-scale introduction to philosophy, the *Liber Introductorius* of Michael Scot.

⁹¹ D. A. Callus, "Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 29, 1943, shows how Latin commentators were influenced by the methodology of Avicenna and Averroes; see also J. Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1350)*, London, 1987, pp. 50-62.

⁹² Rosemann, *op. cit.* Averroes' popularity continued into the Renaissance when several more of his works were translated into Latin: C. B. Schmitt, "Renaissance Averroism Studied through the Venetian Editions of Aristotle-Averroes", *Convegno internazionale, L'Averroismo in Italia*, Rome, 1979, pp. 121-42.

- ⁹³ H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1900.
- ⁹⁴ These being Ibn Sinā, al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Māsawaih, Ishāq al-Isrā'īli and Abū l'Qāsim; see D. Jacquart and F. Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, Paris, 1990.
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- ¹⁰⁰ C. Burnett, "A Group of Arabic-Latin Translators working in Northern Spain in the mid-twelfth Century", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, year 1977, p. 90.

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ISLAMIC CIVILISATION IN AL-ANDALUS: A FINAL ASSESSMENT

Initially Islam was regarded by the Christian world as the expression of one more heretical sect of Christianity. When, however, the speed and magnitude of its spread and the political and religious threat it might pose to Western interests became apparent, relations between the two worlds became increasingly distant, till, finally, they stood in clear confrontation.

From the 8th and 9th centuries on, Western Christians viewed Islam and the Islamic world as an enemy that must be opposed so as to preserve the solidarity of Western cohesion, which had been broken following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and the image of this enemy was one heavily laden with ideology.

Behind all this, however, was another reality which must be taken into account: commercial and diplomatic relations with the Islamic world (both in the East and in the West, i. e., in al-Andalus), continued despite the hostilities, so that the antagonists were in fact brought together through consistently important trade relations.

In al-Andalus, to which the Arabs and the Berbers had come in 92/711, an authentic political and cultural empire was formed under the rule of the Umayyad dynasty whose founder in al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, known as al-Dākhil or the eagle of Quraysh, had fled from Damascus.

Islam, which had created a syncretism and a cultural fusion based not only on its idea of universality and the tolerant nature of its religious conceptions but also on its prodigious capacity for assimilation and creativity and its characteristically experimental tendency, bore splendid fruit in al-Andalus, and it was there that the most important ethnic and cultural fusion of East and West took place. In the 4th/10th century, under the caliphs 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, Córdoba was the most brilliant Islamic capital of the period, and also, as the celebrated historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal has pointed out, the most civilised city in Europe.

From al-Andalus there emerged a cultural transmission between civilisations in conflict; the very soil of the Iberian Peninsula provided an example of this, but transmission also extended to the main continent of Europe beyond. The modes of communication were simple:

- The transmission of oral versions of Arab stories and poetry, which were spread by itinerant minstrels, in ignorance of their origin, among Western peoples.
- Europeans travelling to al-Andalus in search of Arab-Islamic cultural lore.
- Frequent trade relations and political contacts through diplomatic embassies.

- Political refugees such as the Mozarabs, who, although tolerated by the Muslims for a time, emigrated in times of intransigence and fanaticism to be with their co-religionists in the north of the Peninsula.
- The *scriptoria* of the monasteries in the Peninsula, especially that of Santa María de Ripoll, which, in the 12th and 13th centuries, acquired a large number of Arabic scientific works which were then translated by monks, many of Mozarab origin.
- The schools for translators that were established in Toledo, following the Christian conquest of that city in 478/1085, by Christian kings and prelates like Archbishop Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada and the King of Castile and León, Alfonso X, "The Wise", with the purpose of digesting the Arab knowledge accumulated in the great libraries of the former Muslim sovereigns.

The resulting translations represented an indirect but very concrete means of transmitting Islamic culture from al-Andalus to Europe, and the schools attracted a stream of intellectuals to the Peninsula from various parts of Europe, and from the three monotheistic religions (Muslims, Christians and Jews), who had of necessity to coexist in the course of their work, and who distributed the results of these translations of Arabic manuscripts in their countries of origin. Such names as Gerard of Cremona, Robert of Chester, Adelard of Bath and Michael Scot remain historically linked to the indirect diffusion of the knowledge contained in the various Arab-Islamic sciences.

The flood of translations centred around the preferred fields of mathematics and science. It is to Islamic culture that we owe our knowledge of numbers, including the zero, of Indian origin but transmitted by a Muslim from Persia named al-Khwārizmī, and Muslims also developed geometry, demonstrated the position and movements of the planets and made many other scientific and medical discoveries, such as the discovery of the minor circulation of the blood, in the 7th/13th century, by the Arab doctor Ibn al-Nafīs.

This brilliant cultivation, by Muslims, of various branches of science (the "rational sciences" as they called them) corresponded to the Islamic conception of man, as a being endowed with intelligence who does not belong to one single nation but to all civilisations, and who needs to cultivate science and the habit of precise thinking so as to help develop the mind, lending order and coordination to its thoughts.

Muslim philosophical and mystical thought was also transmitted to European Western culture through translations of the works of the mystic al-Ghazālī, the Cordoban philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and other Muslim philosophers. Ibn Rushd inaugurated the line of equilibrium in the Faith-Reason dialectic, so founding a kind of medieval intellectualism.

The Andalusi Muslims were famous for their skill in hydraulic technology, which they broadened and perfected on the base left by the Romans. They built *norias*, water-driven mills, irrigation canals and current wheels,

and established a network of irrigation systems throughout the Peninsula, so substantially modifying the agricultural profile of Roman Spain, which had till then been limited to production of the Mediterranean agricultural triad of olives, wheat and grapes. With the opening of new agricultural areas capable of producing other crops, the Arabs introduced and acclimatised such Eastern innovations as date palms and lemon trees, and these in turn changed the Peninsular landscape.

They also promoted the production of silk and paper, which they had learned from the Chinese. Both these products were truly revolutionary factors in the rising manufacture of books and textiles, such high levels of perfection being attained that some of the brocaded textiles and calligraphic and illustrated manuscripts are today preserved as genuine treasures in our museums.

This development of diverse technologies within the Muslim world reflects the well-known Islamic theory that man must know how to avail himself of the useful properties of what the Creation offers, but in a way always geared towards social utility.

Their universal vision was reflected in an art which was similarly the product of the Muslim capacity for wholeness and synthesis; they knew how to assimilate the technical advances of the now politically dominated civilisations, such as the Roman-Byzantine and the Persian, and at the same time how to imprint the stamp of their own genius, which in many cases surpassed that of their teachers. All this benefited Europe.

One example of this inspired capacity for synthesis is the famous Great Mosque of Córdoba, in which Roman columns and arch systems are used together with Visigothic and Corinthian capitols and Byzantine mosaics. But Muslim artists also knew how to impart perfect organisation to all these elements, supplying a magnificent solution to the fragmentation of space based on a system of double arches over a forest of columns, together with the lovely cupolas, with their cosmic significance—all contrived in such a way that few works of art can be likened to this building.

In the industrial arts their skill and creative genius is obvious. In Toledo they introduced the technique of damascene work, the inlaying, that is, of filaments of silver and gold on to metal, a craft which is still practised in the city. Workshops in Córdoba produced beautiful chests of marble and both opaque and transparent glassware. The city of Granada was famous for its marquetry, in which ivory or bone was inlaid on wood, and even today Granada's artesans continue to create beautiful boxes in this style. The Muslims also left a heritage of ceramics in Granada and Málaga, the latter being famous for its production of lustreware in Islamic times.

There was also of course cultural exchange, in the field of art, through imitation: the embroideries on the ceremonial robes of some Christian kings contained copies of Kufic inscriptions (Quranic eulogies or verses) which were generally believed to be simply decorative motifs.

Such influences went beyond academic and erudite transmission; they were also very important factors at the level of social influence, resulting, generally, from intercultural contacts within the context of a régime of co-existence among peoples and cultures, as was undoubtedly the case in al-Andalus.

It should be said, in conclusion, that these factors of cultural interpenetration cannot always be measured, as has been the tendency in recent times, by the yardstick of cold statistics. Nor can they be evaluated at the moment they are produced, since cultural influence is not for the most part quantitative, but rather depends on the receptivity of the assimilating culture and the extent of contact on the two sides—the side that influences and the side that is influenced—so that the process can only be evaluated from a distance, after a certain amount of time has passed.

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Juifs, chrétiens et musulmans en Espagne (VIIe-XVIIe siècles) (1987) and *La rābīta islāmīca. Historia institucional* (in press).

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Madeleine Fletcher has taught at the Universities of Harvard (1966-69), Princeton (1972-73) and Columbia (1975-80), and now teaches Spanish Literature and Civilisation, and also courses on Islamic Law, at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts. She is presently working on a study of the history of the Almohad dynasty in Spain and North Africa, to be published by the University of South Carolina Press under the title *Western Islam: The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*.

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Robert Hillenbrand has taught in the Department of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh since 1971, and has been Professor there since 1989. He has also held Visiting Professorships at Princeton (1979), UCLA (1981) and Bamberg (1990). He is the author of *Imperial Images in Persian Painting* and *Islamic Architecture in North Africa*, has edited such works as *The Islamic Book* and *Proceedings of the Congress of European Arabists and Islamicists*, and has, among many other articles, contributed material on the major Islamic building types for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. He has been a board member of the journals *Art History* (1978-88), *Persica* and the *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute*, and has been on the editorial boards of *Studies in Islamic Art* (Los Angeles) and *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, and been Islamic art adviser to the Macmillan *Dictionary of Art*. He organised an exceptionally extensive exhibition of Persian miniature paintings at Edinburgh in 1977, and also organised major international conferences on Islamic art,

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Manuela Marín has taught at the Universidad Complutense, Madrid, the Spanish Institute, Baghdad, and the Instituto Hispano-Arabe, Madrid, and has, since 1988, been a researcher in the Department of Arabic Studies at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid. She is the editor of the journal *Al-Qanṭara*. Her current research interests are the social and cultural history of al-Andalus and food in Islamic societies, her recent publications including *Individuo y sociedad en al-Andalus* (in press), *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tawzī' al-mawā'id* (ed., with D. Waines) (in press) and an edition, with introduction, of Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Kitāb al-mustaghṭhīn* (1991). She has published articles, in various languages, in *Al-Qanṭara*, *Cahiers d'Onomastique Arabe*, *Studia Islamica*, *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* and the *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*.

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María J. Viguera has held teaching posts at the Universidad Autónoma, Madrid, the Universidad Complutense, Madrid, and the University of Saragossa, and is now Head of the Department of Arabic at the Universidad Complutense, Madrid. She was also, for ten years, Chief of the Bibliographical Section at the Instituto Miguel Asín of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Dr Viguera's publications include her doctoral dissertation on *Al-Musnad* of Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsanī (published in Spanish in 1977 and Arabic in 1981), her translation *Gala de caballeros* from the Arabic original of Ibn Hudhayl (1977) and works on Andalusī history, such as *Aragón musulmán* (1981, 2nd edition 1988), and she is the editor of *Ana-*

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Except in the case of a few extremely well-known figures (e.g., the Emperor Hadrian, the Emperor Charles V), the following conventions are normally followed with regard to rulers:

- Effective rulers of al-Andalus are given their title alone, with no further designation (e.g., ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, *al-Amīr*; Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf, Caliph);
- Caliphs outside al-Andalus are designated as appropriate (e.g., Abū Bakr, First Caliph of Islam; Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Umayyad Caliph in Damascus);
- Other rulers, within or outside al-Andalus, are designated with reference to the appropriate territory or tribal group (e.g., Al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād, ruler of Seville; ‘Alī b. ‘Uṭhmān, Abū ‘l-Ḥasan, of the Marīnids).

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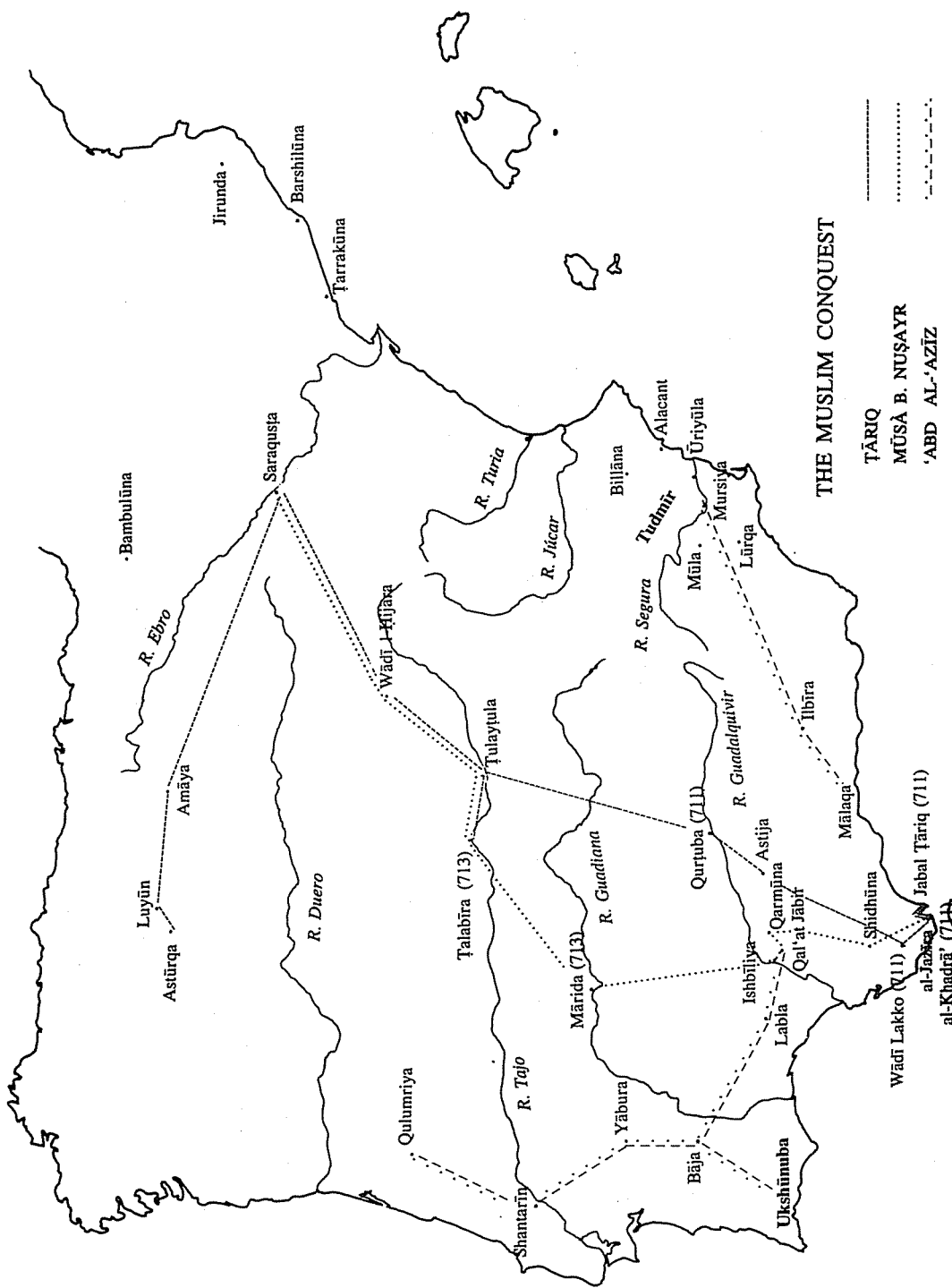
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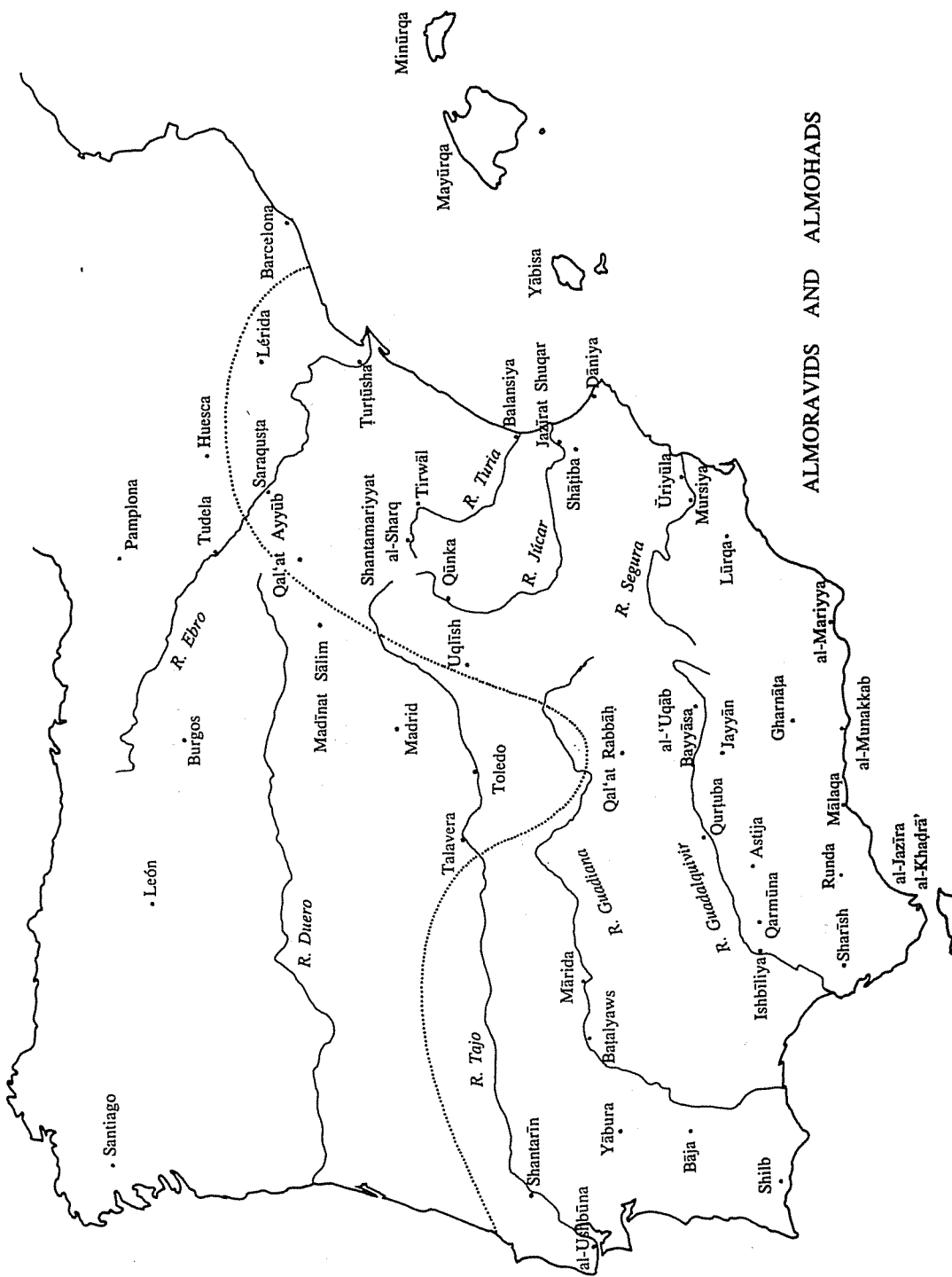


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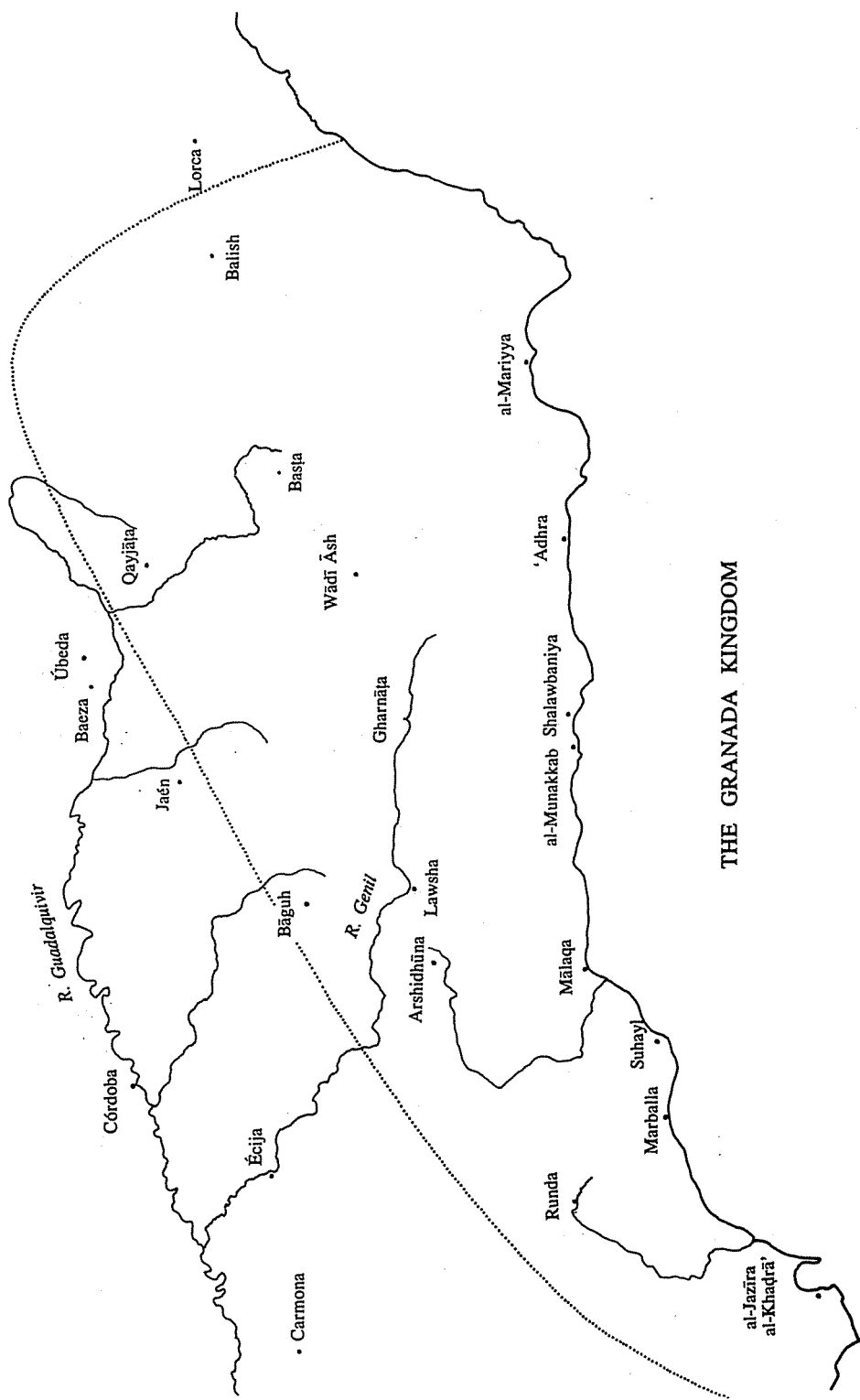
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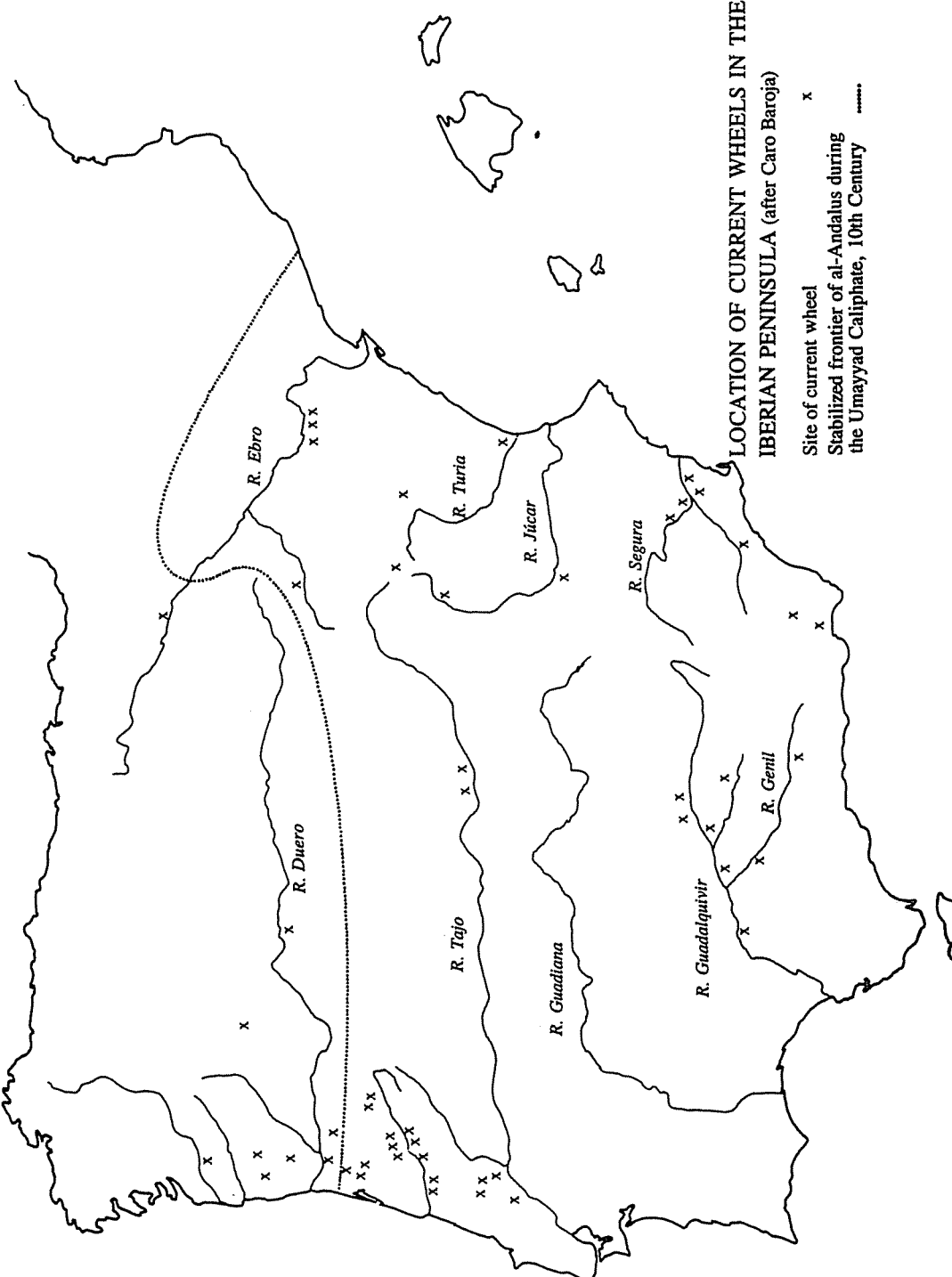
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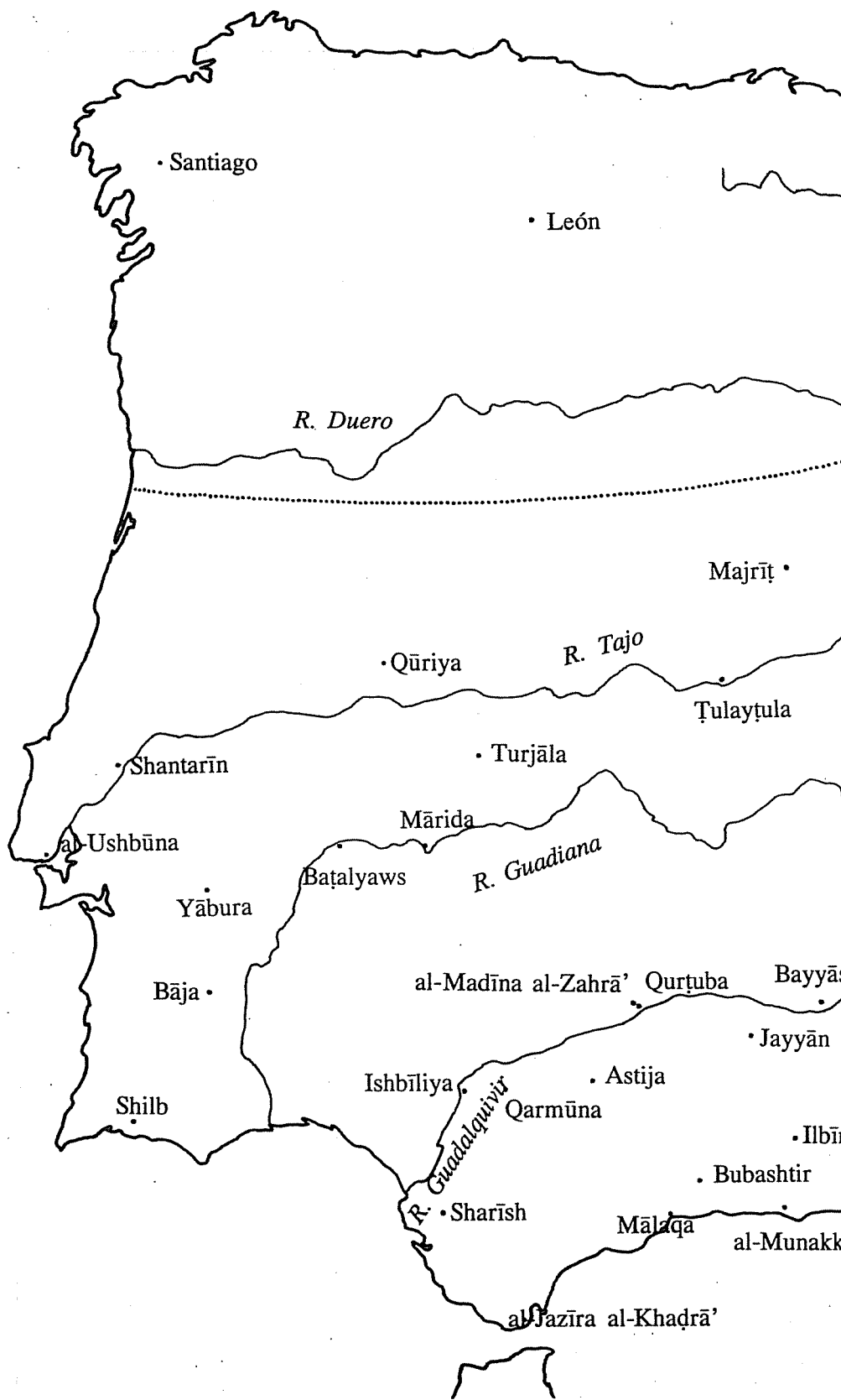


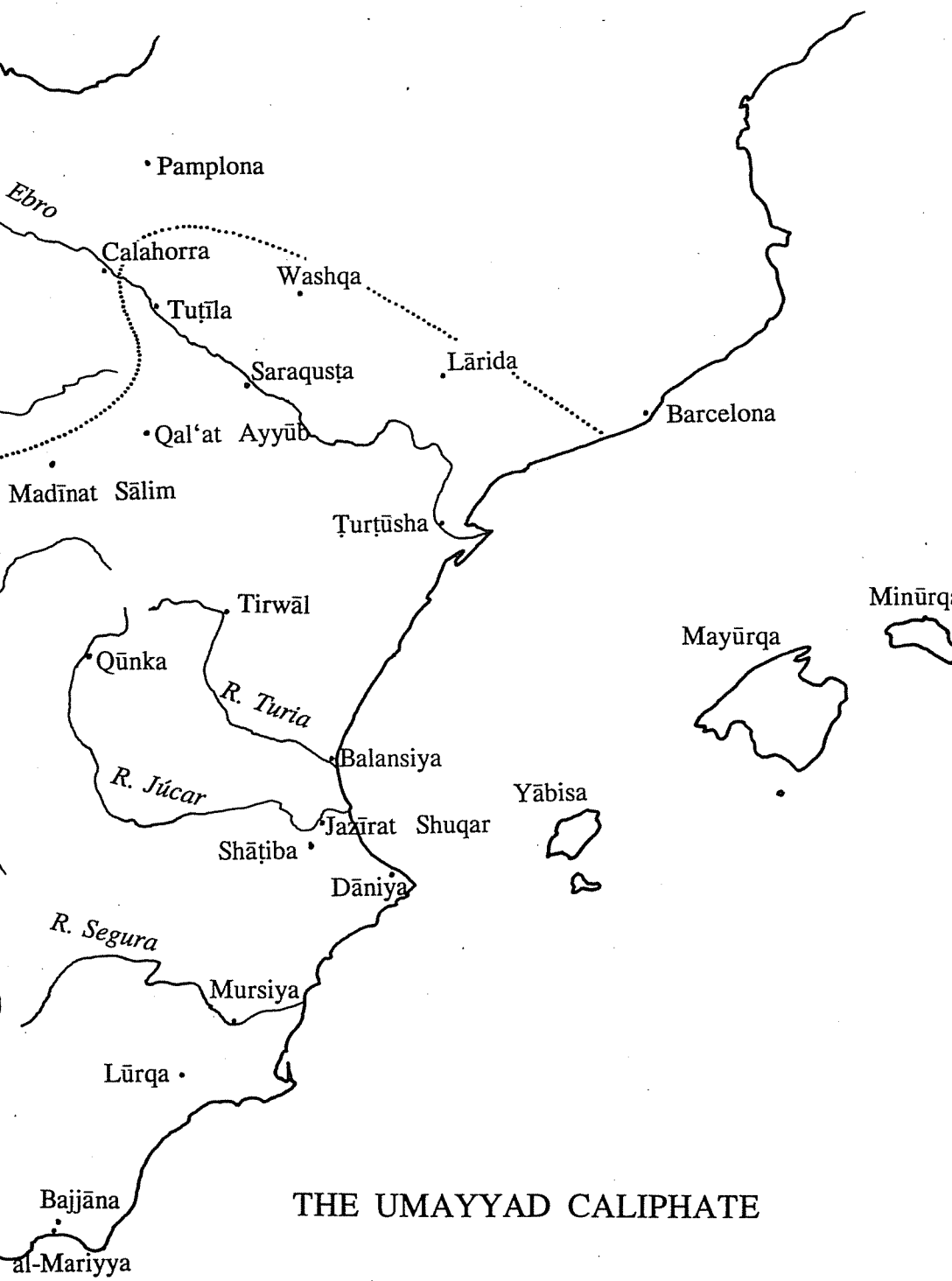
THE GRANADA KINGDOM



LOCATION OF CURRENT WHEELS IN THE
IBERIAN PENINSULA (after Caro Baroja)

- x Site of current wheel
- Stabilized frontier of al-Andalus during the Umayyad Caliphate, 10th Century





THE Umayyad Caliphate